

# ŚRĪYĀRA'S ZAINA RĀJAJĀRĀNGINĪ

KASHI NATH  
DHAR



ŚRĪVARA'S  
ZAINA RĀJATARANGINĪ

# ŚRĪVARA'S ZAINA RĀJATARANGINĪ

English Translation and  
Annotations by

**PROFESSOR KASHI NATH DHAR**

INDIAN COUNCIL OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH  
AND  
PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

*October 1994*

© 1994 ICHR

*Price: Rs 750.00*

**ISBN 81-7007-189-5**

Published by K. C. Bansal for People's Publishing House (P) Ltd., 5E, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055 and printed by him from New Age Printing Press, 5E, Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055



## INTRODUCTION

Kashmir, which is supposed to be the mother goddess Pārvati incarnate, in the words of *Nilamata Purāṇa*<sup>1</sup> and Kalhaṇa<sup>2</sup>, seated as it were, in the tranquil posture of absolute introspection in the lap of the lofty Himālayas, has been a perpetual source of inspiration to the men of letters from time immemorial. Adorned with her variegated and picturesque landscape, she has been, and is, the birth place of numerous seers, saints, poets, philosophers, rhetoricians, grammarians, astrologers, astronomers and other types of polyhistor of a high order.

Their contribution in various branches of Sanskrit literature is not only vast in magnitude, but also rich and thought-provoking in content. Though a sizable portion of it, about which we have sufficient information available by innumerable cross-references, has been lost because of the ravages of time, man and nature, yet whatever has come down to us is surprisingly original and thematic in treatment.

The contribution of Kashmir in the field of historiography deserves a special mention. It has, indeed, been immense and unique both in its dimension and content. Perhaps it would not be an exaggeration to point out that this is the only part of our vast country where we find an uninterrupted and written record of history right from the beginning of the *Kaliyuga*, in Sanskrit verse, usually known as *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*. This nomenclature has been assigned to it by the reputed chronicler Kalhaṇa, who composed his chronicle in Śaka era 1070 corresponding to 1148 AD. In the words of Dr Stein,<sup>3</sup> his chronicle is the oldest available authoritative historical record of rulers of Kashmir from the earliest ages down to his own time in the reign of Jayasimha, 1128-49 AD. After him the other subsequent chroniclers namely Joṇa-Rāja, Śrīvara, Prājyabhaṭṭa and Śuka kept the tradition alive and continued the narrative in Sanskrit verse till almost to the end of the 16th century AD.

1. *Nilamata Purāṇa*, verses 31 and 31.3.

2. *KLRT*, 1, 72.

3. M. A. Stein, *Kalhaṇa's Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*, vol I.

This amazing continuity of a historical narrative suggests that historiography was an independent branch of study in ancient Kashmir and seems to have formed an important part of elitist tradition of those days, lest the very tradition of historiography, which apparently continued till mediaeval days, should be lost along with the entire written historical record. There are evidences that a historical *kāvya* was usually committed to memory by a selected group of students of Sanskrit language who had evinced interest in the study of history like Kalhaṇa and others. Only poets with a natural aptitude for history were entrusted with the work of continuing the writing of a chronicle of their predecessors as was true in the case of Śrīvara. Thus it appears that in ancient times there existed a tradition of maintaining a sort of archives department for this purpose, may be oral only, and this practice was restarted and re-organised by the Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn also.

Besides the *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*, there are extant even today, other historical and semi-historical works composed by various Kashmiri scholars. Among the works to which reference has been made by Kalhaṇa, Kṣemendra's (11th century AD) *Nṛpāvalī* and the *Loka-Prakāśa*, Rṣi-Nīla's (6th century AD as tentatively determined by Dr Ved Kumari) *Nilamata Purāṇa*, Dāmodara Gupta's (755-86 AD) *Kuṭṭani-Matam*, Ratnākara's (855 AD) *Haravijaya* are quite important. On the basis of mention made by Pir Ghulām Hassan Khuihami in the introduction to his *Tārīkh-i-Hassan*, we come across yet another name *Ratnākara-Purāṇa* which it is presumed, must have been an important historical composition obviously by some Ratnākara.

It is further presumed in this regard that the work must have been irretrievably lost even before Kalhaṇa's time, as no Sanskrit chronicler has ever made any mention of this work anywhere. In the absence of original text of the *Ratnākara-Purāṇa* we are not in a position to determine whether this Ratnākara and the author of the *Haravijaya* is one and the same person or are just namesakes. Unfortunately Kṣemendra's *Nṛpāvalī* too, referred to by Kalhaṇa,<sup>4</sup> is not extant today.

It is quite obvious that Śrīvara besides being a contemporary of the Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn and, at least the three others of his successor Sultāns had a fertile and abundant historical source material available to the chroniclers. Not only this but at the same time other compositions of historical importance like Nutha Soma's *Zaina-Caritam*, Yodha-Bhaṭṭa's *Zaina Prakāśa*, Bhaṭṭāvatāra's

*Zaina-Vilāsa*, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's *Śikāyat* and *Sarvalilā* of an anonymous writer as well, seem to have been an additional source material available for his information.<sup>5</sup>

Explicitly speaking this historical perspective was not unknown in any way in ancient Kashmir as well, Kalhaṇa at the very outset of his chronicle gives a detailed account of a few ancient historical compositions of considerable magnitude. He, for instance, makes a mention<sup>6</sup> of the compositions of Helā-Rāja, Padma-Mihira, Chavillākara, Suvrata and the like. It is a matter of utter disappointment that these valuable historical compositions are not available at present, though according to Kalhaṇa's own statement, he had consulted as many as eleven works of his predecessor chroniclers for the collection<sup>7</sup> of material for his own composition. Thus Kalhaṇa's description of such an enormous heap of ancient historical literature along with the present available set of *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*s represent a clear awareness of a historical sense always alive in the minds of ancient and mediaeval Kashmiri Sanskrit writers.

Although the five authors of *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*, from Kalhaṇa to Śuka belonged to different periods, yet they never allowed the sequence of continuous historical events to be broken at any point. With a true historical sensibility each successor writer took up the chronological thread from where his predecessor had been compelled by circumstances to leave the same. Although Prajyābhaṭṭa portion of the chronicle, giving the description of 27 years from 1486 to 1513 AD after Śrīvara, seems to have been irretrievably lost even long before the period of Śuka, yet he (Śuka) in order to maintain the chronological sequence in the narrative sums up the main events of this period in first 50 verses of his own chronicle.<sup>8</sup> Obviously even the very name of Prājyabhaṭṭa would have been lost into oblivion, but for the reference made about him by Śuka.<sup>9</sup>

The entire host of the successors of Kalhaṇa, of course, with the exception of Prājyabhaṭṭa alone, who entitled his portion of the composition as *Rājāvali-Patākā*, never hesitated to affix the same nomenclature viz. *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī* to their portions of the narrative which was originally assigned to it by their masters. All of them retained the name at all cost, except of course, with a little

5. Śrīvara, 1, 4, 37-38.

6. *KLRT*, 1, 11-20.

7. *Ibid*, 1, 17-18.

8. Śuka's *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*, 1, 9-10.

9. *Ibid*, 1, 7.

modification as *Zaina Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī* by Śrīvara to his own portion. Some historians are of the opinion that in fact Śuka too affixed the title of Prājyabhaṭṭa as *Rājāvali Patākā* to his own portion of the narrative, but we neither find any tangible proof in favour of this contention, nor he himself has made any specific mention, as such anywhere in his composition.

The present volume constitutes an English rendering with topographical and historical notes, of Śrīvara's portion of the chronicle by late Professor K. N. Dhar, the then director of Parmananda Research Institute, Srinagar. He had done it with the collaboration of the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi. It is, indeed, a fruit of his three year's hard labour and matchless dedication. The Parmananda Research Institute too, having long standing commitment for bringing out the salient features of the ancient and mediaeval heritage of Kashmir on the one hand, and feeling indebted to the deceased professor on the other, considers it as a foremost and sacred duty to present the same to the young scholars who are naturally eager to have a first-hand knowledge of their past history. The saga of their forefathers, their achievements and vicissitudes of fortune clearly indicates the arduous journey of the people of Kashmir in preserving their cultural heritage.

Śrīvara, alias, Śrīvara Paṇḍita is the third in the line of Kashmiri Sanskrit chroniclers from Kalhaṇa. Unfortunately he has not given any detailed account of his family whereabouts anywhere in his chronicle. Only by suffixing the appellation as Pandit<sup>10</sup> to his name, he evidently has expressed his being a Kashmiri Brahman (Bhaṭṭa) by birth. A local tradition of Srinagar city, now fadingly alive, asserts that he was a resident of Ananta-Bhavan, a locality of the metropolis of mediaeval Kashmir and presently known as Wonta-Bhavan situated in the neighbourhood of present Sourā.

Besides, he claims to be an immediate disciple of Joṇa Rāja, his predecessor chronicler in the court of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. According to his own statement he took up the thread of narration in the 35th year of *laukika era*<sup>11</sup> corresponding to 1457 AD. In all probability this would have been the year of the sudden demise of his *guru* and the charge of official chronicler would have been assigned to him by the Sultān himself. Earlier Joṇa Rāja also, having great respect and regard for his patron Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had taken up the thread of chronicle in the same

10. *ZRJ*, 1, 1, 7.

11. *ZRJ*, 1, 6.

way at the command of Śrī-Bhaṭṭa,<sup>12</sup> protege of the Sultān. This clearly indicates that at least both of them were regular official chroniclers, whose duty was to record the day-to-day political events regularly in the king's court. In fact Śrīvara, feeling equally obliged to both his master Joṇa Rāja and the Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn on account of his being initiated and patronised by them respectively took up the chronicle writing simply to pay off his debt of gratitude to them. According to his own statement<sup>13</sup> the Sultān always bestowed bounties on him and reared him as his own son by granting vast estates, considerable quantities of gold and other gifts on him. Consequently he was impelled by two main objectives for taking up the chronicle writing:

(1) To continue the mission<sup>14</sup> of his *guru* in the spirit of being an obedient pupil to him; and (2) to repay the debt of the gratitude to his revered patron by giving a detailed and lucid account of the liberal and rare humanitarian qualities present in him.

He was very eager to under-score those aspects of the sultān's reign, which his *guru* Joṇa Rāja had missed to record in his narrative for the reasons unknown to him.<sup>15</sup> This, would probably suggest, that the Sultān's liberalism and unlimited solicitude for the wholesale uplift and welfare of his subjects without any discrimination had been under-rated to some extent.

Śrīvara enjoyed a foremost position in the court of the Sultān and, besides having proficiency in the art of chronicle writing, had a considerable command over other branches of Sanskrit literature particularly philosophy and music. Usually he gave an exposition on various aspects of Hindu philosophy to the king who, appreciated him a lot on this account. Śrīvara himself admits that he taught and recited to him the sacred scriptures like *Mokṣopāya*<sup>16</sup> the essence of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and other holy scriptures related to the attainment of salvation. Besides, he had the capacity to impress the Sultān by his quality of being a first rate singer and musician, who had the distinction of competing with a reputed musician of the day from Khurāsān, Mallazāda<sup>17</sup> by name, in an open musical concert once organised by the Sultān himself. Probably due to these qualities it was Śrīvara alone, amongst the entire host of Sanskrit chroniclers, who continuously enjoyed the patronage of at least

12. *ZRJT*, I, 10-12.

13. *ZRJT*, I, 11.

14. *Ibid*, I, 7.

15. *Ibid*, I, 16.

16. *ZRJT*, I, 5, 80.

17. *Ibid*, I, 4, 32-36.

three Sultāns from Zain-ul-'Ābidin to Hassan Shāh.

Śrīvara's chronicle, known as *Zaina Rāja Taranginī* is the contemporary record of 27 years of the history of Kashmir starting from 1459 to 1486 AD, the period to which he himself had been an eye witness. Herein he gives a vivid and apparently an authentic account of the events that took place during the period of the rule of, at least, four Sultāns in the following order:

- 1) Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin (1459 to 1470 AD)—11 years.
- 2) Sultān Haider Shāh (1470 to 1472 AD)—2 years.
- 3) Sultān Hassan Shāh (1472 to 1484 AD)—12 years.
- 4) Sultān Mohammad Shāh (1484 to 1486 AD)—2 years.

The narrative is concluded with the seizure of power by Sultān Fateh-Shāh for the first time in 1486 AD, when the minor Sultān Mohammad Shāh had hardly completed 2 years and 7 months of his reign. The abrupt conclusion of the narrative suggests that either Sultān Fateh Shāh in his bid to overhaul the entire previous administrative machinery dropped Śrīvara along with other dignitaries belonging to the court of his previous rival, or else, he himself chose self-effacement, for not feeling himself in harmony with the changed political set-up of the new ruler, or presumably his own sudden death could also have caused an interruption in the process of writing the chronicle.

Śrīvara's chronicle, though covering a history of just 27 years is much bigger in volume in comparison to that of his predecessor Joṇa Rāja, which is smaller in volume, but covers a history of 300 years. He has followed the course of Kalhaṇa in dividing the entire narrative in four *Taraṅgas* (waves) only with a slight modification of having the first *Taraṅga* further sub-divided into 7 *Sargas* (cantos). The entire chronicle comprises 2249 verses in all while the total number of verses of Joṇa Rāja's chronicle is slightly under 1000. It is almost for the first time in the annals of *Rāja Taranginīs* that we come across changes in the ancient names of places in Śrīvara's composition. For instance the ancient names like Mārtaṇḍ, Sureśavarī-Sar or Padma-Sar, Amrita-Bhavan-Vihāra, Ahalyāpur, Mahāsarit, Tareśwarī or Ramaswāmi etc. have been changed to Bhavan, Dal, Amritavāta, Alabhapur, Mari, Brihan-Maśīd etc. respectively. This was, perhaps, due to linguistic changes gradually taking place with the introduction of Persian as the official language instead of Sanskrit that prevailed earlier. The study of *Loka-prakāśa* of the controversial authorship bears testimony to this gradual linguistic change and the frequent use of the jargon.



While<sup>18</sup> composing the narrative in all humility, Śrīvara followed the traditional order of writing history of kings of Kashmir, like his predecessors both Kalhana and Jona-Rāja, he himself admits unhesitatingly that his *gurus*<sup>19</sup> were talented poets, better equipped with the art of writing historical *Kāvya*s than he himself was. He does not claim any originality or special skill employed by him in his own composition because a piece of ordinary chalk cherishing the hope of appearing as a fragrant piece of camphor merely on the strength of its white colour is not possible. His<sup>20</sup> narrative was to be didactic in nature on the one hand, and a faithful record of the achievements of his sovereign Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn on the other, and not merely a piece of common poetic composition. He wished his composition to be always adjudged and evaluated by the men of considerable intelligence by employing their own intellect. To be more precise, the narrative of Śrīvara had twofold purpose: perpetuating the memory of the kings like Zain-ul-Ābidīn by those who took to the study of history, and those noble souls who would draw inferences from the diversified natures of the past rulers of their land.

Generally speaking the importance of later *Rāja Taranginī*s, from Jona-Rāja to Śuka cannot be gainsaid or underestimated. All these historians, though in most cases, being commissioned as royal chroniclers, have carried the story of the Sultān of Kashmir, almost upto the beginning of Mughal rule in the state, quite dispassionately and dexterously. Particularly Śrīvara's efforts to pen down the hitherto unknown humanitarian qualities of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn on the one hand and, simultaneously present the clear picture of the overall deteriorating socio-economic and cultural conditions of the general masses prior to and after this Sultān on the other, is extremely praiseworthy. As a born poet he, having a good command over Sanskrit language and a wonderful capability of using the pun on words, he conveyed all that what he had to convey regarding the entire Sultanate period of Kashmir in a balanced manner. Of course, a thorough acquaintance of Sanskrit language and a mind free from all sorts of lop-sided pre-occupations are essential pre-requisites of the reader who may be keen to read in between the lines of the narrative. No doubt, there is a considerable number of Persian chronicles of this period, written in Kashmir, extant at present in printed or manuscript form but they do not

18. *ZRJT*, 1, 1, 3.

19. *Ibid*, 1, 1, 7-8.

20. *Ibid*, 1, 1, 9-10.

help a reader to get as clear a picture of the socio-political conditions of Kashmir prevailing at that time, as Śrīvara's account does. Firstly these Persian chronicles are more or less a century later to these contemporary Sanskrit accounts and, as such, their evidence about the then prevalent conditions in the court and the people at large are not as reliable and are often not in agreement with Sanskrit chronicles. Secondly the Persian authors in the mainland have at times only strayed into writing about the Sultāns of Kashmir. Their testimony, therefore, cannot but be termed as a hearsay for the reasons obvious. No doubt, we have a reference about Malla Ahmad's *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* composed in the times of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, but it is, as already mentioned, irretrievably lost and is not extant anywhere at present. Amongst the host of such historians only those deserve a serious attention who stayed in Kashmir for a fairly long duration.

Besides, we possess also a considerable number of accounts of this period written by modern historians, but almost all of them, while having relied more on Persian source material have not given due attention towards the contemporary Sanskrit sources.

Śrīvara's writings clearly indicate that he has never been swayed by emotions while presenting the true picture of bigotry and persecution of some Sultāns. Though being himself at the receiving end of this persecution he has always painted the things in a most dispassionate and detached way. He has not, at the same time, missed to confer praise where it was due as in the case of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn or Sulān Hassan Shāh. Concisely speaking, he has quite understandably and successfully stood on the fence and expressed his reactions regarding all matters in the most balanced way. It is for these reasons, this chronicle of Śrīvara deserves, a greater importance to be attached to it, while delving deep into the stream of events of the Sultanate period of Kashmir.

The importance of the present English translation of Śrīvara's chronicle by late Professor K. N. Dhar also cannot be overlooked. Although, prior to it, there were English translations already done by some scholars, yet those were definitely defective in many respects. Firstly no authentic text of these later *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇīs* had been finally settled till then and the authors of these translations had no alternative but to rely on defective texts. Secondly most of the translators, because of not being themselves natives of Kashmir, did not possess a good knowledge of the topography of this place as is necessary. Such a state of affairs unavoidably resulted in allowing numerous wrong interpretations of the original Sanskrit



verses to find their way into those English translations. Since it was only recently, the original texts of these later *Rāja Tarāṅginis* have been finally settled after being thoroughly checked and improved through comparative study of their various recensions and MSS by scholars like Sri Kanth Kaul,<sup>21</sup> the urgency of their being translated into English had become the need of the hour. Fortunately Professor K. N. Dhar, took the timely initiative in this direction and prepared this English translation with explanations in terms of correct approach to the political, topographical and geographical dimensions in this regard.

Regarding Śrīvara's treatment of the subject, it is most essential to be kept in view that, his job was rather different from that of his predecessors. He had not to start his narrative with the description of the past kings as is true in the case of Kalhaṇa and Joṇa Rāja. He had a favourable opportunity to take up the historical thread from 1459 AD the last decade of the rule of his contemporary and patron Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, as Joṇa Rāja had already covered the major portion of his reign in his own narrative. From 1459 AD onwards, Śrīvara could carry on the work only upto 1486 AD which, in all probability, can be considered as the last year of his life. Presumably the narrative was cut short because of his death. Therefore his account of these 27 years is the best contemporary accounts in the strictest sense of the term. We see in *Tarāṅga* I of the chronicle while giving an eyewitness and a clear account of the achievements, administrative reforms, agricultural innovations, musical instruments, comedies and novel architectural achievements of the Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn Budshah, he has not, at the same time, missed to make a mention of the long drawn feud and struggle for power amongst his sons which ultimately proved to be fratricidal and affected adversely the entire socio-economic life of the kingdom. He draws a very pathetic picture of the miserable plight, mental unrest and the state of utter exasperation of such a great Sultān during the last years both of his rule and life. The Sultān ended as a miserable wretch in his vain attempt to reprove his warring sons and foster amity and concord amongst them as they were bitterly contending for their dying father's throne. His utter helplessness during the last days of his life, particularly on account of the predemise<sup>22</sup> of his most beloved and devoted adviser-queen Bodhā-Khātoon by name, greatly multiplied his mental torture. The grief stricken Sultān, in order

21. The VVR/ edition referred to in the notes is the one edited by Śrī Kanth Kaul.

22. *ZRJT*, 1, 7, 47.

to get rid of the mundane sufferings during his last days, induced Śrīvara to deliver him sermons on the spiritual metaphysics from various Hindu scriptures. He spent a considerable number of nights in listening to *Mokṣopāya-Saṃhitā*<sup>23</sup> from him. Śrīvara sang the scripture in such a melodious tone and explained the underlying subtleties so lucidly to him that he was relieved of his mental agony to a large extent. The effect was profound and the king, feeling inspired with these sermons himself composed a poem in Persian language entitled as *Śikāyat* in which he reproached the contemptuous ways of the so called kith and kin.

Although there have been other tolerant Sultāns also like Sultān Shams-ud-dīn (1356-74 AD) or Sultān Hassan-Shāh (1472-84 AD) who in their bid to improve the socio-economic conditions of the general masses without any communal bias always possessed a clean and secular outlook in administrative matters, yet both Joṇa Rāja and Śrīvara agree on the point that throughout the entire Sultanate it was only the period of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn which provided the necessary conditions and a congenial atmosphere for the real socio-economic stability of the entire state. Śrīvara has no reservations in pointing out that it was the political and moral ethics of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn which put a stop to the misrule and oppressive measures of a rapacious bureaucracy. It was the result of his programmes and policies based on broad and tolerant outlook that he could successfully evolve a sort of cosmopolitan society, totally free from caste considerations and religious bias. The ruthless and cruel regimes preceding his rule had compelled more than fifty per cent of Hindu population to seek refuge outside Kashmir.<sup>24</sup> It was he, who on the request of Śrī-Bhaṭṭa, his most favourite and life protector councillor, recalled them to their native abode and assured their social and economic rehabilitation, happiness and welfare. By reducing<sup>25</sup> the rate of *Jaziya* imposed on Hindus from two *palas* (34 grams approximately) of silver a year to a nominal rate of one *masha*<sup>26</sup> a year, abolishing the cremation

23. *Ibid*, 1, 7, 133-34.

24. There is a common saying in Kashmiri language even at present viz. *Kashmīrī rōdhi Kahāi gharah*—"In Kashmir only eleven families survived" in which it is alleged that during the period of earlier regimes of persecutor Sultāns such as Sultān Sikandar Shāh (1389 to 1413 AD) almost all Hindus were compelled to leave the country on account of constant persecution, massacre and forced conversion and only eleven families of Brahmins were left who could not afford to leave their native land. Such repressive policy was later on revoked by this great ruler Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

25. *JRT*, 1077.

26. *ZRT*, 1, 5, 58.

tax, permitting the practice of pilgrimage to various places of pilgrimages and repairing the devastated Hindu temples and shrines again, he gave a tangible proof of his secular outlook and administrative policies. He always respected the sentiments of people belonging to other faiths. Being a born genius he had an ample capacity and aptitude for undertaking various public works—establishing of numerous towns and *Puras*, constructing bridges, improving various arts and encouraging artisans and craftsmen, are a few instances of his programmes of all round economic development. Some of the canals dug out during his regime in various districts of Kashmir are still in satisfactory working conditions and serve the purpose as a means of irrigation. The excellent irrigation facilities innovated and provided by him boosted agricultural production as the major portion of wasteland also was brought under cultivation. These and other numerous qualities of this beneficent ruler earned a name for him as *Budshāh* (the great king) from his subjects, by which he is still remembered in Kashmir. Śrīvara highlights the virtues of this king by saying that his Brahman subjects were generally devoted to the study of six schools of philosophy without any fear or restraint. He is of the opinion that with the death of this liberal ruler, the ethical code totally disappeared from the land and that the misdeeds of the subjects, led to their own destruction. The value of the high ideal of such a liberal king, was neither realised during his life time, nor after his death.

Śrīvara's chronicle presents a graphic picture of all round deterioration of political, economic and social order based on justice, religious fore-bearance, communal harmony and mutual sympathy and understanding. All that was in shambles within no time. All literary organisations, Sultān's personal collection of rare and valuable manuscripts both in Sanskrit and Persian, congregation of experienced men of letters, shaped and moulded by the Sultān himself, throughout his life, became mere dreams within a very short span of one year after his death along with all his secular policies. Just after his demise the entire set up of the governmental machinery was abruptly changed from top to bottom. Haidar Shāh, the son and successor of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin under the vivious influence of a barber *Purṇa*<sup>27</sup> by name, completely turned into a drunken debauch and forgot all his obligations towards the country and the subjects. As a result of his weak policies the corrupt government officers too got a free hand in practising

27. *Ibid*, 2, 33.

their sinister designs of exploiting the innocent and poor subjects irrespective of the considerations of caste and creed. Their perpetual brutalities, scandalous excesses and extreme high-handedness destroyed the entire social, economic and political structure of the society. To be more precise, in the opinion of Śrīvara, the period of the rule of Sultān Haidar Shāh from 1470 to 1472 AD was a period of total chaos, confusion and political turmoil. Considering his behaviour even in the life time of his father, nothing better could be expected of him.

Although the period of Sultān Hassan Shāh (1472-1486 AD), son and successor of Sultān Haidar Shāh, showed some encouraging signs of socio-economic improvement in the country, for which his prime minister Ahmed Yattu<sup>28</sup> was responsible to a considerable extent, yet the dissidents and disruptionist tendencies could not be held down for long. As a result of their sinister machinations, the war with Behrām Khān, the king's uncle, conflict with Tātār Khān the then governor of the Punjab, and above all the disastrous fire of 1479 AD followed by the clash between Ahmad Yattu and Tāzi Bhatta, both his ministers, caused again a good deal of political unrest and economic instability in the country.

Śrīvara, as a true and impartial historian, seems to have been quite conscientious in locating the right place where actually the blame lay. He does not hold the Sultāns responsible for generating chaotic conditions in the country because other disruptionist groups always contributed to it. Such fanatic groups under the pretext of Islamisation of the state actually wanted to wield a dominating influence over Sultāns and thus derive maximum benefits from them for their own self. They never allowed political or social stability in the state, as it did not suit them. For instance, according to Śrīvara's estimate the regency of the power thirsty Sayyids<sup>29</sup> too was no less responsible for generating chaotic conditions throughout the kingdom. To gain their ends they developed matrimonial connections with Sultān. Thus having gained an unbridled domination over ruler, and an upper hand in the policy matters, those zealots let loose a reign of terror in the name of service to their faith. While doing so they unscrupulously over-rode all considerations of state craft, political wisdom and sanity. "The power intoxicated Sayyids," says<sup>30</sup> Śrīvara, "regarded the acceptance of bribes a necessity and a virtue, all round oppression

28. *Ibid.*, 3, 350.

29. *ZRJT*, 3, 350.

30. *Ibid.*, 3, 437.

a political expedience, and unscrupulous addiction to women and wine an amusement." They however, sought power by any means, but while playing the role of king-makers they completely failed to maintain the social and moral values.

Śrīvara has given a painful description of the sufferings of poor subjects during the concluding years of the reign of Sultān Hassan Shāh. Charmed, as it were, by the stratagem of Sayyids, the weak willed king had left his affairs in the hands of his queen Hayāt Khātūn and her maternal clan of Sayyids.<sup>31</sup> "Seeing the kingdom virtually being ruled by women," says Śrīvara, "all alike plunged into deep sorrow, were seen muttering the following words sarcastically:

"'A country<sup>32</sup> which has no leader at all or has minor ones at the helm of affairs, or has the leadership resting with women or has too many leaders, surely gets destroyed'."

The socio-economic conditions of the entire country which was already in the process of deterioration after the demise of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn further worsened with the death of Sultān Hassan Shāh and the installation of his 7 year<sup>33</sup> old son who incidentally happened to be the daughter's son of the Sayyids, as his successor under the title of Sultān Mohammad Shāh. Such a situation was the result of their selfish manipulation<sup>34</sup> much against the dying wishes of Sultān Hassan Shāh, in which he had entreated his ministers to install Fateh Shāh, his cousin and the son of Ādam Khān as the Sultān of Kashmir after his death. By doing this they entrenched themselves into a council of regency disregarding the interests of the state or the common subjects; and by doing this they merely strengthened the roots of bigotry. "During the tenure of this child-Sultān", says Śrīvara,<sup>35</sup> "anarchy beyond description engulfed the entire kingdom. The royal writ did not run and unscrupulous panders filled their chests with the booty acquired from their profession of pillage. All routes of communication<sup>36</sup> on both sides of river Jhelum were either totally cut off or were quite unsafe for travelling due to the constant tug-of-war for power and continuous strifes between the rival forces of both Sultān Mohammad Shāh and Fateh Shāh. This long drawn civil war

31. *Ibid*, 3, 436-470.

32. *Ibid*, 3, 474-475.

33. *ZRJT*, 4, 3.

34. *Ibid*, 4, 1.

35. *Ibid*, 4, 230.

36. *Ibid*, 4, 231.

adversely affected the economic structure of the entire land. The soldiers of both the sides billeted themselves on towns and villages and thus reduced the entire population of the kingdom to the state of beggary."<sup>37</sup>

Regarding the social structure of the Kashmiri people in the times of Śrīvara, the following points attract our attention:

In fact this period appears to have been a transitional one in which various tribal sections like the Khashas, the Darads, the Turushkas, the Rājputras and the like were settling down into a well-organised Kashmiri society and slowly loosing their age old tribal affinities. On the other hand the original Kashmiris were divided into numerous classes and groups like the Thākuras, the Dāmaras, the Pratihāras, the Mārgēśas, the Tantrins, the Lāvaṇyas, the Dombas, the Nāyakas and so on. In the beginning these sections of the society too shared most of the tribal characteristics but with the passage of time they were themselves absorbed and assimilated as warriors and agriculturists in an agrarian economy. Strictly speaking they did not belong to any well-defined social organisation. In the gradual process of conversion most of the sections like Dāmaras, Lāvaṇyas, Dombas, Tāntrins etc. accepted the Islamic faith *en masse*. Presumably the Brāhmanas alone constituted a well-defined social unit at the time but they were also divided into various castes and subcastes. There were as many as 24 sub-castes of Brāhmaṇas existing in Kashmir which are mentioned in the *Loka-Prakāśa*.

The Muslims too were divided into Shia and Sunni sections. The Chaks were Shias while the rest professed the Sunni faith. The Sūfis, the Ṛsis, the Darveshas, the Pirs etc. were emerging in Kashmir to replace the original sacerdotal order of the land. The neo-convert to Islam, despite their embracing the new faith, still adhered to the old Hindu traditions of worship and original Hindu customs. Even Sultān Sikandar's iconoclastic zeal had not succeeded in wiping off the practice of idol worship completely from the land. Not only this but many idols were again restored during the period of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. He himself observed and participated in almost all the Hindu festivals. He frequently visited the holy shrine at Vijeśwara and made a pilgrimage to the holy Śārada, Amarnath Cave and Viṣṇupāda. He, and in some cases his successors too, continued the age old practice of participating in Festival of Lamps, the Spring Flower Festival, Nāgayātrā, the Vitastā Festival and the like.

Besides, Buddhism too had not completely died out from the land. We come across a reference in the chronicle about the construction of a *vihāra* (a Buddhist monastery) by Sayya-Bhāṇḍapati at Vijayeśwara, during the period of Hassan Shāh 1472-1484 AD.<sup>38</sup> The Buddha, the Sangha and Tripitakas are also referred to there.

There was another faction known as Yogīs. Śrīvara does not seem to have been fully acquainted with the exact nature of their occult practice. He casually makes a mention of the free use of three *aślilas* (obscenities) as a part and parcel of their particular Tāntric practice. They were thousands in number and inhabited the surroundings of Manshāl Lake. Such factions of the society had diverse social organisations which always struggled for an upper hand in all state matters.

The rulers, of course barring Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn (Budshāh), equally succumbed to the enchanting influence of their seraglios. Śrīvara is perfectly correct in pointing out that a kingdom virtually ruled by women perishes within no time.<sup>39</sup>

Addiction to liquor appears to have been a common vice of the day. We come across a reference in the chronicle about the free use of drinks by the people.<sup>40</sup> Even the rulers like Haidar-Shāh, Hassan Shāh etc. were inveterate drunkards who at the time of drinking enjoyed the company of even their servants and particularly accepted the globlets from the hands of beautiful female dancers.

The belief in omens was a common phenomenon both among Hindus and Muslims. When child Sultān Mohammad Shāh, after his consecration was asked to place his hand on anything of his liking, he suddenly placed it on a bow<sup>41</sup> and the augurs prophesied that his reign would be a period of wholesale strifes. Firya Dāmara once refused to fight for Ādam Khān against his father Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn mainly on the ground that the omens<sup>42</sup> were not favourable. The sight of a meteor at night, the outbreak of a famine due to a dust storm, the untimely barking of dogs, the occurrence of lunar and solar eclipse in the same fortnight, the shrieking of an owl, the twins born to a mare, the birth of a kitten from a bitch, the breaking of stirrups etc. were unfailingly taken as bad omen

38. ZRJT, 3, 204-205.

39. *Ibid*, 3, 474-75.

40. *Ibid*, 1, 3, 74.

41. *Ibid*, 4, 4-5.

42. *Ibid*, 1, 1, 106.

equally by all.<sup>43</sup> The neoconverts even contributed to the belief that cow slaughter led to the destruction of *viḥārs* and the city by fire.<sup>44</sup> The great fire of Parihāsapura was attributed to the construction of slaughter houses in it.

Both Hindus as well as Muslims had a firm belief in evil spirits too. The death of Sultān Haidar Shāh was ascribed equally by both the communities to the emergence of a *Vetāla*—the vampire from a high column.<sup>45</sup>

Divorcing marriage partners was common among all sections of society except, of course, the Brāhmaṇas. The latter, however, succumbed to the practice of giving excessive dowry in terms of kind and cash to their daughters, failing which the repudiation of brides could not be ruled out. The desertion of brides in both cases was, perhaps, considered a sort of punishment to fathers for the alleged misconduct of their daughters. The legal documents namely *Parityāga-Chirikas*<sup>46</sup> and *Vākyottāṅkana-Chirikas*<sup>47</sup> illustrated in the *Loka-Prakāśa* bear testimony to this fact.

Śrīvara gives a vivid account of the class antagonism too prevalent in those days particularly between the Kashmiris and the non-Kashmiris. The Sayyids, for instance, virtually being non-Kashmiris, alienated totally the Kashmiris and formed a coterie of their own.<sup>48</sup> This led to a protracted struggle between the Sayyids (non-Kashmiris) and the Kashmiris. The chronicler gives a detailed account of the uprisings of Sayyids and Fateh Khān. The latter enjoyed the boundless support of Kashmiris<sup>49</sup> because of his being a Kashmiri himself, while Sultān Mohammad Shāh, born of Sultān Hassan Shāh and his beloved queen Hayāt Khātūn (whose father was a Sayyid), became a symbol for the Sayyids to claim power and authority.

This sort of social antagonism, pulls and counterpulls, were bound to lead to a prolonged socio-political crisis and the continued exploitation of poor subjects. As a result of the prolonged strifes among the contenders to the throne time and again, the entire movable property was, so to say, destroyed and the people were repeatedly deprived of even their essential belongings, mercenaries of the warring groups. On the other hand the evil minded Khaśa

43. *ZRJT*, Passim, 2, 114, 118.

44. *Ibid.*, 3, 271.

45. *Ibid.*, 2, 202.

46. *Loka Prakāśha*, p 49.

47. *Ibid.*, p 32, KSS edition.

48. *ZRJT*, 3, 534.

49. *Ibid.*, 4, 409.



robbers always robbed the main towns and localities. Both men and women were deprived of their garments even, without any scruple and in that anarchy the strong killed the weak. The poor became rich with the might of their arms while the rich became beggars. "The blossoming trees and the murmuring brooks, the warbling notes of cuckoo changed into decaying, dry and mute notes", says Śrīvara, "what does not the change of the time accomplish?" In this transition, common subjects looked at the whole thing as helpless spectators. The vitality of helpless Kashmiris was sapped by the frequent attack of the armies of rival Sultāns which mostly included the merciless Khaṣa and Mādra hooligāns and professional looters and rioters. The Sultān seems to have continued the earlier practice of donating the cultivable land, forcibly taken away from its real owners on any pretext, to their favourite civil and military officers. The Chaka chieftains enjoyed the entire revenue of a village situated in Pargana Kamraz, while the other chieftains, whom they considered as refractories, were deprived of their land holdings, which were already in their possessions.<sup>50</sup> In the agrarian economy of Kashmir the grain dealers purchased paddy and other grains at very low prices and after hoarding it for sometime in their hidden godowns sold at very dear rates to the poor consumers<sup>51</sup> in the times of scarcity, which was some times artificially created. It was only Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn who detected the mischief of such hoarders and recovered such hoarded stocks of paddy and other grains and distributed all those among poor subjects at reasonable prices.<sup>52</sup> He got the edible oils extracted from walnuts and sal trees for people's consumption when an acute scarcity of such oils was created by such hoarders.

For the transaction in cash the currency in vogue during the Sulṭnate was *dwidināri*,<sup>53</sup> a lead coin equivalent to two old *dinārs* which were in vogue during the period of King Toramāṇa. The old copper coin equivalent to 25 old *dinārs* was devalued. *Kākini*, ie, a cowrie, was also a form of currency and was valued at one-fourth of a *paṇa*. Besides, there were silver and gold coins also in common use.

Śrīvara leaves us in no doubt that with the coming of Shāh Mīr (1339 AD) following the invasion of Dulchi (1313 AD) foreigners had started immigrating into Kashmir, where the political, social

50. ZRJT, 1, 1, 40.

51. *Ibid*, 1, 1, 116.

52. *Ibid*, 1, 2, 31-32.

53. ZRJT, 3, 211-12.

and economic conditions had already become deplorable. A wave of such foreigners came from Khurāsān, Turkistān and other frontier regions. The Sultāns of Kashmir always needed their support in a land where they, along with their supporters, formed an insignificant minority at that time and had no appreciable base. The entry of such immigrants, however led to their deep involvement in dynastic feuds and intensified class struggle. As a result of such involvement of Sayyids the Kashmiris felt bewildered and suffered religious and other types of persecution of which we come across numerous instances in the times of Sultān Sikandar Shāh (the iconoclast) and 'Alī Shāh. The contenders scrambled to get the throne and the immigrants wrangled for the choicest estates. Consequently, the continued economic exploitation caused immense suffering to the people. The intermittent wars of succession between various political heads and parties further added to their miseries.

In short both Joṇa Rāja and Śrīvara have concurred on the point that, barring a few exceptional examples, throughout the entire period of Sultanate in Kashmir the regime of celebrated Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn only was in true sense a period of real political, social and economic progress of the country. During this period the peace and prosperity prevailed on all sides. His concern for the general welfare ushered in an era of peace in which the common people could observe their marriage ceremonies, dramatic performances, religious practices and pilgrimages on festive occasions without any fear or curbs. The Sultān seems to have atoned for the sins of his predecessors by establishing a monastery (*khānqāh*) with the purpose of providing shelter and comfort to the holy men.<sup>54</sup>

In spite of all this the impartial study of later *Rāja Taranginīs* from Joṇa Rāja to Śuka clearly indicates a deep rooted feature of courtesy, brotherhood and co-existence amongst the Kashmiris. This was undoubtedly an essential aspect of the age old Kashmiri culture which to some extent still continues. Despite the perverse influences of religious and political hypocrites from time to time, this could never be shaken or suppressed totally. Even now a Kashmiri, whether a Hindu or Muslim is possessed of the noble sentiments and high ideals, toleration and mutual respect which come down to them from their rich cultural past. Most probably this has been the sole binding factor which has kept Kashmiris

united even in adverse circumstances and enforced them to maintain a special cultural atmosphere for which the land of Kashmir is well-known throughout the centuries.

*Shri Parmanand Research Institute* PROFESSOR N. K. GUNRTOO  
*11/111, Bridge, Srinagar, Kashmir*



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS USED	NAMES OF THE BOOKS
<i>AINAK</i>	<i>Āin-i-Akbarī</i> (Abul Fazal)
<i>PARMU</i>	<i>A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir</i> (Dr A. K. Parmu)
<i>KAPUR</i>	<i>A History of Mediaveval Kashmir</i> (Dr M. L. Kapur)
<i>BAMZAI</i>	<i>A History of Kashmir</i> (P. N. K. Bamzai)
<i>ANGK</i>	<i>Ancient Geography of Kashmir</i> (Cunningham)
<i>KAK</i>	<i>Ancient Monuments of Kashmir</i> R. C. Kak
<i>Amksh</i>	<i>Amara Koṣa</i>
<i>BGVT</i>	<i>Bhagavad Gītā</i>
<i>BHRSH</i>	<i>Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi</i>
<i>BGVT</i>	<i>Badauni- (Abdul Qadir) Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>
<i>Firishia</i>	<i>Farishia</i> (Mohammad Qāsim)
<i>ANK</i>	<i>Geography of J &amp; K State</i> (Anand Kaul)
<i>HTCP</i>	<i>Hitopadeśa</i>
<i>SI-YU-KI</i>	<i>Hsüan-Tsang</i> (Si-Yu-Ki)
<i>TAHAS</i>	<i>Hassan (Pir Ghulam Hassan) Tarikha</i>
<i>JKST</i>	<i>Jammu and Kashmir State</i> (Dr M. L. Kapur)
<i>JRJT</i>	<i>Joṇa Rāja's Rājataranginī</i>
<i>MASSH</i>	<i>Kashmir under Sultāns</i> (Dr Mohibul Hassan)
<i>LOPR</i>	<i>Loka Prakāśa</i> (Kṣemendra)
<i>MBHRT</i>	<i>Mahābhārata</i>
<i>MSMRT</i>	<i>Manu Smṛti</i>
<i>NLMT</i>	<i>Nilamata Purāṇa</i>
<i>PT</i>	<i>Pañca Tantra</i>
<i>KRJT</i>	<i>Rājataranginī</i> (Kalhaṇa)
<i>SHRJT</i>	<i>Rājataranginī</i> (Śuka)
<i>VLMN</i>	<i>Rāmāyaṇa</i> (Vālmiki)
<i>RGV</i>	<i>R̥gveda</i>

<b>SRJT</b>	<i>Rājatarāṅgiṇī</i> (English translation, Dr Stein)
<b>VVRI</b>	<i>Rājatarāṅgiṇī</i> (VVRI, Edition)
<b>MW</b>	<i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> (Monier Williams)
<b>SHBDKL</b>	<i>Śabdakalpadruma</i>
<b>SIVSU</b>	<i>Śiva Sūtra</i>
<b>TABAQ</b>	<i>Tabaqāt-i-Akbari</i>
<b>VICHRT</b>	<i>Vikramāṅka Devacaritam</i> (Bilhana)
<b>VSPRN</b>	<i>Viṣṇu Purāṇa</i>
<b>VACHPT</b>	<i>Vācaspatyam</i>
<b>ZRJT</b>	<i>Zaina Rājatarāṅgiṇī</i> (Śrīvara)

# CONTENTS

<i>Introduction</i>	v-xxiii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxv-xxvi
<b>WAVE I</b>	<b>1-337</b>
Canto I	1
Canto II	88
Canto III	104
Canto IV	158
Canto V	181
Canto VI	227
Canto VII	239
<b>WAVE II</b>	<b>338-411</b>
<b>WAVE III</b>	<b>412-580</b>
Canto III	412
<b>WAVE IV</b>	<b>581-761</b>





## WAVE I<sup>1</sup>, CANTO<sup>2</sup> I

### VERSE 1: BENEDICTORY STANZA

शिवायास्तु<sup>3</sup> नमस्तस्मै त्रैलोक्यैकमही<sup>4</sup> भुजे ।  
अशेष<sup>5</sup> क्लेश<sup>6</sup> निर्मुक्तनित्यैश्वर्यदशाजुषे<sup>7</sup> ॥ १ ॥

I bow to that Super-consciousness called Śiva, the sole undisputed sovereign of the three worlds, who is free of all afflictions and above mundane existence, who is the giver of perennial joy and has enslaved the ten senses.

#### Notes

1. The chronicle has been named *River of Kings*, the epithet used by Kalhaṇa for the first time. Wave is an inalienable part of the river, and therefore the sections of cantos have been captioned as waves.

Usually every Sanskrit composition commences with a prayer for its unhindered completion. It is technically termed as *Nāṇḁi* or *Maṅgala Śloka* — benedictory stanza.

2. Vide colophon of each canto; see also verse 18 infra.

3. According to monistic Śaivism of Kashmir 'Śiva' is supreme consciousness — *Śiva Sūtra* III, 25; Śrīvara seems to be an ardent votary of Śaivism.

4. The three worlds — the heaven, the earth and the nether world, or the three paths known as desire, preception and action in Kashmiri Śaivism.

5. Literally without any reminder, full; in philosophy taken as perfection incarnate.

6. Literally afflictions. In Yogic parlance such afflictions emanate from ignorance, egoism, attachment, avarice and mundane existence.

7. The ten senses — five each of action and perception respectively taken together it can mean revelling in the perennial state of bliss also.

### VERSE 2: BENEDICTORY STANZA

प्रेम्णार्धे वपुषो क्लोक्वयमिलितं देव्या समं स्वामिनो  
मौलौ यस्य निशापतिर्नगसु<sup>1</sup> तावेणी<sup>2</sup> निशामिश्रितः ।  
आस्ते स्वाध्यनुवर्तनार्थमिव तत् कृत्वा वपुः खण्डितं  
देवाद<sup>3</sup> द्वयभावनां स भगवान् देवोऽर्धनारीश्वरः<sup>4</sup> ॥ २ ॥

May that blessed lord, half female and half male, who out of excessive love for his spouse, has joined her in his own body

(representing the union of Śakti and Śiva) and on whose crest, intertwined in the jet black hair of the daughter of the Himālayas, rests the moon, and who in turn imitating his master, has dissected his own body, grant us the boon of the perception of non-duality.

#### Notes

1. Daughter of the mountains means Pārvatī, spouse of Śiva.
2. It may mean the Gaṅgā also, the source of which is the Himālayas. The simile used here is most effective as well as appropriate. The parting of the hair of ladies is marked by a thin white line; water of the Gaṅgā is also supposed to be white. The jet-black hair like the night will indicate the matted locks of Śiva through which the Gaṅgā flows.
3. Means non-dual, which has no second. Herein the monistic beliefs pertinent to Kashmiri Śaivism are alluded to.
4. The lord, half male and half female — Śiva, the subliminal spirit and Śakti, the primordial spirit — fused into one.

#### VERSE 3: TRIBUTE TO ILLUSTRIOUS PREDECESSORS

वंद्यास्ते<sup>1</sup> राजकवयः पदन्यासमनोहराः ।  
ख्याता ये सरसेः<sup>2</sup> शब्दैः क्षीरनीरविवेकिनः ॥ ३ ॥

The princes amongst the poets are fit to be adored, whose command over letters is heart-captivating; who can tell water from milk and whose fame is established by virtue of their having used the words replete with aesthetic pleasure.

#### Notes

1. Herein Śrīvara pays compliment to his predecessors of repute. The "princes amongst poets" can be construed as court poets also, the author enjoyed the same position with the Buḍḡhāh.
2. *Rasa* in Sanskrit has variety of meanings. In the context of poetry it conveys aesthetic pleasure.
3. Like the proverbial king-swan who can distinguish and separate water from milk.

#### VERSE 4

अनित्य<sup>1</sup>तान्ध करेऽस्मिन् स्वामि<sup>2</sup>शून्ये महीतले ।  
काव्यदीपं विना कः स्याद् भूत<sup>3</sup>वस्तुप्रकाशकः ॥ ४ ॥

In this world devoid of a cohesive force in the shape of a king, resulting in fleeting dark-ages, only the lamp of poetry can illumine the facts of the past.

## Notes

1. The dark ages in the history of a country cannot be properly described. The poets unravel these by their penetrating historical acumen.
2. The king is always looked upon as a unifying force for the country over which he rules.
3. It can also connote "bringing to light living beings and things".

## VERSE 5

येषां क्तोमि वपुरस्थिरमत्र रज्ञां  
 तेषामयं जगति कीर्तिमयं शरीरम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
 आकल्पवर्ति कुरुते किमितीय ऐषाद्  
 घाताहरद् ध्रुवमतः कविजोन<sup>2</sup> रजम् ॥ ५ ॥

Even though I am going to describe the kings having a transitory life, yet I make them live with their glory up to the day of reckoning; perhaps being cross with the poet Jona Rāja for immortalising the splendourous bodies of the kings, the destiny, for sooth, snatched him.

## Notes

1. The poets immortalise the glory of kings, even if they are mortal by themselves.
2. For undergoing the scheme of death ordained by the destiny, the poet Jona Rāja was despatched to the other world. Jona Rāja had penned down the history of Kashmir from AD 1128 till the first eleven years of the Budmah's rule.

## VERSE 6: DATE OF JONA RĀJA'S DEATH

श्रीजोनरजविबुधः कुर्यन् रज'तरंगिणीम्  
 सायक'ग्निमिते वर्षे शिव सायुज्य<sup>3</sup> मासदत् ॥ ६ ॥

So, the learned Jona Rāja while composing his *River of Kings* had to become one with Śiva in the thirty-fifth year (of the Saptarṣi calendar).

## Notes

1. Jona Rāja, according to Śrīvara, was cut short in his life leaving his chronicle incomplete.
2. Śrīvara gives the definite year of Jona Rāja's death which is thirty-fifth year of the local Kashmiri calendar called Saptarṣi Samvat. It is equivalent to AD 1459. सायकः = arrows. The cupid has five arrows and hence the word signifies 5. अग्निः = fire. There are three fires and hence it stands for 3. In Sanskrit the first figure is placed on the right hand and the subsequent figures on the left and therefore the number is 35 and not 53 or anything else.

3. According to Śaivas, death is intimate union with Śiva, immanence fusing into transcendence; *Śiva Sūtra*, III, 34.

#### VERSE 7: SELF INTRODUCTION

शिष्योऽस्य जोनराजस्य सोऽहं श्रीवरपण्डितः ।  
राजा 'वलीग्रन्थशेषापूरणं कर्तुमुद्यतः ॥७॥

I am that very Pandit Śrīvara, the disciple of Joṇa Rāja who has taken upon himself to complete the history of Kings (composed by Jona Rāja) up to date.

##### Note

1. Completing the story of the 'line of Sultans'.

#### VERSE 8: HUMILITY

क्व काव्यं मदगुरोस्तस्य क्व च मन्दमतेर्मम ।  
वर्णमात्रेणा मक्कोलं घनसारायते कथम् ॥८॥

The poetic prowess of my preceptor (Joṇa Rāja) is far greater than of mine, as my intellect is not as sharp as his. How can the similarity of white colour convert chalk into camphor?

##### Note

1. In the tradition of Indian culture, humility has been the forte with all the talented men of letters. Even Kālidāsa has expressed the same sentiments, while composing his *Raghu Vamśa* I, 2, 3.

#### VERSE 9: HISTORIAN AND NOT A POET

राजवृत्तानुरोधेन न काव्यगुणं वाञ्छया  
सन्तः शृण्वन्तु मदवाचः स्वधिया योजयन्तु च ॥९॥

While yoking their intellect, the noble-minded should listen to my words only to learn about the history of kings and not in the hope of finding excellence of poetic composition in them.

##### Note

1. Śrīvara does not make any tall claims for being a poet of excellence, but would like to remain a chronicler only.

## VERSE 10: VERIFIED MEDIUM ONLY MEANS TO AN END

अथवा नृपवृत्तान्तस्मृतिहेतुरयं श्रमः ।

क्रियते ललितं कव्यं कुर्वन्त्येऽपि पण्डिताः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १० ॥

Or else, I have been engaged in this labour simply to make the people remember the history of kings; others, the learned, are at liberty to compose embellished poetry—a fine art as it is.

## Note

1. The medium of poetry adopted by Śrīvara is only a means to an end.

## VERSE 11: GRATITUDE TOWARDS BUĎSHĀH

तत्तद्गुणगणादानात् स्वसम्पत्तिसमर्पणात् ।

पुत्रवद्भर्षितो राजा ग्रामहेमाद्यनुग्रहैः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ११ ॥

By bestowing a host of virtues on me, by showering his riches over me, He, the Sultān, has treated me like his son, by showering grants of villages and gold on me.

## Note

1. Śrīvara is all gratitude for Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidin for the generosity shown to him.

VERSE 12: THE REASON FOR PENNING DOWN  
THE CHRONICLE

अतो वाञ्छन्मेयस्य तत्प्रसादस्य निष्कृतिम् ।

सोऽहं ब्रवीमि तद्वृत्तं तद्गुणाकृष्टमानसः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १२ ॥

Hence, with desire to require his benefactions, and being attracted by his virtues, I would like to pen down his narrative.

## Note

1. Śrīvara would like to reciprocate the benevolence of the Sultān towards him by composing annals of his beneficent rule.

## VERSE 13

एकया तद्गुणाख्यानं जिह्या वर्णयति कियत् ।

रोमवत् कोटिशश्चेत् स्युस्तास्तदा तद्गिरिः क्षमाः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १३ ॥

How can only one tongue do full justice to the saga of his virtues?  
My muse will only be able to describe it in full, when it (tongue)  
gets multiplied by crores, like the pores on the body.

*Notes*

1. The poet realizes his inadequacy and suggests that if all the pores of his body start singing the praise of the Sultān, only then, may be, it is possible to do justice to the saga of the Sultān's virtues.

VERSE 14: POET'S HUMILITY

सत्यं नृपा'म्बरेऽमुष्मिन् विपुले विमलाशये ।  
गुणतार'परिच्छेदे' न शक्ता भारती मम ॥ १४ ॥

For sooth, my speech is unable to count precisely the number  
of his myriad virtues, like the countless stars twinkling in the huge  
expanse of the clear blue sky of the king of unblemished disposition  
of mind.

*Notes*

1. The Sultān has been likened to an expansive and spotless sky. It can also connote "The King encompassing extensively emancipated disposition of mind in himself."

2. His, the Sultān's, virtues are as countless as the stars studded in the sky. The poet cannot distinguish between the number on superiority or the inferiority of these virtues. These are all alike, hence he feels bewildered in fixing priorities.

VERSE 15: BREVITY IS USED

तथापि सकलं'चित्र पटान्ते त्रिजगद्यथा ।  
श्री जैनोल्ला'धदीनस्य न्यस्यामि गुणवर्णनम् ॥ १५ ॥

Even then, I take upon myself to narrate the virtues of Śrī  
Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, squeezing all the three worlds completely on the  
variegated canvas of a picture, as it were.

*Notes*

1. Śrīvara tries to convey that the narrative of the Sultān is so very huge that brevity is the only expedient to highlight it. Otherwise it may cover volumes after volumes.

2. The name owned by the Sultān after ascending the throne. The Sanskritized form used by Śrīvara is Jainollābhādīna and not the Persian and correct form Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

VERSE 16: ADDITIONAL REASONS FOR TAKING UP  
THIS ASSIGNMENT

केनापि<sup>1</sup> हेतुना तेन प्रोक्तं मद्गुरुणा न यत् ।  
तच्चेववर्तिनीं वाणीं करिष्यामि यथामति ॥ १६ ॥

For reasons not patently intelligible, where my preceptor (Jona Rāja) has chosen to be reticent on many points; I shall try to fill in such gaps according to my talent.

*Note*

1. Here Śrīvara clearly refers to that period of Budshāh's reign which has been covered by Jona Rāja—the first eleven years of the Sultān's rule. In verse 6th Śrīvara has said that he would complete the chronicle written by Jona Rāja as the latter was snatched away by death leaving his history incomplete. So Śrīvara has assigned double duty to himself, filling the gaps in Jona Rāja's chronicle and also completing it.

VERSE 17: BOTH THE SULTĀN AND HIS SON PRAISED

सात्मजस्य<sup>1</sup> नृपस्यास्य प्राप्यते राज्यवर्णनात् ।  
प्रतिष्ठादानसम्मानं विधानगुणनिष्कृतिः ॥ १७ ॥

By describing the rule of the Sultān along with that of his son, I shall feel relieved in paying back what I owe to them in lieu of their bestowing on me a status in the society, and their charitable disposition towards me.

*Note*

1. Here Śrīvara has referred to the power that prince Haiderashāh wielded during the life of his father. He (Śrīvara) could not afford to ignore the heir-apparent under whose patronage he had to remain after the death of the elder Sultān. It might also convey that among the warring princes, Haider was alone in being on the side of his father—Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. Consequently he was very dear to the Sultān and would give him helping hand in running the government efficiently. Therefore, Śrīvara would like to say that the father and the son jointly were running the government and both were benevolent towards him—their royal chronicler.

VERSE 18: LIGHT AND SHADE DESCRIBED  
IN THIS CHRONICLE

स्वदु<sup>1</sup> गदृष्टमृता<sup>2</sup> नेकविपद्भिभवसंस्पृतेः ।  
सूते कस्य न वैराग्यं नाम जैनतरङ्गिणी<sup>3</sup> ॥ १८ ॥

Having seen with my own eyes the end of many and more, recapitulating the hide and seek of penury and opulence, in whom

will not this *Zaina Rājataranginī* engender the attitude of renunciation towards the world?

#### Notes

1. Here Śrīvara testifies to the fact explicitly that he has been an eye witness to all that has been recorded in the chronicle.
2. One Sultān going out and the other coming in.
3. The title given to this chronicle *The Zaina Rājataranginī* has been made all the more clear here. Jona Rāja or even Kalhaṇa did not confine their accounts to a particular king, consequently naming them *Rājataranginī*, only, but Śrīvara prefixes the name of Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidin with the title of his historical composition since his aim is to bring to light the period pertaining to Budshāh's rule only. His successors have also been treated by him more or less as his satellites, dwarfed by his towering personality. Cf. Vs. 7, 12, 16, etc. Even then the title sounds very appropriate.

#### VERSE 19: SULTĀN'S EXPLOITS AS A PRINCE

श्रीजैनोत्ताभदीनः स हत्वा शत्रुन् दिगन्तरे<sup>१</sup> ।  
आगत्य पैतृके देशे राज्यं राम<sup>२</sup> इवासदत् ॥ १९ ॥

Ever fortunate Jainollābhadina having put to sword his enemies outside his country and repairing to his ancestral land donned the mantle of the Sultān like (king) Rāma.

#### Notes

1. Śrīvara refers to the sojourn of Zain-ul-'Ābidin outside Kashmir, when he was driven away from here by his elder brother Ali Shāh. Zain-ul-'Ābidin got substantial help in terms of men and material from Jasrath the Lord of Khokhars and giving a fight to his elder brother, who was slain in the battle, ascended the throne second time permanently (JRRT, verses 730, 749). It can also suggest that he undertook many military expeditions in far off places.
2. Having returned to his ancestral home, refer (1) above. Comparison with Śrī Rāma is quite apt here. After slaying Rāvaṇa Śrī Rāma returned to Ayodhyā and ascended the throne.

#### VERSE 20: EULOGY OF THE SULTĀN

हृतावशिष्टां कोशेभ्यः<sup>१</sup> स्वप्रबन्धोपयोगिनीम् ।  
नानापदार्थसामग्रौ राजा कवि<sup>२</sup> रिवाचिनोत् ॥ २० ॥

The Sultān, gifted with insight, salvaged whatsoever was left in the royal treasuries, and collected countless articles, in terms of wealth and material which would stand him in good stead in the governance of the country.



The poet is also alluding to himself in as much as that he is collecting these words and phrases which are beautiful and yet have been ignored by other poets.

#### Notes

1. There is a pun in this word कोश which means a treasury as well as a lexicon.
2. Again प्रबन्धः means governance as also a poetic composition divided into cantos, narrating a continuous story.
3. पद means a post or a word, and अर्थ means riches, while पदार्थ taken together means material.
4. कवि means a person gifted with insight as also a poet. In the context of this pun, the verse can be construed as follows:  
 "The Sultān like a poet collected various words together with their meanings from the dictionaries which were available after having been destroyed so that these would conform to the tempo of his poetic narration.

#### VERSE 21: THE WIND OF HEALTHY CHANGE BEGINS TO BLOW

तद्राज्यमालिशहस्य<sup>1</sup> राज्यकालादनन्तरम्  
अज्ञायि कैर्न ग्रीष्मन्ते<sup>2</sup> मरौ श्रीखण्डलेपनम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ २१ ॥

After the (mis)rule of 'Alī Shāh, his (Zain-ul-Ābidīn's) beneficent rule was experienced by everybody as an application of cooling sandal paste on a simmering desert at the end of the dog-days of scorching summer.

#### Notes

1. The rule of 'Alī Shāh, elder brother of Shāhi Khān (Zain-ul-Ābidīn) (cf. vs. JRR7, 613-753).
2. 'Alī Shāh's tyrannical rule, tormenting like the heat of summer. The word ग्रीष्मन्ते means the "end of the summer" i.e. rainy season. Therefore a better reading would be ग्रीष्मर्तौ।
3. The Sultān's benevolent rule is compared with the sandal paste, as both are soothing, cooling and comforting.

#### VERSE 22: PUNISHMENT GIVEN TO MEET THE ENDS OF JUSTICE

धर्मराजोपमात्<sup>1</sup> तस्मात् तास्ता नरकयातनाः ।  
अपराधानुसारेण पापाः केचिद् द्विषोऽपमज्ज् ॥ २२ ॥

The Sultān like a righteous king (upholder of justice and fairplay) did punish some of his vile adversaries with severe reprisals, according to the gravity of their guilt.

## Note

1. धर्म राज actually means a 'righteous king', an upholder of virtue, justice, truth and fairplay. It also refers to Yama, who sends people to hell or heaven according to their bad or good deeds. It may also allude to Yudhishtira (a character in the *Mahābhārata*), who was also known to be a very righteous king. The Sultān was very considerate in weeding out his enemies and indicting them, according to the gravity of their guilt. Apparently the norms of justice were observed while punishing the adversaries.

## VERSE 23

यो 'द्रव्यगुण' सत्कर्म<sup>3</sup> समवाय विशेषभृत्<sup>4</sup> ।  
असामान्योऽप्यधाच्चित्रं 'नानार्थपरिपूर्णताम्' ॥ २३ ॥

He was in distinctive possession of the inseparable inherence of elementary substances like solidity etc of the characteristics of form, flavour, so on and so forth, and also of the ceaseless urge of rejection, contempt and the like, though being extra-ordinarily unequalled, yet represented their varied dimensions in fullest possible measures which seems wonderfully intriguing.

## Notes

1. Here Śrīvara has tried to project the technical terms used in *Vaiśeṣika* system of Hindu philosophy. The word *viśeṣa* at n. (4) has perhaps been used with this purpose in view. *Dravya* denotes the elementary substances of solidity (earth), liquidity (water), fire, air, ether, time, space, self and mind, nine in number according to those atomistic pluralists, the name given to *Vaiśeṣika*, by Dr Radhakrishnan in his book *The Indian Philosophy*.

2. It connotes the sensory preception of form, flavour, smell, touch etc. These have been taken as twenty four in number.

3. *Sat* means perennial, nonstop and *Karma* conveys the multitude of five urges namely rejection, contempt, contraction, expansion and motivated motion. *द्रव्य* also means 'wealth'. *गुण* means qualities or 'properties' or purpose. The real purpose of wealth is according to Indian tradition *सत्कर्म* or good deeds.

4. Unrivalled, unique. Also refer (1) above.

5. अर्थ in this system of philosophy means nomenclature, dimension etc.

Literal translation can also be attempted like this:

He, who possessed a multitude of substance, good qualities and virtuous deeds in abounding excellence, though being uncommon, yet surprised (everybody) with an undiminishing fund of wealth of various denominations.

## VERSE 24: THE SULTĀN'S GOOD FORTUNE

नेत्रोज्ज्वले लसद्भर्य्य<sup>1</sup> शब्दाद्ध्ये कमलार्चिते<sup>2</sup> ।  
यस्य <sup>3</sup>श्रीरवसन्नित्यं वदने सद्नेऽपि च ॥ २४ ॥

In whose face effulgent with the red hue of the lotus, the bright lustrous eyes, and measured, inexhaustible stores of words as also in whose palatial dwellings, with prosperity smiling over them, the shimmering silken robes and sweet persuasive speech made the goddess of good fortune, reside permanently with these (face and resemblance) respectively.

## Notes

1. These words have pun on them (a) measured, (b) fund or words;
2. Shimmering silk and persuasive speech.

Again the poet has played on the words '*Kamala*' and *Kamalā*—the former meaning lotus and the latter prosperity, affluence etc.

3. Plenty, prosperity, goddess Lakṣmi showering good-fortunes.

## VERSE 25: THE SULTĀN'S WIDESPREAD FAME

बङ्गाल<sup>१</sup> मालवा<sup>२</sup> भीर<sup>३</sup> गौड़<sup>४</sup> कर्णाट<sup>५</sup> देशगा<sup>६</sup> ।  
यत्कीर्ती रागमालेव<sup>७</sup> बभूवामृतवर्षिणी<sup>८</sup> ॥ २५ ॥

His fame and glory has spread to Bangāla, Mālavā, Ābhīra, Gauḍa and Karnāṭa(ka) regions (deśa) and this (fame and glory) like the garland of melodies (*rāgamālā*—which have been developed in these regions), showers ambrosia over him (the Sultān).

## Notes

Obviously this verse contains references to the various regions of India and the various melodies (*rāgas*) developed in these regions which usually bear names similar to the lands of their origin.

1. It points out to the region, as well as the *rāga* (probably *Bhairavī*) developed there.
2. The tract of land known as Malawa lay to the east of Avanti (Ujjain) and the north of the Godāvarī river. The *rāga* connected with this land bears the same name.
3. Originally the Ābhīras may have belonged to the Gāndhāra region, as these are mentioned as having been conquered by Alexander, but in the days of Samudragupta probably they lived somewhere in Central India. They were one of the tribes conquered by him. In the *Purāṇas* these people were said to have settled to the north of the river Tāpti. The *Manusmṛti* also has references to it. Some think that the Āhīras of today were originally the Ābhīras.
4. The *Gauḍa rāga* appears to have been forgotten today but it is still remembered in the melody named *Gauḍa Śārang* and is also referred to in books of Indian classical music.

Gauḍa was a prominent region in the days of Harṣa. This was supposed to have been the same as the Bengal. But Śrīvara talks of Bengal separately and therefore apparently the two were not synonymous in those days. Probably it comprised the districts of Murshidabad and Malda, where fine arts flourished under the patronage of the Mughal nawabs.

5. The word कर्णाट may have referred to the Kārṇāṭaka of today. The *rāga* developed there is known as *Karāṇṭi* or *kārṇāṭaka rāga*. Some take this to be an equivalent of *kanhaḍa rāga* (cf. *Saṅgīta Pārijāta*).

6. *Deśa* is the name of a melody also. The six melodies (*rāgas*) mentioned above may also point out to some musical compositions in these *rāgas* which may have been composed in his eulogy.

7. This word in the context of territories, denotes pleasure, joy, attachment etc. and in that of *rāgas*, the melody and the sweetness of music.

8. Showering nectar, or ambrosia, or immortality. We can easily infer that Śrīvara was a musician himself and knew all the finer points of the *rāgas*.

#### VERSE 26: THE SULTĀN UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF SALUTARY PLANETS

भास्वान्<sup>१</sup> राजा सदाचारो<sup>२</sup> बुधः<sup>३</sup> सधिघाणो<sup>४</sup> महान् ।

अघाद् विश्व<sup>५</sup> ग्रहा ख्यातिमासन्नस्य ग्रहोचिताम्<sup>६</sup> ॥ २६ ॥

A. The Sultān of lustrous demeanour possessed dignified conduct, was very well read, intellectually prodigious and mighty; with his delightfully pleasing perception quite at his beck and call, he earned the renown of having the world in his grip.

B. The Sultān in consequence of the auspicious movement of the planets—the Sun, the Mercury along with the Jupiter earned the reputation of having the whole galaxy of planets propitiously poised, under his thumb.

#### Notes

This verse has double meaning.

1. Under (a) it will connote effulgence, lustre; under (b) the planet Sun.
2. a) of noble conduct, behaviour, demeanour.  
b) The happy amalgam or movement.
3. a) Wise, intelligent.  
b) The planet Mercury.
4. a) Amiable perception, attitude.  
b) Along with the planet Jupiter.
5. a) Having the world at his beck and call.  
b) The entire galaxy of planets.
6. a) Pleasing attitude, understanding.  
b) Properly stationed, poised.

Here we can infer that Śrīvara besides being a poet and historiographer had command over astronomy and astrology also. As a matter of fact this Pandit combined in himself all the talents in respect of Dharmśāstras, language, rhetorics, astronomy and astrology and even medicine, as is often the case even now.

#### VERSE 27: VIRTUOUS SULTĀN

ये सभाप्य गुणाः सर्वेऽप्यलभन्धिकां श्रियम् ।

रात्रौ कुम्भवृन्दानि चिन्तामणिमिवोडुपन् ॥ २७ ॥

All the virtues having appropriated him fully attained even more excellence like the white water lilies during the night and the thought Gem (*Cintāmaṇi*) under moon light.

#### Notes

1. The white water lily said to bloom forth during the night when the moon rays touch it.

2. चिन्तामणि = A fabulous gem supposed to yield all the desires to its possessor (cf. *M.W.* 398). However, in the context of moon we may take it to be the equivalent of *Candrakāntā*—the moon stone or a gem supposed to melt away under the rays of moon. Śrīvara seems to have alluded to this stone actually.

#### VERSE 28: THE PHILOSOPHER SULTĀN

षड् दर्शन<sup>1</sup> क्रिया यस्य वृत्तं समन्वययन् ।  
सुमनोरचिताहादा ऋतवो नन्दनं<sup>2</sup> यथा ॥ 28 ॥

Faithful application of the six schools of (Indian) philosophy enriched his whole span of life like the (six) seasons with their refreshing crops of flowers embellishing the pleasure—garden of Indra.

#### Notes

1. Six schools of Indian philosophy enumerated as Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta.

2. It connotes the garden of Lord Indra. It also means gladdening, delighting, pleasing.

#### VERSE 29: STRICT ADHERENCE TO KINGLY DUTIES

त्रिवर्ग<sup>1</sup> प्रोज्ज्वलं दृष्ट्वा यस्मिंस्तद्रसिका<sup>2</sup> इव ।  
अवसञ्चुक्तयस्तिष्ठः<sup>3</sup> सममेकमता इव ॥ 29 ॥

Perceiving his clear and luminous adherence to his subliminal duty, worldly welfare and personal gratification, the three royal powers comprising his personal pre-eminence, good counsel and energy resided in him in harmonious equinimity like his sweetheart.

#### Notes

1. This term त्रिवर्ग denotes धर्म—religious or subliminal obligations; अर्थ—worldly weal, wealth, comfort; and कामः—personal gratification, wishes, desire etc. The fourth, मोक्ष—final liberation is called अपवर्ग, the corollary of त्रिवर्ग.

2. Actually denotes a lady who is adept at relishing, of good taste etc. It also means a fond beloved.

3. The three faculties are: प्रभुत्व—having his presence or eminence felt; मंत्र—of administering the Country with the due caution and good counsel and

उत्साह—possessing nerve and fortitude (cf. MW, 1044).

These three terms, प्रभु, मन्त्री and उत्साह also connote, the king, the minister and the army respectively, which are the basic ingredients of a good rule. A good king like Budshāh had all the three qualities.

#### VERSE 30: SULTĀN'S CHARITABLE DISPOSITION

भूपेऽयैः<sup>१</sup> पूरयत्यर्थि<sup>२</sup>साथै<sup>३</sup> पार्थोपमेऽन्वहम्<sup>४</sup>  
आह्लादा<sup>५</sup>र्थमिवैतस्य यशः सर्वदिशोऽगमत् ॥ ३० ॥

Day in and day out, the well meaning Sultān would overwhelm the supplicants with untold wealth, thereby taking after the son of Kuntī (Karna); for announcing this (his charitable disposition) his glory engulfed the entire regions (of the world).

#### Notes

The word *Artha* has been used by the poet five times in this verse bringing out its various dimensions.

1. Here it means wealth, riches, wherewithals for making life easier.
2. Here it connotes one who seeks, desires or begs for some gain or favour.
3. Here it conveys the meaning of being pregnant with meaning, well-meaning living up to the obligations expected of him. The word भूप used for the Sultān literally means 'the protector of the country'. Hence Budshāh by his charity and munificence made this epithet meaningful.
4. Another name of the mother of Pāṇḍavas—the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* was Prthā. Her son would be called Pārtha. However, this epithet got stuck to Arjuna alone (vide the *Bhagavad Gītā*. 'Karna' was also the son of Kuntī or Prthā and his charity knew no bounds. Hence, Śrīvara might be referring to Karna here as none of the Pāṇḍavas claimed such distinction.
5. Herein 'Artha' means with the purpose of, in order to, etc.

#### VERSE 31: DIVINE FAVOUR AVAILABLE TO THE SULTĀN

शिल्पिनो विश्वकर्माणं<sup>१</sup> गोरक्षं<sup>२</sup> योगिनां<sup>३</sup> गणाः ।  
अवतीर्णं<sup>४</sup> रसज्ञां<sup>५</sup> यं नागार्जुनमिवाविदन् ॥ ३१ ॥

Skilled architect Viśva Karman Gorakhanātha—the chief of the host of yogis, Nāgārjuna—the crown of alchemists descended (to earth in human form) and held him (the Sultān) in great esteem.

#### Notes

1. In the *Vedas* Viśva Karman has been invoked as a god who created the earth (*Rgveda*, X Sūktas 181-82); In the *Mahābhārata* he has been taken to be a Prajāpati concerned with architecture (*MBH*, Ādi Parva 60, 26-32). In *Bhāgavata* also he has been alluded to as the chief architect or town planner who designed Indraloka, Indra Prastha, Dwārikā, Hastināpur etc famous cities of yore (VI.6.15).

Herein Śrīvara tries to suggest that the Sultān had the blessings of this Divine architect in planning, designing and erecting cities etc.

2. Goraksha or Gorakhanātha is acknowledged as the originator of *hatha yoga* in India. He propagated a particular mode of *yoga* or abstract meditation attainable by the strict control of limbs e.g. standing on one leg, holding up the arms or breath etc.

Gorakhanātha was the disciple of Matsyendra Nātha called also Machhiandara. It seems that this cult of *yoga* was popular in Kashmir also, as Abhinava Gupta (AD 950 to 1020) has paid a compliment to Matseyndra Nātha in the *Tantra Loka*. The word 'Haṭhe' has been construed as 'Ha'—the Sun and 'Tha'—the Moon euphemistically representing exhalation and inhalation (cf. *Gorakṣa Paddhati*). Regulated control of vital breaths is meant by this.

3. Those who practise abstract meditation. This system of philosophy was initiated by Patañjali. Śrīvara tries to say that the Sultān patronized such *yogins*.

4. Having descended, having come down from heaven or having donned an incarnation, or physical form.

5. Proficient in alchemy (*rasa*) is meant, even though *rasa* has multidimensional purport.

6. First reference to Nāgārjuna (2nd century AD) as a historical personage is found in *KRJT*, I. Here he has been portrayed as a towering Buddhist scholar.

We come across one more Nāgārjuna (8th, 9th century AD) of the *Nātha* or the *Siddha* cult, who is reputed to have mastery over medicine and alchemy. Śrīvara has obviously referred to the second Nāgārjuna, who, it is alleged was successful in converting mercury into gold.

Buḍshāh did also practise medicine, hence Śrīvara has equated him with Nāgārjuna.

#### VERSE 32: TALENT PROPERLY HONOURED

तस्याग्रे योग्यतादर्शि यैः शिल्प 'कवि'कौशलात् ।

तथा प्रसादमकरोत् तत्परास्ते यथाभवन् ॥ ३२ ॥

Those artists and poets who demonstrated their excellence before him were duly rewarded. Thereafter they became devoted to him (the Sultān).

#### Notes

1. The artisans and artists. The Sultān needed their expert advice and actual involvement in founding cities, regulating canal system and in the promotion of fine arts, about which Śrīvara writes later.

2. The poets were also patronized and encouraged in showing their talent. Śrīvara himself was one of those.

3. Actually the Sultān desired that such people of merit in various fields should remain in Kashmir so that their talents could be indigenously exploited. He wanted to arrest brain-drain as also to attract talent from outside. Hence he patronized them, earned their pleasure by munificently rewarding them.

4. These talented prodigies also became fans of the Sultān when they realised that he had all praise and honour for them.

## VERSE 33: SULTĀN ERA FOR MUSIC

काव्यशास्त्रश्रुतैर्गीतनृत्य<sup>1</sup> तन्त्रीचमत्कृतैः<sup>2</sup> ।  
 आजीवमनयत् कालं कार्यानुद्विग्नमानसः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३३ ॥

He (the Sultān) not feeling mentally distracted at all by the onerous obligations, beguiled himself in listening to poetic compositions, religious discourses and the dazzling symphony of song, dance and flute till his last breath.

## Notes

1. *The Hitopadeśa* lays down that the people of intellect spend their time usefully in reciting or listening to poetic compositions and religious discourses. That is their pastime. The Sultān also followed in their wake. Whenever he found respite from his royal duties he devoted himself to such pursuits providing food to his soul.

2. Dance. There have always been dancing girls in Kashmir for entertaining the kings (*KRJT*, I, 51) even though such entertainment are forbidden in Islam, the Sultān enjoyed these fine arts; perhaps he did so because he was a man of taste, or to keep them alive. In later times when puritanic elements in Islam began to be more pronounced, this fine art of dancing did not die, but males took it up. These were known in the Kashmiri language as *Band-i-Jashn*.

During the Mughal rule in Kashmir this institution was again revived and such danceuses were called *Hafizās* i.e. those who gave a performance of dance with song sung from memory. Both these forms of dance and song survive even today.

3. Śrīvara wants to convey that the Sultān was never tired of doing his duty. He listened to poetry, music etc. not out of mental fatigue but simply in order to display his interest in these fine arts.

समविग्न मानसः mental distraction has also been used in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in reference to Arjuna (I,47).

VERSE 34: JUDGES ASKED TO BE FAIR  
IN DISPENSING JUSTICE

न्याय्यं कुर्वन्ति शास्त्रज्ञाः<sup>1</sup> कार्यभारं सुधीरतः ।  
 तेभ्यः क्षिप्त्वा च स्वे<sup>3</sup> धर्मे तिष्ठतेत्येवमभ्यधात् ॥ ३४ ॥

Delegating the onus of dispensing justice to those well-versed in the religious law and jurisprudence, he (the Sultān) exhorted them to adhere strictly to their official obligations.

## Notes

1. Those conversant with the scriptures. Herein the reference is obviously made to *Sharā'*, the Muslim Law. Muslim population was being governed by it. The institution of Shoid-ul-Islam was initiated simply for interpreting Muslim Law and the judges (*Qāzis*) were appointed to dispense it accordingly during the reign of Sultan Sikandar-Budshah's father (cf. *JRJT*, verse 575; *TAHS*, p 178).

2. Wedded to lofty intellectual pursuits, it might suggest those learned jurists who would dispense justice to the sections of population other than the Muslim according



to custom, usage and law of the land; the jurisprudence which was already current from the time of Hindu monarchs. It was Hindu Law based primarily on *Smrtis* and *Dharmasāstras* with local adjustments.

The Sultān functioned as the supreme court of justice in both cases. At times he even over-ruled the punishment given strictly according to Muslim Law. Once an 'Arab—Syed Saidullāh got one Yogirāja killed. The Sultān sought legal opinion regarding the punishment. He was advised to take the life of this murderer according to Mosaic indictment eye for eye etc. But the Sultān, instead made Saidullāh sit on a donkey with his face towards its tail parading him in the streets and asking people to spit at him. He did not kill him (cf, *JRJT*, verses 853-855).

3. The obligation which this office demands (cf, *The Bhagvad Gītā*).

#### VERSE 35: SULTĀN'S LOVE FOR SONG AND POETRY

अवार्यवेगैः सततमाशुगैर्यस्य<sup>1</sup> ताडिताः ।

आसन् वन दिगन्तेषु मशका इव<sup>2</sup> शत्रवः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३५ ॥

Being overawed by his (the Sultān's) perpetually on rushing torrents of musical speech, his adversaries retired to forgotten corners of the forests like mosquitos.

##### Notes

1. Here आशु can be construed as Fil-Bādi of Persian poets also composing poetry there and then when desired so. The Sultān was an adept in this form of poetry.

2. Like mosquitos or gnats whose humming presages sting. This might be a reference to such poets who also professes 'fil-bādi' but were as inferior and dreaded as the hum of a mosquito.

3. Adversaries, rivals or contenders not catching up with sweetness with which the Sultān punctuated his poetic speech. Hence, feeling ashamed they elected to retire to the fringes of forests like the mosquitos driven away from the city.

Comparison between the cuckoo-like sweet warbling of the Sultān and abominable hum of his rivals like the mosquitos has been highlighted here.

#### VERSE 36: A FULL PROOF AGENCY OF SPIES

तस्य स्व<sup>1</sup> परवृत्तान्तं<sup>2</sup> नित्यमन्विष्यतश्चरैः ।

केवलं स्वप्न<sup>3</sup> वृत्तान्तो बभूवाविदितो विशाम् ॥ ३६ ॥

The spies reported to him about the activities of his kin-folk and also of others. He was not conversant with the activities of his subjects in dreams only.

##### Notes

1. About his own near and dear ones, the members of the royal entourage. The Budshāh had already to contend with his elder brother for occupying the throne (*JRKT*, verses, 749-752).

Therefore, he had a vigilant eye over the activities of his relatives of royal blood. May be, they might have conspired against him. The Sultān revitalized his spy-system so that he was informed about it in advance and not caught napping.

2. Others, his adversaries, those who would like to pay off the scores in place of 'Ali Shāh. The survivors of the earlier Sultān 'Ali Shāh.

3. The Sultān's spy-system was so fool-proof that only the events encountered in dreams by his subjects would elude his grasp and gaze, otherwise they were an open book for him.

#### VERSE 37: SECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY

गृहं<sup>१</sup> गृहस्थवृत्तस्य ध्यायतो<sup>२</sup> नीतिशालिनः<sup>३</sup> ।  
अन्यायान्नाशकद्धतुं<sup>४</sup> ककिनीमपि<sup>५</sup> कश्चन ॥ ३७ ॥

Nobody could rob honest and well behaved householders of even a single *cowrie* under duress, not to speak of their dwelling or wife.

##### Notes

1. This word connotes a house, resident as also a 'wife'—the wife is called the dwelling गृह (cf. *PF*, iv, 81, V, 15 etc).

2. Those who are honest and know what they owe as a good citizen to the Sultān.

3. Whose conduct and behaviour is above board i.e., loyal subjects.

4. Illegally, under force, etc.

5. A *cowrie* was used as a coin, a quarter of the paisa, a denomination of ancient currency.

Here it connotes a very small and insignificant amount of money.

#### VERSE 38: THE SULTĀN PROVIDES WORK TO HIS SUBJECTS

आदिश्यं<sup>१</sup> कृष्यै वास्तव्यान्<sup>२</sup> पूवपचादीन्<sup>३</sup> स तस्करान् ।  
मृत्कर्मकारयद्<sup>४</sup> बद्धपादायः शङ्खलान्<sup>५</sup> बलात् ॥ ३८ ॥

He (the Sultān) directed those who deserved to be rehabilitated, to settle themselves on agriculture; and those low caste persons i.e. *Caṇḍālas* and robbers, were forcibly bound in chains, and forced to engage themselves in earth work.

##### Notes

1. Having ordered, having issued a proclamation.

2. Actually means those subjects of the Sultān who had no means of livelihood, nor did any have any land in their possession for cultivating it. It might connote *Nagar* of our time.

3. The *Caṇḍālas* given to despicable activities, as also other criminal tribes, highway robbers, cut-throats, etc.

4. To provide them sustenance and also diverting them from their vile callings,

the Sultān engaged them in earth work—for levelling roads, constructing dykes, etc.

This work is taken from villagers even now during the winter months on daily wages in cash or kind.

5. The Sultān got these bad characters arrested first binding their feet with iron chains forcibly to make sure that they do not run away. In this way double purpose was solved; the country got rid of such criminals and in their turn they were provided sustenance also.

#### VERSE 39: UNEMPLOYED REHABILITATED

न कः प्रवर्तते चौर्ये नीचो<sup>1</sup> वृत्तिकदर्थितः<sup>2</sup> ।

इति<sup>3</sup> कारुणिको राजा तेभ्यो वृत्तिमकल्पयत् ॥ ३९ ॥

“Anyone denied opportunities of employment does discard tenets of good conduct and takes to thieving” in view of this the compassionate Sultān provided them livelihood.

#### Notes

1. The degraded, of vile conduct, the lowest section of the population. Actually Śrīvara unfolds psychological truth by saying that anyone having nothing to fend for himself and his dependents does not refrain from taking recourse to stealing, thieving and robbing, thus turning vile. As has been said:

“The famished undertake every sin, since a destitute is always bereft of compunction” (PT).

2. Whose chances of earning a livelihood have been disdained, blocked.

3. The Sultān knew this kind of psychology of those who have nothing to support themselves with. Being wide awake and compassionate, the Sultān rehabilitated all such people. In this way also crime was reduced and the people got two square meals to keep their body and soul together without the lurking fear of thieves and robbers.

Manu has also indicated that he who does not have food for three days continuously to eat can take it away by stealing or by force for his one day meal only. It is not a cognizable offence at all according to him. (MS—XI, 16)

#### VERSE 40: CHAKS SHIFTED FROM KAMRAZ TO MARAZ

चक्रादीन्<sup>1</sup> क्रमराज्यस्थान<sup>2</sup> दुष्टान<sup>3</sup> ज्ञात्वा स तदभुवम् ।

हृत्वा मडवराज्यात्तर्दतवृत्तीन् न्यवेशयत् ॥ ४० ॥

Knowing the evil-designs of Chaks and other-denizens of Kam Raja (Mamraz), he (the Sultān) confiscated their lands providing them (alternate) occupations in ‘Maraz’ where he settled them.

#### Notes

1. Chakra connotes Chaksa clan of fighters, residents of the hilly regions of Hinduwāṭa (Handwārā). Chaks ruled Kashmir from 1554 AD to 1588 AD when Akbar the Great was successful in annexing Kashmir (TAHS, pp 271-416). Others

could connote their supporters, etc.

2. The valley of Kashmir has been divided into two political divisions—"Kām Rāja" and "Madva Rāja"—Kamraz and Maraz respectively. According to generally prevailing notion Maraz comprises districts on both sides of the Vitastā above Śrinagar and 'Kamraz' those below (*STRT*, II, pp 436).

3. Śrīvara does not spell out the reason of their being wicked. However Peer Hassan Khoyami has indicated that Paṇḍur Chak, the head of Chak tribe living at Trehgām—on seeing that Budshāh had developed the 'Zaingair' territory and would camp there often, the activities of his clan would be restricted. Hence, he burnt down the buildings constructed there, (*TAHS*, pp 271-416). Hence they were displaced by the Sultān and shifted to 'Maraz'.

#### VERSE 41: SECURITY FOR TRAVELLERS GUARANTEED

तस्क्रोपद्रवे<sup>१</sup> राज्ञा नीत्यैव<sup>२</sup> शमिते सुखम् ।  
गृहेष्विवाटवीष्वन्तः पथिकाः<sup>३</sup> शेरतेस्म हि ॥४१॥

Outrages committed by the robbers and highway men were quelled by the Sultān so tactfully that the travellers could stay in far flung forests even with the ease and comfort of their own homes.

##### Notes

1. The disturbances, scare etc. caused by the robbers on highways. They would loot and plunder the travellers coming in or going out of Kashmir. So, the travelling was not safe, thereby the trade also suffered.

2. Tactfully, as a matter of policy etc. (refer verses 38-39 earlier).

3. The travellers, the caravan-leaders bringing goods into Kashmir or taking these out of Kashmir for the purposes of trade.

#### VERSE 42: SULTĀN CAMPED AT VARIOUS LOCALITIES

सत्ता<sup>१</sup>प्रकृति<sup>२</sup>मध्यस्थो नित्यसर्वाङ्ग<sup>३</sup>वर्धनः ।  
स्वतन्त्र<sup>४</sup>वृत्तिर्भूपालो रेमे नानापुरुषु<sup>५</sup> सः ॥४२॥

Maintaining equal distance from those in authority and the common people, he the Sultān would always cater equally to every limb (of the society) with uninhibited disposition, and would move about freely in all the areas.

##### Notes

1. Those in power, the affluent.

2. The commoners, ordinary people.

3. Nursing every limb of the society, the rich as well as the poor, the elite, the tillers and toilers.

4. Having no special attachment with any of the groups in the society. Self-willed attitude, without any inhibitions or pre-conceived notions whatsoever.

5. This might be construed in two ways:

a) The localities of various classes of population, the rich, the poor, the load carriers, the agriculturists etc. *Pura* has an equivalent in Kashmiri as *Purā* meaning a habitation or a locality (*JRJT*, verses 867, 819, 872 etc.).

b) The towns he built for supervision etc.

The point made here is that Sultān kept himself very well informed about the various strata of the Kashmiri population. (V.I. अव्ययद्वानिश्च instead of नानापुरुषः सः (cf. *VVRI*, p 8). This reading does not make much sense.)

#### VERSE 43: THE SULTĀN COMPARED TO THE SUN

मंदेहा<sup>1</sup> नहितान्निवार्य च भजन् पूर्वाचलाग्रेदयं  
 यो नित्यं कमलाकरेषु रसिको विभ्रत्प्रतापोच्चयम् ।  
 सङ्कोचे<sup>2</sup> कुमुदाशयेषु रचयन् पद्माकरोत्पूजितः  
 शस्यः कस्य न दत्तलोवः<sup>3</sup> महिमा भास्वान्यशास्वी विभुः ॥४३॥

This sloka has a double meaning, one with regard to the Sun and the other about the Sultān. It says:

A. The Sun overcoming the *mandeha* (*rākṣaṣas*) (who are supposed to block his path unsuccessfully); shining over the eastern ridges; possessing towering brilliance, and who is interested in the cluster of red lotuses, and causes misery to the white lilies, and who is worshipped with folded hands (in the shape of lotuses), and is worthy of respect, whom does he not please?

B. The Sultān, overcoming his dimwitted adversaries and having collected the possessions of his previous rulers; possessing towering brilliance and who is interested in the treasures of wealth, and who causes misery to his adversaries and who is waited upon with folded hands and who is worthy of respect; by whom is he not worth eulogising?

#### Notes

1. This is a proper name for the demons who try to detain the Sun from rising on the Eastern mountain (*VSHP*, II, 4, 15. *MW* takes it to be a type of *Rākṣaṣa*, p 788).

Reference may be to those collaborators of 'Alī Shāh who thwarted the efforts of Budshāh to gain the throne.

2. Kumuda is a kind of water-lily, which blossoms forth by the touch of lunar rays and the buds close at the sun-rise. Hence the Sun is supposed to be their enemy. Reference may be to the night prowlers who were now afraid of the Sultān and left his empire (cf, verses 39, 41, etc. *supra*).

3. It was the Sultān who did not treat his people as chattel but gave them due respect. Earlier they were tyrannized and persecuted (*JRJT*, verses 591, 602 etc.).

VERSE 44: SULTĀN'S FOSTER BROTHER TAKES UP  
CUDGELS WITH HIM

घात्रेयाष्ठकुन<sup>1</sup> राज्ञो विभव श्रीमदोद्धताः ।

विस्फूर्ति<sup>2</sup> हरिणोऽस्यासन् गजा इव<sup>3</sup> निरङ्कुशाः ॥ ४४ ॥

His foster-brothers owning untold wealth and power lost their head and like self-willed unruly elephants tarnished the good name of the Sultān.

Notes

1. In royal families usually wet-nurses were engaged to feed the prince with their milk. These nurses had their own sons also which were actually foster-brothers to the princes during their childhood.

The Sultān also had such foster-brothers belonging to a Thakur clan. Śrīvara names the eldest brother as Mir Thakur (verse 45). Since the Sultān and these Thākurs had taken the milk of the same woman, he was consequently very kind to them and gave them good posts. However, these Thākurs got power-drunk and by their actions made the Sultān unhappy.

Even now we have a Thākur sub-caste among the Muslims here.

2. Literally it means gleam, renown, good name etc.

3. Elephants are curbed by a goad otherwise they turn wild and mad. These Thākurs had no such curbs, hence behaved like unbridled elephants. The Sultān who had been indulgent to them had to curb them.

VERSE 45: MĪR THĀKUR AN EXPERT IN LAW

श्रीमेर ठक्कुरो ज्येष्ठः<sup>1</sup> प्राङ्गविवेक<sup>2</sup> पदोज्ज्वलः ।

तेषां मुसलवृद्धोऽपि<sup>3</sup> बभौ ग्रन्थ<sup>4</sup> गुणोज्ज्वलः ॥ ४५ ॥

The eldest among these, His lordship Mir Thākur adorned the chair of a judge earning the reputation of being a deft Muslim expert in interpreting books on law.

Notes

1. Presumably the Sultān had many foster-brothers amongst the Thākurs. Mir was the eldest or senior to all of them. They were supposed to be two and named Hassan and Hussain (BHS). However, Śrīvara has used the plural number and not a dual with respect to these which clearly points out to their being more than two. It can also be suggested that Mir might have been honorific expression given to this Thākur indicating respect for him.

2. This is a very archaic expression meaning on interrogator or the one who can weigh pros and cons quite correctly and find the actual truth.

3. वृद्धः does not mean only senior in years but also in knowledge and experience. We might take it to mean a learned and experienced Muslim.

4. ग्रन्थः obviously means law book here. गुणः will connote merit. Apparently they were experts in *shara'* and *Hadith*.

## VERSE 46: MĪR REACHES KISHTWĀR

कष्टेन काष्टवाटं स प्राप्तोज्वटपथात्ततः<sup>1</sup> ।  
हिमान्यन्तरद्गन्धाङ्घ्रि हिमान्यन्तरमासदत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ४६ ॥

Thereafter, with great difficulty he reached Kāshṭwāt (Kishtwār) after negotiating the route full of ravines and gaping precipices. Being trapped in a snow-drift, his foot got frost-bites through excessive cold.

## Notes

1. To escape the wrath of the Sultān, Mīr fled to Kishtwār through a route precipitous and replete with fissures. Presumably he went there after negotiating the Symthen pass high above Daksum, a health resort today. Kashmir government has not built a pacca road to Kishtwār through this pass
2. Continuous excessive cold gave frost-bite to his foot.
3. Trapped in a snow-drift or blizzard. हिमात् has been used in two senses here. Icy cold and the snow-drift. Kashmiri equivalent for snow-drift, the huge blocks of snow slowly drifting downwards is *Mānya* or *Sheenamānya*. Perhaps Śrīvara had this Kashmiri word also in his mind when he uses the same Sanskrit word *Himānya* twice.

## VERSE 47: MĪR THĀKUR'S SOJOURN IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR

स्थित्वा माणिक्यदेवाग्रे<sup>1</sup> स मद्रस्यान्तरे चिरम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
चिम्बदेशं<sup>3</sup> ततः प्राप किञ्चित्प्राप्तपरिच्छदः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ४७ ॥

He (Mīr Thākur) settled in Madra country for long, dancing attendance on Māṇikya Deva (its ruler). After getting some facilities for travelling, he came to Cibbha arch from there.

## Notes

1. He seems to be the ruler of Madra country at that time. Mīr Thākur presumably sought asylum with him.
2. Madra has been mentioned in ancient Sanskrit text also. In *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad* the people of "Madra" have been shown as very proficient in sacrificial studies (III, 7, 1). Their country finds mention in the *Mahābhārata* (VIII, 44-5), *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (IV, p 176), *Mahābhāṣya* (1, 2, 3) and the *Jātaka*s (IV, p 280) also. According to Dr B. C. Law the territory inhabited by the Madras corresponds to modern Sialkot (Skt Śākala) and the contiguous regions between Irāwatī (Ravi) and Chandrabhāgā (Chinab) rivers (*Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p 105).
3. Kalhana has also mentioned Madra-people for their lack of generosity (*KRT*, VIII, 1531). General Cunningham is of the opinion that Madra Deśa is an old name of Central Punjab between the Beas and Jhelum or Chenab rivers (*Ancient Geography*, p 185). However, it may be said that Kashmiris treated whole of the territory to the South of their country beyond Banihal as Madra or in recent years as Punjab. If any body would like to go to Madras, Kashmiris would say that he

had proceeded to Punjab perhaps treating the territory beyond their southern mountains as the Punjab, be it Delhi even. Persian historians, one and all, have taken Madra as the synonym of Jammu. Perhaps in Śrivarā's time this word might have begun to be used for Jammu alone. Even Jona Rāja has given Madra for Jammu (JRRT, verses 711-712). As a matter of fact Jammu forms a part of the Punjab along with Sialkot, geographically as well as ethnologically. From Kishtwār, Mīr Thākūr repaired to Jammu not very distant from it.

3. The Cibbha territory may easily be located as the seat of authority of Chib rulers with Bhimber (Sanskrit Bhimavāṇa) as the capital. Old Mughal road passed through this terrain. It seems that Mīr Thākūr wanted to return to Kashmir via Bhimber the usual route then. In Jammu we come across some Rajput clans still using the surname 'Chib' with their names.

4. It means a garment, a covering, retinue, attendants as also travelling-kit, the last meaning here suits the context.

#### VERSE 48: MĪR DANCES ATTENDANCE ON THE SAYYADS

तद् देशकालविषमावस्थाशत<sup>1</sup> हतोऽपि सन् ।  
स तत्र प्रेष्यवत्<sup>2</sup> सैदपाद<sup>3</sup> शौचं समासदत् ॥४८॥

Being very much bent down by adverse times and circumstances, he (Mīr Thākūr) indulged in cleaning the feet of the Sayyad there, like a serf.

#### Notes

1. Being extremely inconvenienced during his sojourn in alien lands from Kishtwār to Jammu and thence to Bhimber etc.

2. Like a menial, a slave, serf etc. Mīr Thākūr through his folly in antagonising the Sultān fell on bad times. He pampered the Sayyad there at Bhimber with undertaking menial jobs, so that the chieftain grants him asylum in his territory and does not arrest and hand him over to Sultān Budshāh. The Sayyad chieftain was not moved by his abject condition at all, so Mīr tried to earn his pleasure by serving him and doing the meanest possible jobs.

3. Literally cleaning the feet with water. It seems that small Muslim principalities had taken birth there at that time, one of which was Bhimber, ruled over by a Sayyad. The reason for it is not far to seek. When the Sultān ruled over Kashmir the adjoining hill-districts got influenced by this change. Consequently they also became converted to Islam. Moreover, the efforts in this direction by the Sultāns to make themselves secure on the throne of Kashmir cannot be ignored. They would have liked their co-religionists to rule the territories through which route to Kashmir passed. The Sultāns would have thought they would be more dependable than the erstwhile Hindu chieftains.

#### VERSE 49: MĪR AFFLICTED BY MALIGNANCY

उद्धतामयोत्पन्नस्फोटवैकुल्य<sup>2</sup> शान्तये ।  
वैद्यैर्वस्त्रा<sup>3</sup> बद्धैकपादोऽधूजीवितावधि ॥४९॥



A malignant and dripping boil appeared (on his foot) emitting nasty stench. The physicians ordained that for arresting this malignancy his (Mir's) one foot should be covered and bound fast with a piece of cloth for the remaining period of his life.

#### Notes

1. It might connote a carbuncle, a tumour or even anthrax and not an ordinary boil.

2. For putting a stop to the malignancy from spreading to the leg.

3. *VVRI* edition prefers गुत्तये for शान्तये. In the second line also the *VVRI* prefers स रज्जु पट to वेद्येर्वस्त्रा. The *VVRI* readings would make it to mean that the Sultān in order to conceal the boil, tied it with a rope or string, whereas the reading adopted above would mean "under instructions from the physician and in order to cure it," etc... Evidently the reading adopted by us is better.

4. Literally "Life-term" The physicians could feel that this malignancy will take his life, in the long run. They got his one foot bound firmly by a leather-band or thong so that this foul-disease does not invade the rest of the leg.

#### VERSE 50: MĪR MAKES EFFORTS TO GET BACK HIS PREVIOUS STATUS IN KASHMIR

तत्रोपायान्<sup>1</sup> बहून् कुर्वन् स्वदेशविभवाप्तये<sup>2</sup> ।

यथाकथञ्चित्तत्रस्थः<sup>3</sup> पञ्चशः सोऽवसत् समाः ॥ ५० ॥

There (at Bhimber) while putting in many efforts for getting his status restored in his own land, somehow or the other, he managed to pass five years in this sojourn.

#### Notes

1. Mīr physically afflicted and mentally upset might have sent feelers to Sultān Budshāh for granting him reprieve. It might have been diplomatic activity and Sayyad, the ruler of this territory, might have used his good offices with the Sultān to that end.

2. To regain his former dignity, status that of a competent judge (verse 45 *supra*).

3. The Sultān seems to have not relented and the Mīr had thus to spend five years at Bhimber torn between hope and fear. He might have been permitted to re-enter Kashmir even. The inference that Mīr died afterwards cannot be ruled out here.

#### NOTE BY THE SCRIBE

अतः परं किञ्चित् ग्रन्थचरितं कालवशात् छिन्नम् ।

"Some portion subsequent to this verse is not traceable due to prevailing adverse conditions."

## Explanation

It appears the scribe who was copying out the MSS could not lay his hands on the subsequent verses, thereby patently impairing the continuity of the narration contained in this chronicle. The account of Mir Ṭhākur terminates so abruptly. This is also a pointer in this direction. It may be suggested that the war of succession amongst the princes for the throne after their father Budshāh might have to do something with this kind of omission discernible in this MSS. The serial number of the verses has been kept intact by the copyist.

## VERSE 51: BUDSHĀH'S MILITARY CAMPAIGN

स सिन्धु<sup>१</sup>हिन्दु<sup>२</sup> वाडवादि देशान् जित्वा बहिः<sup>३</sup> स्थितान् ।  
प्रतस्थे भुट्टदेशं<sup>४</sup> स जेतुं सकटको नृपः ॥ ५१ ॥

Having vanquished the territories of Sindh and Hinduvāḍā on the outer periphery (of Kashmir) the Sultān along with his army proceeded to conquer the land of Bhūtṭas.

## Notes

1. Here सिन्धु should not be confused with the province of Sindh now under Pakistan occupation. It may be the valley of Sindh coming down from Ganderbal lake. In this context Dr Stein says, "The Valley of Sindh forms the district of Lar, the ancient Lahara" (RT, II, p 419). The Chandra dynasty of Lar has been also mentioned by Jona Rāja (JRRT, verse 90). Therefore, it seems quite probable that the Sultān invaded this valley first, conquered it and made his march safe towards Ladakh.

2. It is the territory of Handwārā, 16 miles away from Sopore towards north. Urgency of leading a military campaign against it, must have been due to the insurgency of Cakreśas (Chaks) there, who had become a terror for the people and an apple of discord for the Sultān. Hasan says that they looted Zainagair (Zainagin) and came down to Sopore even (TAHS, Persian, p 19).

3. This can be construed as the localities on the outer fringe of Kashmir from where the mountainous terrain begins. Bashīr (outside) needs to be read in the context of geographical position only and not from political or administrative angle.

4. Śrīvara in III, 440 refers to 'little' (सूक्ष्म) and 'great' (बृहद्) Bhūtṭa country. However, he does not mention specifically as to which of these was invaded by the Sultān. Dr Stein has identified this Bhūtṭa land as "Crossing from the head-waters of Kishenganga, to those of the Dras river we reach high level valleys, inhabited by people of Tibetan race and language, the Bhuttas of the chronicles" (RTS, II, p 435). These territories may be Bāltistān, Gurez, Skardu, Kargil and Ladakh, the former taken as little and the latter as the great Bhūtṭa land. In Kashmir these are called *Butun* as a whole. The word *Tiber*, included in the legend on government stamps till recently here, actually indicates these very territories and not the Tibet under Chinese occupation at present.

VERSE 52: REFERENCE TO BUÐSHĀH'S  
SUPERNATURAL PROWESS

वनमध्ये प्रविश्यैव नरकङ्कालं पञ्जरम् ।

भित्तिस्थं दीपमात्रं ते पश्यन्ति स्म सकौतुकम् ॥ ५२ ॥

No sooner did they approach the interior of the forest than being overwhelmed with wonder they saw a human skeleton lit merely by a lamp placed in a pit.

Notes

1. A human skeleton: Obviously the body from which soul had gone out and entered another body. Herein Śrīvara would like to suggest that Budshāh had left the previous body and his soul had entered the body he had assumed as a Sultān now.

Joṇa Rāja has also referred to Sultān Shahāb-ud-Din's change of body (*JRRT*, verse 454).

2. Placed in a fissure, chert or chasm. It means also a wall, a mound etc. but this meaning does not agree with the context given in the subsequent verse. The previous body left by Budshāh had been deposited in a cavity for being protected. The lamp could also burn here undisturbed. The soul on leaving the body of Budshāh could re-enter this skeleton only when it was intact.

3. The retinue of the Sultan on military expedition.

4. Began to perceive, examine, scrutinize etc. Since they were wonder-struck, out of curiosity they looked into the body with popping eyes, perhaps to identify as to whom it belonged.

VERSE 53: BUÐSHĀH A YOGI

तपस्तप्त्वा चिरं प्राप्य योगसिद्धिमसौ नृपः ।

फणीव कञ्चुकं पूर्वं गुहायामत्यजत् तनुम् ॥ ५३ ॥

"That Sultān (Budshāh) undertaking penance for long had attained supernatural powers through intense abstract meditation. He had (thus) formerly left his body in this pit dropping it down like a snake does its own slough."

Notes

1. This phrase connotes proficiency accomplished in Yoga—union of individual soul with super-soul through concentration of mind. Yoga is a system of philosophy initiated by Patañjali in which instructions are given for attaining complete beautytude.

*Siddhis* conferring complete hold on assuming any form at will have been enumerated as eight i.e., *Animā*—The superhuman power of becoming as small as an atom, *Laghimā*, absence of weight, becoming excessively light etc. etc.

The word Yoga has many other dimensions of meaning. It has been used as an act undertaken for the sake of God and not for personal ends (*BGVG* II, 48).

2. This word ordinarily means a covering, a loose outer garment, also armour.

Here it will connote the slough of a serpent. This term has been owned by Śaivas to denote sheaths.

3. This adverb would connote either the previous, former or earlier. In this context of a snake its former slough underneath which the new one has grown.

It might also connote formerly, earlier, previously etc. in the context of the Sultān.

4. 'Guhā' means a pit or a hole in the ground. In the previous verse this has been made sufficiently clear.

#### VERSE 54: BUÐSHĀH POSSESSED OF SUPERHUMAN POWER

इत्या 'हुर्ज्ञानिनोऽन्ये' वा ये बुद्धवासत्वमूर्जितम्<sup>३</sup> ।

तेषां प्रामाण्यमकरोत्<sup>४</sup> स राजा च स विस्मयम्<sup>५</sup> ॥ ५४ ॥

In this manner, the sages possessing spiritual knowledge or others having experienced this ennobling celestial trait did proclaim this.

The Sultān with amazement confirmed the credibility of what they had said.

#### Notes

1. इति so, in this manner is used in Sanskrit at the end of a direct narration, like quotation marks in English.

2. The trait, in-born nature, etc. The ennobling, pertaining to gods, distinguished, spiritual, etc.

Śrīvara would like to emphasize here that those superhuman saints who had experienced this kind of change in body also confirmed the veracity of what the realised soul had said.

3. High souls possessing perceptive knowledge, fully conversant with spiritual ascendancy.

4. To authenticate, corroborate, furnished a proof thereof.

5. With wonder, surprise, unbelievable. Budshāh though in full knowledge of Kāyā Praveśa—The soul entering another body did not want to publicise it as if he was ignorant of this phenomenon.

#### VERSE 55: BUÐSHĀH POSSESSING COGNITIVE PERCEPTION

ध्रुवं महानुभावत्वं<sup>१</sup> विना व्यवहितं नृपः ।

जानीयात् कथमित्याह विद्वज्जन उदारधीः<sup>२</sup> ॥ ५५ ॥

"Verily without being endowed with overwhelming cognitive perception how could the Sultān come to know of this (change)." The learned with emancipated outlook spoke thus.

#### Notes

1. Actually this phrase has been derived from अनुभव meaning direct perception, cognition, knowledge derived from personal knowledge, observation or experience.

2. Śrīvara seems to have used this adjectival phrase with a purpose, i.e. such

well-learned Hindus who did not differentiate between the Hindus and Muslims. Some narrow minded Hindus might have raised their eye brows as to how a Muslim (Budshāh) could master such cognitive perception; he belonged to an alien faith in which such kind of spiritual achievement is absent. Such people have been treated as small by the emancipated who take whole globe as one family (*Huop.*).

### Explanation

Thus the preface comes to a close.

The first fifty five verses have been treated as an introduction, a preamble to the actual narration of events during Budshāh's rule. Śrīvara would like to build the personality of the Sultān and then pen down the detail of his rule in that background.

Then follows the detail of the rule.

॥ इत्युपोद्गतः ॥

### अथ राजवर्णनम्

(NOW THE DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGS)

#### VERSE 56: THREE SONS OF BUDSHĀH

ज्येष्ठमादमखानं च हाज्यखानं च मध्यमम्  
बहमखानमनुजं पार्थिवोऽजीजनत्सुतान् ॥ ५६ ॥

The Sultān gave birth to (three) sons—Ādam Khān the eldest, Hāji Khān the middle one and Behrām Khān the youngest.

#### Notes

1. Joṇa Rāja has said that Sultān had four sons. Ādam Khān, Hāji Khān, Jasratha Khān and Bahrām Khān (*JRRT*, verses 857-858).

Persian historians have also corroborated the statement of Śrīvara. However, it may be inferred from these variations in the actual number of sons of Budshāh, that Jasrath Khān might have died young hence not being contender for royal throne after the death of his father. He was thus ignored by later chroniclers. Joṇa Rāja could not have written this as he was a contemporary of Budshāh for 39 years and was an eye-witness to the earlier life of the Sultān when he was comparatively young and collecting tools for becoming Sultān.

#### VERSE 57: ĀDAM KHĀN FAVOURITE OF THE SULTĀN

ज्येष्ठो 'लावण्य' सौभाग्यसुभगैः प्राकृतैर्गुणैः<sup>३</sup>।  
जनकं<sup>१</sup> रञ्जयामास चन्द्रमा<sup>२</sup> इव वारिधिम्<sup>४</sup> ॥ ५७ ॥

The eldest, endowed with the inherent virtues of beauty and good-fortune, delighted his parents as the moon the ocean.

## Notes

1. By the eldest Ādam Khān is meant.
2. Loveliness, a graceful demeanour etc.
3. Natural, inborn, inherent, not acquired.
4. The progenitor, father.
5. Like the moon possessing captivating beauty and attractive qualities.
6. The ocean. Moon is said to have come out of the ocean at the time of churning of the ocean (BGVT, I, 55). Hence, the parent of the Moon is ocean, just as Buḍshāh was of Ādam Khān.

## VERSE 58: HĀJĪ KHĀN A DIGNIFIED PRINCE

प्रत्यहं हाज्यखानः स कर्पूर इव सौरभैः ।

बाल<sup>1</sup> लीलयायितैस्तैस्तैः स्वमुदान्तमजिज्ञप्त<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५८ ॥

Every day (the prince) Hājī Khān presaged his towering dignity through child-like pranks, just as the camphor presages its scent all around.

## Notes

1. Herein Śrīvara has played upon the words बाल and लीला which also mean 'innocent' and 'appearance' respectively. This phrase can also be rendered into English as 'of innocent demeanour'.

In the context of his childhood the translation given above holds good right from his childhood he wafted an air of exalted dignity etc.

2. It means loftiness, exaltation etc. v.l. उदन्तः 'strong', which does not fit into the text.

## VERSE 59: ĀDAM AND HĀJĪ UNDER THE CARE OF THĀKURS

तौ<sup>1</sup> सुतौ सम्मतौ<sup>2</sup> पित्रो रक्षणायाक्षिपन्नुपः<sup>3</sup> ।

स्व घात्रेयतया<sup>4</sup> स्वस्थो<sup>5</sup> द्वयोष्ठक्कुरपक्षयोः<sup>6</sup> ॥ ५९ ॥

Those two beloved sons (Ādam and Hājī) of their parents were handed over to two factions of Thākurs, his foster-brothers, for safe custody, by the unsuspecting self-reliant Sultān.

## Notes

1. Śrīvara would make us believe that Ādam and Hājī alone were loved by their parents. Behrām was a neglected child, so to say. However, it can also be surmised that Behrām being the youngest had to be under the vigilant care of his mother and was not so much advanced in years as to merit being handed over to Thākurs. It can even be possible that by then he had not been born at all.

2. This word suggests that parents were very much satisfied by their behaviour. Their conduct was endorsed by their parents, hence were very dearly loved by them.

3. For ensuring the safety of these loving sons of his. In the royal courts conspiracies to do away with those who were likely to ascend the throne after the death of reigning sovereign are not uncommon. The Sultān himself being very much busy with administering his land, wanted to make the life of his two sons doubly secure. For obvious reasons, he could not devote as much attention to their safety and upbringing as he should have ordinarily done as a father.

4. Hence, reposing utmost confidence in his foster-brothers—the Thākurs—he made over his two sons to them. For further explanations consult verse 44 along with notes.

5. This word means 'sound state', health, self-reliance, fortitude, firmness, ease and satisfaction. It might also suggest that he felt relieved after handing over his two sons to Thākurs. He had now no worry or anxiety about their safety etc.

6. Consult verse 44 along with notes.

**VERSE 60: THE TWO FACTIONS OF 'THĀKURS'  
AT LOGGERHEADS WITH EACH OTHER**

स्वपक्षस्यापनादक्षाः<sup>1</sup> परपक्षेष्ट<sup>2</sup> खण्डनाः ।

तार्किका<sup>3</sup> इव तेऽन्योन्यं धात्रेयाष्टकुरा बभूः ॥ ६० ॥

Those Thākurs, the foster-brothers (of the Sultān), like deft logicians between themselves indulged in establishing their stand and dismantling that of the adversaries, though immensely unpalatable.

**Notes**

1. Śrīvara puts down that these two factions of the Thākurs though having the common wet-mother did not see eye to eye with each other. The one thought itself superior to the other.

2. They tried to belittle each other.

3. Like the logicians building their premise and trying to find fault with the thesis put by others.

In Sanskrit poetics and Indian philosophical schools hair-splitting arguments advanced by a particular rhetorician or a philosopher to prove his individual stand are a standing proof of what Śrīvara would like to convey here.

In a nut shell it may be asserted here that these two factions of the Thākurs were inimical to each other and the two princes under their respective charge grew up in such an unhealthy atmosphere. They also imbibed inimical attitude for each other from these Thākurs.

**VERSE 61: THĀKURS AVERSE TO THESE TWO BROTHERS**

सौदर्य<sup>1</sup> स्नेहवृक्षस्य मूलच्छेदनकारिणः ।

तेऽन्योन्यं गोत्रजद्वेषात्<sup>2</sup> तयोरासन् समत्सराः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ६१ ॥

On account of the enmity born of their respective lineage (the Thākurs) became the instrument of cutting at the roots of the tree

of their (Ādam and Hājī) love as seen in blood-brothers. Moreover, these Thākurs harboured malice towards these (brothers).

#### Notes

1. Born of the same womb; real brothers.
  2. Two factions of these Thākurs claimed their descent from two different progenitors. Hence, animosity for each other was inherited by them from their ancestors. It was a continuous affair from one generation to the other. The word गोत्रज has been used in that very context here.
  3. Full of malice, avarice, hatred etc. The princes were in the charge of two factions of Thākurs. The one faction was not kindly disposed to the prince under the tutelage of the other and vice-versa. Thus they sowed the seeds of discord between the two brothers.
- Moreover, being in an impressionable young age, they imbibed the vice of enmity for each other from the conduct of their protectors for each other.

#### VERSE 62: THESE PRINCES INFLUENCED BY THE ENMITY THĀKURS HAD FOR ONE ANOTHER

राजपुत्रास्त्रयस्तस्य<sup>१</sup> गुणातिशय<sup>२</sup> सुन्दराः ।  
तत्कृतान्योन्यवैरेण समं वृद्धिं<sup>३</sup> समाययुः ॥ ६२ ॥

His (Buḍshāh's) three sons, very handsome with an excellence, grew up to maturity along with the enmity indulged in by those (the two factions of Thākurs) for one another.

#### Notes

1. Here Śrīvara refers to the third prince also being under the charge of Thākurs. Behrām Khān (verse 56) was also subsequently made over to Thākurs for his upbringing.
2. Śrīvara is at pains to suggest that the princes had excellence of head and heart in themselves, but were influenced to a large extent by the animosity the two Thākur clans had for each other. This seed of discord amongst the brothers was sown by the Thākurs consciously and at sub-conscious level by their impressionable age.
3. Thākurs are meant here.
4. The animus amongst the three also matured along with their attaining maturity.

#### VERSE 63: RULER—THE MIND OF COUNTRY

देहसमो देशोऽयं तस्यात्मसमो<sup>१</sup> महीपालः ।  
तस्मिन् ससुखे सुखितो दुःखिनि तस्मिन् दुःखोऽसौ ॥ ६३ ॥

This country is like a human body, of which the ruler is like his own or self. When it is (the country) in perfect health, he (the ruler)



derives extreme pleasure, and when it is afflicted he is unhappy (just like the mind).

*Notes*

1. Herein आत्मन् can be taken as the content, or essence or self, and not the soul; as understood by us all. The latter is said to remain unaffected under any bodily pleasure or pain (*BGVG*, II, verses 23-25), while the mind feels the pain and pleasure.

VERSE 64: THE TWO PRINCES CROSS WITH EACH OTHER

अन्योन्यं सरुषो राजपुत्रयोर्मन्त्रिदुर्नयात्<sup>1</sup> ।  
अभूज्ज्येष्ठ कनिष्ठत्वं प्रक्रिया<sup>3</sup> रहितं तयोः ॥ ६४ ॥

On account of the bad intentions of the ministers, the two princes (Ādam and Hājī) without any consideration for being the elder or the younger, were cross with each other.

*Notes*

1. Herein again Śrīvara talks of the animosity between the two princes ie. Ādam and Hājī: It seems that they were very senior in years to the third prince Behrām, hence their enmity alone would be of some consequence. Behrām must have been a non-entity till then.

2. मन्त्रिन् may be taken to mean either minister or the one who gives counsel, advice etc. These both shades of meaning are applicable here. Though the evil intentions of (1) ministers, (2) advisers—by the latter is meant (I), the Thākurs, whose protegee they were, (II) or the members of their respective inner circle.

3. This word means—manner, conduct, the etymological formation. How these words, the elder and the younger, are derived and what they owe to each other? The elder not patronising the younger and the younger not respecting the elder.

VERSE 65: ĀDAM KHÂN SENT TO CONQUER BALTISTĀN

श्रुत्वाथ पुत्रयोः वैमन्योन्यं जातु भूपतिः ।  
आह स्मादम खानं स विदेशगमनं त्वराम् ॥ ६५ ॥

When the Sultān came to know about the hostility the two princes had for each other, he (the Sultān) immediately ordered Ādam Khān to proceed to foreign lands (Baltistān).

*Notes*

1. The Sultān tried to keep the two brothers at a distance from each other. Their presence in the country with their bickerings would have adversely affected not only the administration, but also the future of the entire dynasty. Ādam Khān was sent out of the country on a military expedition to Baltistān. (Finshtā, p 471, *TABKB*,

p 442, Parmu, p 167, ZRRT, verse 71.)

The strategy thus adopted by the Sultān was to keep one son only at home at a time and send the other outside for conquest. When the first would return, the second was advised to go on a military expedition (see verse 82 later)

#### VERSE 66: BUĐSHĀH ADMONISHES ĀDAM KHĀN

युक्तमुक्तं<sup>1</sup> न गृह्णासि कुपुत्रं<sup>2</sup> यदि मद्बचः ।  
मानं प्राणधनध्वंसी<sup>3</sup> प्रत्यूहस्तेऽन्यथा<sup>4</sup> भवेत् ॥ ६६ ॥

Oh my unworthy son: if you do not accept my well thought out exhortation, then these will be impediments to your very respected life and riches.

#### Notes

1. The Sultān emphasizes the urgency of following royal orders for going to Baltistān on Ādam Khān. He also stresses upon him that under the circumstances, this course for him (Ādam Khān) to follow would be proper and in his interests.

2. By using this mode of address for his son, the Sultān seems to be fed up with his nefarious activities. Ādam Khān seems to have disobeyed the orders of his father, hence deserved this left-handed compliment of an "unworthy son".

3. The Sultān on noticing the intransigence of his son administered a threat to him, through which he suggested that he (Ādam Khān) would suffer in his status of being the heir-apparent, even his life might be in danger for flouting the royal orders. In other words, the Sultān pleads with his eldest son not to disobey his orders and proceed at once to Baltistān, otherwise he (the Sultān) shall have to think twice before making him his successor. Ādam Khān would lose his right of being the next Sultān.

4. Literally meaning impediment, obstacle etc. The Sultān hints here as a reprisal he shall be forced to issue order for which Ādam Khān shall have to curse himself only.

#### VERSE 67: ĀDAM KHĀN'S CHOICE IS POONCH

श्रुत्वेति पितृसन्देशं<sup>1</sup> स भृत्यानब्रवीत्<sup>2</sup> वरम् ।  
तत् पर्णोत्सं<sup>3</sup> पथा यामः सुखं<sup>4</sup> तत्रैव नः सदा ॥ ६७ ॥

Having heard the orders of his father, he (Ādam Khān) addressed his retinue of followers thus: "We take the route to Parnotsa which would be comfortable to us in every way."

#### Notes

1. It seems that this threat was sent to Ādam Khān through a messenger. The Sultān, perhaps did not want to confront him for obvious reasons.

2. The dependents in Ādam Khān's confidence. His own inner circle of sympathizers.

3. Ādam Khān preferred going to Poonch to Baltistān.

'पणेत्स' is undoubtedly the modern town of Poonch called 'Prunts' by Kashmiris (RTST, no iv, 184). The territory is mentioned under the name of Pun-nu-tso by Hiuen-Tsang who visited it on his way from Kashmir to Rājāpurī—Rajouri of our times (Si-Yu-Ki, I, p 163).

4. Ādam Khān would like to lead military expedition to Poonch and not to Baltistān. The route to Baltistān is obviously immensely mountainous, precipitous and snowy. Traffic to and fro between Poonch and Kashmir has been going on from very ancient times even though high mountains were to be negotiated in this case also. Kalhaṇa has referred to the founding of this town during the reign of Lalitāditya, AD 700–736 (KLRT, IV, 184). This town *en route* to Indian mainland, has been feudatory to Kashmir during the Hindu period of Kashmir's history (RTST, n, IV, 184). Modern town of Poonch, to the south west of the Pir Panja range, is now under the direct rule of J&K government.

VERSE 68: ĀDAM KHĀN'S RETAINERS CHIDE HIM  
FOR HIS SELF-CENTRED ATTITUDE

अथोचुस्ते तव भ्राता<sup>1</sup> दाता जातोऽत्युदार<sup>2</sup> धीः ।  
खलक्ष्मीं भृत्यसात् कर्तुं सक्षमो न भवान् क्वचित् ॥ ६८ ॥

Thereafter, his retainers addressed him thus: "If your brother (Hājī Khān) is liberal and of generous disposition, and is able to share his power and riches with those who are in his service, then why do you not do the same."

Notes

1. Here Hājī Khān is being referred to. The followers of Ādam Khān fell foul of him for his selfishness.

2. The retainers of Ādam Khān praise his brother and adversary Hājī Khān in his presence for his generosity towards his followers. They actually prepare the ground for defecting to Hājī Khān.

VERSE 69: ĀDAM KHĀN'S FOLLOWERS DEFECT TO HĀJĪ KHĀN

वरं मरणमेवास्तु<sup>1</sup> तदग्रे नोऽद्य सेवया ।  
विक्रमादि<sup>2</sup>गुणैर्हीनं न त्वामेवं भजामहे ॥ ६९ ॥

Henceforth, if we lose our lives while serving him, it would be still better than serving you, shorn off of valour and virtues.

Notes

1. It seems that the mercenaries employed by Ādam Khān are enamoured of the generous disposition of Hājī Khān. They consequently thought it more expedient and beneficial for themselves to switch over to Hājī Khān's camp.

2. They feel sick of Ādam Khān who, to them, appears to be a nincompoop.

(a) May be they realised that as their master was flouting the orders of the ruling Sultān, their own lives besides that of Ādam Khān was in danger, and hence their safety lay in ceasing to follow their master.

(b) Also Hāji Khān might have offered them more lucrative terms for joining his camp. Hence, they praised his generosity (verse 68), and discarded Ādam Khān, otherwise they would not have dared to cavil at him under his very nose.

#### VERSE 70: FORTUNE SMILES ON HĀJĪ KHĀN

अग्रजानुजयो<sup>1</sup> राजपुत्रयोः सुखदुःखयोः<sup>2</sup> ।

विपर्ययं<sup>3</sup> व्यधाद्वेधाः<sup>4</sup> प्रमातेव<sup>5</sup> विभागिनोः ॥७०॥

The creator, like a well-discerning arbiter, reversed the weal and woe of these two princes—senior and the junior divided against each other.

#### Notes

1. The elder Ādam Khān, the younger Hāji Khān.

2. As an elder brother, an heir to the throne, Ādam Khān was entitled to every kind of convenience and comfort. Hāji Khān by being younger to him probably did not enjoy such luxury.

3. The weal which would ordinarily accrue to Ādam Khān and the consequent woe destined for Hāji Khān changed hands, got reversed. Hāji gained edge over Ādam. It may also mean that he now had a larger following.

4. The creator. It is the appellation of Lord Śiva also.

5. Like the one having the correct notion about who should deserve what. An arbiter whose judgement is fool-proof. Śrīvara would like to suggest that the two brothers entrusted the division of their fortune to the creator, made him an arbiter. He could very well discern that Hāji was superior to Ādam, though younger in years.

However, in the context of Śrīvara being a devout Śaivite the terms वेधाः and प्रमातृ merit further explanation.

वेधाः is Śiva and प्रमातृ is the one on way to self-consciousness. वेधाः can also mean 'separated' or 'divided'; estranged from each other and on the way to fight it out.

#### VERSE 71: ĀDAM KHĀN SENT AWAY FROM KASHMIR

अथाशङ्क्य नृपः पापं तद्वधात्<sup>1</sup> कतिचिद्दिनैः ।

बहिर्निष्कासयामास<sup>2</sup> भुट्ट<sup>3</sup> मार्गेणा तं सुतम् ॥७१॥

The Sultān apprehending sinful calumny emanating from his (Ādam Khān's) murder, after a few days expelled his that very son from Kashmir via Bhuṭṭa route.

#### Notes

1. The Sultān could very well:

a) Divine that Ādam Khān was now feeling isolated as his retainers had deserted

him, hence out of frustration might do something unwholesome ... which might cost him his life.

b) Or Hâji Khân now having become very powerful might conspire to get rid of him (Ādam Khân) so that the throne becomes safe for him to ascend after his father.

Budshāh dreaded this catastrophe and out of love for both separated them from each other.

2. Out of the state: Ādam Khân was sent away from Kashmir so that he would escape any attempt on his life by Hâji Khân. Ādam Khân could not be safe in any part of Kashmir as Hâji Khân must have wielded much influence all over the state.

3. Through the route to बुट्ट देश (Dardistan). It is presumably the Zojilla pass which connects Kashmir with Ladakh etc. that is being referred to. Kalhana has also referred to it (KRJT, VIII, 2887). Dr Stein has to say the following on this subject:

"He (Kalhana) probably means, however, the Zoji-la when mentioning the route of the Bhūtā-Land." Kalhana also refers to the Bhūtās (I. 312, iv, 168).

#### VERSE 72: DIFFERENT KINDS OF MISSILES INVENTED

वज्रबाण<sup>1</sup> प्रकारंश्च शिल्पिनः<sup>2</sup> समदर्शयन्<sup>3</sup> ।

येष्योऽग्रावि ध्वनिर्धोर<sup>4</sup> लोक इत्कम्पकारकः ॥७२॥

The artisans adept in mechanics rehearsed different varieties of missiles (as) impregnable and adamant; on hearing the thunder of these, hearts of the most courageous began (even) to tremble.

##### Notes

1. बाण means an arrow, a shaft, something thrown from a distance. वज्र denotes a thunderbolt, an adamant, loadstone.

a) Śrīvara would like to convey that these ammunition balls, cartridges etc. were made of lead-stone with magnetic content.

b) These were as hard and solid as a thunderbolt.

2. Conveys the sense of an artisan proficient in machines, or the mechanics.

3. Literally made an exhibition of, displayed etc. It might connote rehearsed also.

4. People of very strong nerve and sinews, very brave, courageous not easily perturbed.

#### VERSE 73: THE SULTĀN IMPORTS CANNONS

तद्यन्त्रभाण्डभेदांश्च<sup>1</sup> तत्तद्भातुमयान्<sup>2</sup> न्वान्<sup>3</sup> ।

आनीतवान्<sup>4</sup> नरपतिः संहतान्<sup>5</sup> शिल्पिनिर्मितान् ॥७३॥

The Lord of the people imported a variety of upto-date cannons (guns) manufactured by mechanics out of various cast metals.

##### Notes

1. A big gun, cannon, artillery pieces.

2. Made of various metals cast together; Alloy.

3. New, fresh, uptodate. The older guns were replaced by the most uptodate ones.
4. Brought in, fetched into. It also suggests imported from outside where such war material was manufactured.
5. सम् together, हतान् hammered, cast. Various metals were hammered into one alloy of which the cannons were made.

VERSE 74: ŚRĪVARA COMPOSES A PANEGYRIC  
TO CELEBRATE THIS OCCASION

प्रशस्तिः<sup>1</sup> क्रियतां यन्त्रभाण्डेष्विति नृपाज्ञया ।  
मयैव रचितान् श्लोकान् प्रसंगात्<sup>2</sup> कथयाम्यहम् ।। ७४ ।।

Under the behests of the Sultān, I composed a panegyric in honour of the cannons, out of which I quote a few verses quite in accordance with the context.

Notes

1. A poem written in praise of any one. An eulogy, a laudation. Generally such eulogies were written by court-poets for praising their patrons, kings etc. Perhaps the Sultān desired to celebrate this occasion of his making the army uptodate.
2. It might also be suggested that the astute Sultān wanted to give wide publicity to this so that his enemies inside the country or outside it, might feel scared to initiate any offensive against him.

VERSE 75: CANNONS CARRIED BY MULES

यदनुग्रहेण राज्ञां समयो<sup>1</sup> लीलाविलासमयः ।  
समयश्च<sup>2</sup> यन्त्रतन्त्रैः स्थिरां प्रतिष्ठांक्रियात् समयः<sup>3</sup> ।। ७५ ।।

When time smiles over kings, they pass it in sport and jubilation marking the auspicious occasion for establishing their superiority through their cannons and other articles of artillery pulled by mules.

Notes

Herein Śrīvara has played on the word समयः.

1. It means Time.
2. The befitting occasion, an auspicious augury.
3. स+मयः along with mules. Transportation of heavy guns and cannons to mountain peaks even in this mechanised age is still carried with the help of mules and the cannons and the mules are actually inseparable from each other.

VERSE 76: BUDSHĀH INDUCTS FORE-ARM INTO  
KASHMIR IN 1464

रसवसु शिखि चन्द्राङ्के<sup>1</sup> शाके<sup>2</sup> नाकेशविश्रुतो<sup>3</sup> राजा ।  
श्रीजैनोल्लसदीनः कश्मीरान् पालयन् विजयी<sup>4</sup> ।। ७६ ।।

In the Śaka era 1386, Shri Zain-ul-Ābidīn, famous like the first amongst the gods (ie, like Indra), while lording over the territories of Kashmir, came out victorious.

#### Notes

1. रस (sentiments) are taken to be six. In rhetorics रस—the aesthetic pleasure—has eight or nine forms. Herein the first meaning will guide us.

वसु:—A class of gods, eight in number. Deities presiding over substances like water, fire, air etc.

शिखि = अग्नि = three.

चन्द्र (The moon) is one.

This notation works to 6831. In Sanskrit the digits with their local values are counted from the left. Hence the digits given above are to be re-arranged as 1386.

2. Śaka era. Although it is very difficult to say who founded the Śaka era, yet it is abundantly clear that several Kuṣāṇa inscriptions bear this era. However, Sir Monier Williams suggests that the Śaka era which commenced in AD 78 was founded by King Śālivāhana (cf, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p 433). Therefore, the year 1386 Śaka will become 1464 AD which agrees fully with the chronology of Sultān period.

3. The Lord of Heaven. The victorious Sultān had one more feather added to his crown when he got cannons made. This made him almost invincible. The verse being incomplete is to read together with the following.

#### VERSE 77: COMPLETES THE MANUFACTURE OF CANNON IN 1465 AD

वर्षे शशिवेदाङ्के<sup>1</sup> निर्मितवान्<sup>2</sup> यत्र घण्डमिदम् ।

तोप<sup>3</sup> इति मौसुल<sup>4</sup>भाषाख्यातं लोकेच<sup>5</sup> तत्कण्डमिति ॥ ७७ ॥

He got this cannon (container of fire-arms) made in the forty-first year which came to be known as *topa* in the Muslim language and a *Kāṇḍu* in the local dialect.

#### Notes

1. *Śaṣi* (the moon) is taken to be one in number. Vedas are four in number. Hence this numeration will come to 14. The digits are to be re-arranged from the left (vide verse 76) hence it will be 41. Herein we shall have to point out that in the absence of giving the name of any specific era, the local or Saptarshi calendar is meant there. Kalhana and Joṇa Rāja have also followed this convention strictly.

Therefore the date given here by Śrīvara corresponds to 4541st year of Saptarshi or local calendar. It works at 1465 AD because Kashmiri local calendar is 3076 years ahead of Christian era viz. 4541 – 3076 = 1465 AD.

2. Got the cannon made. According to the previous verse preparations for making the gun were initiated in 1464 and in the following verse it is stated that within one year that is in 1465 it was complete. It seems that the gun was got assembled here in Kashmir. May be its accessories, mechanics and know-how were imported. In this context verse 73 earlier needs to be consulted.

3. V.I. तोप instead of तदिति, V.VRI, reading more reliable.

4. A form of corrupt-pronunciation 'Mausul' used in place of Muslim or the first half of the compound word 'Mussalman' used for the sake of brevity as also for respecting the metre employed.

5. Herein लोक is to be taken in the context of common, popular and read together with Bhāṣā (language) given earlier. It will thus connote popular or common dialect which was Kashmiri. Kashmiri language owned this word *Kāṇḍa* presumably of non-Kashmiri origin. In Sanskrit कण्ड among other meanings denotes an arrow or a long bone also. The arrow part of the meaning might be taken as the gun-powder balls discharged like an arrow and the long bone part might convey the barrel of the cannon. May be this alien word might have to do something with its Sanskrit intonation also as explained above. Muslim vocabulary came to Kashmir via Gandhāra where Sanskrit was also in vogue. The pronoun 'Tat' (that) has been used here twice for कण्ड. Repetition of a word at times is used for expressing emphasis. Śrīvāra has tried to emphasize the manufacture of cannon—a novelty in those times. Some scholars have tried to read तत् instead of तेष and assert that कण्ड was used both in the local as well as the Muslim dialect. But there is hardly any evidence to suggest that.

#### VERSE 78: THE CANNON DISCHARGES DISASTROUS MISSILES

दुर्गेषु दुर्गतिपरं हृत्स्फोट करं तुङ्गदत्तदरम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
दूरेऽनुक्ताश्मशरं<sup>2</sup> कटकबलान्यदृष्टवरम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ७८ ॥

Bringing disaster to castles and forts, rending asunder the vitals of heart, striking terror into steeds, the flight of the missiles made of flint, released by it (cannon) from the distance could not be exactly comprehended by the fighting forces.

#### Notes

1. Cavalry formed a part of the fighting forces at that time. Hence the use of the fast running horses has been made here. The importance of war-horses was greatly reduced by the invention of the gun.

2. The arrow or missile (more correctly) that was thrown from a distance. It was made of flint.

#### VERSE 79: EULOGY FOR CANNON

सारं सुरीतिबद्धं<sup>1</sup> घनघोषं शिल्पिकल्पितमहारघम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
नवमिव नगरं<sup>3</sup> नृपतेः कल्पांस्ताद्यन्त्रपाण्डमिदम्<sup>4</sup> ॥ ७९ ॥

This cannon, invincible, made with meticulous craftsmanship (cast in finest form of metal) (emitting) thunder of clouds conferring untold honour on its engineers (designed by mechanics at a huge cost) may last for millions and millions of years like a new town-ship founded by the Sultān.



## Notes

1. The word 'सुसूति' can be explained in two ways:
  - i) Controlled, manned, supervised systematically and meticulously cast.
  - ii) Cast in high quality brass or bronze. The muzzle of a gun was usually coated with a brass plate. However, it appears that the muzzles were of bronze and not brass.
2. This can also be interpreted in two ways:
  - i) Conferring, bestowing great honour on its designers and makers.
  - ii) Made by the engineers at a huge cost.
3. A reference is made here to the founding of townships by Budshāh (see infra).
4. कल्प is according to Hindu beliefs consisting of one day of Brahma or one thousand मयसुग. Yugas are supposed to be four—Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali comprising 17,28,000, 12,96,000, 8,64,000 and 4,32,000 years of men respectively. The four together comprise 43,20,000 years of men, and are called Mahāyuga. Kalpa, therefore, will come to 4,32,00,00,000 years of mortals.

Herein, the poet would like to say that just the township built by Budshāh will last for ever in the history of Kashmir, in the same way his contribution to make his army upto date with the introduction of the cannon will always be remembered.

## VERSE 80: THE GUN WAS OPERATED BY FOOT

धातु<sup>1</sup>विभक्ति<sup>2</sup>स्फरात्<sup>3</sup> पद<sup>4</sup> प्रवृत्त्या प्रयोजिते<sup>5</sup> शब्दे<sup>6</sup> ।  
अर्थोपलब्धि<sup>7</sup> हेतोर्भवत्विदं वृद्धिगुण<sup>8</sup> युक्तया ॥८०॥

This verse also has a double meaning; one pertaining to the eulogy written by the poet and the other referring to the cannons which the Sultān had got manufactured. It says:

May this (eulogy) written with proper words, roots, declensions and conjugations, meters and excellent diction, throbbing and pulsating, help us attain wealth in redoubled measure.

OR

May this (cannon) manufactured with meticulous care and proper mechanism, with metals used in exact proportions, throbbing and pulsating and properly deployed, help us attain our object with redoubled vigour.

## \* Notes

A. In the context of the eulogy composed:

1. Roots of verbs and their consequent conjugation according to rules laid down in Sanskrit grammar.
2. Declension of nouns.
3. Throbbing, pulsating.
4. Through the use of words made into a line, or a quatrain of a verse.
5. By made use of, employed.
6. Words.
7. Meaning, purport.

8. A grammatical term. When the meaning of the conjunction of words (सन्धि) gets extended.

गुण according to Sanskrit poetics is excellence of diction and content.

B. In the context of the cannon:

1. Metal, ore, minerals.

2. Splitting, division etc. The flint-balls would get split when being discharged. The metal used for making the gun and minerals (flint-balls) would collide with each other violently and thus impart velocity and bang to the missile used ie, flint-balls.

3. Throbbing, pulsating.

4. With the application of foot.

The gun was put into motion by applying the foot to its fulcrum which would impart pressure to the flint-balls used as missiles so would get released with a bang.

5. Thus emitted, coming out.

6. The sound or the bang thus emitted.

7. The purpose which was to intimidate the enemies of the state or the Sultān.

8. Affluence, prosperity, ever-multiplying virtues, over all superiority.

#### VERSE 81

इति पद्माङ्कित<sup>1</sup> यन्त्र भाण्डाली व्यरुचन्वा<sup>2</sup> ।  
यदुष्मौघध्वनिश्चक्रे<sup>3</sup> मेघगर्जित तर्जनम् ॥८१॥

So the line of these guns described in the above verses was looking very beautiful and had earned a name for itself. The sound emanating from its flames had put to shame even the thunder of the clouds.

#### Notes

1. V.I. पद्माङ्कित : Some scholars think that this reading is better. This will mean that the guns had a 'lotus' mark on them. The lotus could have been a royal crest on the standard of the regiment to which the gun was allotted. It may be interesting to note that presently the state crest of the Jammu and Kashmir government is also the lotus.

2. Got worthwhile recognition/publicity/name and fame as a new weapon.

3. The mass of fire or flames. When the flint-ball was discharged from it, fire or flames would also come out of the muzzle of gun.

#### VERSE 82: HĀJĪ IS SENT TO LORIN UNDER ROYAL ORDERS

कालेनादमखानेऽथ भुट्टान्<sup>1</sup> जित्वा समागते ।  
हज्यखानोऽकरोद् यात्रां लोहारद्वौ<sup>2</sup> नृपाज्ञया<sup>3</sup> ॥८२॥

In course of time when Ādam Khān returned (to Kashmir) after registering a victory over Bhuttas, Hāji Khān undertook a campaign to 'Lohārkot' honouring the orders of the Sultān.

## Notes

1. Ostensibly Ladakh—the country of Bhauttas (see also verse 71 earlier). It was known as 'Minor Tibet' also. According to *Tabāqat-i-Akbari*, the ruler of Ladakh had declared independence. Budshāh sent his General Ādam Khān to Ladakh for bringing the revolting ruler to bay (p 442). Hassan has also recorded, "The Sultān commissioned Ādam Khān to vanquish the rebels of Tibet". Ādam Khān did succeed in bringing round the hostile Tibetans by giving them countless gifts (p 202).

2. The mountain of Lohāra literally Kalhaṇa has also made use of this name and Stein has identified it with the modern Lorin (*SRJT*, II, p 374), v.l. लोहर. Jona Rāja has also mentioned this place while describing the reign of Sultān Shāh-ud-Dīn (verses 469, 474 etc.). Persian chroniclers have taken it to be 'Lohārakot' or 'Laharkot'. कोट in Sanskrit means a fort. The use of अद्रि = mountain, makes it sufficiently clear that the fort was situated on a hill-top. 'Lorin' is situated between Poonch and Rajouri to the west of Kashmir. Persian chroniclers also corroborate this (*TABAK*, pp 442-663; Hassan, p 202).

3. The Sultān was astute enough to notice that the two princes Hāji and Ādam were living a cat and dog life hence should be kept away from one another. Ādam returned from Ladakh and so Hāji was sent to Lorin.

## VERSE 83: ĀDAM AND HĀJĪ LIVING A CAT AND DOG LIFE

कथं हि चुरिका युग्मेककुम्बुनि स्थाप्यते ।

इति ज्ञात्वा सुतौ राज्ञा करितौ निर्गमागमम् ॥८३॥

How can two swords be placed in one sheath; knowing this the Sultān alternated the going out of (one prince) with the coming in of (the other).

## Notes

1. When one prince would arrive in the capital the second was sent away under the pretext of military campaigns. Actually the Sultān did not wish that they both should be in the capital at the same time. They would naturally fall out with each other and thus increase the worries of the Sultān. That would also undermine the stability of Budshāh's rule.

## VERSE 84: BUDSHĀH LIVES UNDER DOUBLE COVER

जनकस्यान्तिके स्नानपानलीलोत्सवादिकम् ।

आदमखानः सत्राणो<sup>1</sup> विदधेऽनुदिनं ततः<sup>2</sup> ॥८४॥

Then Ādam Khān in the charge of security staff would be by the side of his father (Budshāh) every day, while having ablutions, drinking (or participating in), pleasure-sports and festivals.

## Notes

1. With safety or in the charge of the security guards. The Sultān was

apprehensive about his own safety. He devised two channels of safety for himself. Firstly Ādam Khān was asked to be with him all the time. Secondly, a spy-system was introduced to give the Sultān advance information of any conspiracy. If the one agency was caught napping, the second was there to ensure safety of the Sultān. Buḍshāh lived under double cover so to say.

2. Afterwards, then an allusion to Hājī Khān's misbehaviour can easily be discerned by the use of this adverb:

"Sultān would always keep Ādam Khān by his side owing to the misbehaviour of Hājī Khān" (TABAK, p 443).

#### VERSE 85: HĀJĪ KHĀN FLEES KASHMIR

दृष्ट्वा सतीसरसि<sup>1</sup> येन सुखस्थितिः<sup>2</sup> सा  
भीतः<sup>3</sup> स यद्यपि गतो घनकाल<sup>4</sup> दोषात् ।  
यावन् नरामुपयाति किरातघातै—  
सत्त्वत् कथं तदवमुच्यति<sup>5</sup> राजहंस ॥८५॥

Even though he (Hājī Khān), out of scare, had fled Satisara where he had seen every kind of ease and comfort (wanted to return) like a king-swan, though feeling out of sort during the rainy season, how could he forsake the infatuation (for a lake), except when smitten by the onslaughts of the hunters and dropping down dead.

#### Notes

Literally: By whom that comfort was seen at Satisaras (and) although he had fled out of fear due to the evil of rainy season, how could a royal swan leave it as long as he is not killed by the shooting of a hunter?

1. Kashmir valley was reclaimed out of Satisara (NLMT, verses 31, 62-66; KLRT, I, 25; cf. Pandit, R. S., *Rājataranginī*, p 8 nn); Herein सर (a lake) has actually been used in the context of a king-swan and Hājī Khān both. Kashmir is known as the habitat of Sati or Umā, the consort of Śiva (NLMT, verse 293).

2. Hājī Khān as a prince was recipient of every comfort and convenience in Kashmir. The king-swan feels quite at home in a lake.

3. Being afraid, Hājī Khān due to his misbehaviour with the Sultān, his parent, feared reprisal from him or his brother Ādam Khān who was a sworn enemy of his.

4. The swan feeling out of sorts due to the rainy season which restricts his movement in a lake.

5. Hājī Khān could not dismiss his love for his native-land at any cost, just as a king-swan only when killed by hunters, gives up his love for the lake.

#### VERSE 86: HĀJĪ KHĀN WANTS TO RETURN TO KASHMIR

अथाष्टविंशति वर्षेऽपि<sup>1</sup> रावत्रलवलादिभिः<sup>2</sup> ।  
इतीरितोऽकरोत्<sup>3</sup> खानः कश्मीरागमनं स्पृहाम् ॥८६॥

In the twenty-eighth year (of the local calendar) Khān (Hājī),

instigated by Rāvatra and Lavalā, expressed a desire to return to Kashmir.

#### Notes

1. The twenty-eighth year of the local Saptarshi calendar 4500. When converted into Christian era it works at AD 1452 (cf. verse 77 supra).

2. Hāji Khān had sought asylum with the Rajputs of Rajouri (vide verse 109 later). Rāvatra can easily be deciphered as 'Rawat'—a clan of Rajputs. Lavalā could be derived from लवः (a) which means reaping, gathering. This might have been an agriculturist clan. (b) We may even derive it from लवण salt, and 'La' as fondling, storing etc. These might have been contractors for importing salt into Kashmir. The Salt route to Kashmir ran through Rajouri (*Samāya Mātrika*). (c) We may take it to be Rāvala also as ल and र sounds are often interchangeable (*Pāṇini*, I, 1, 9). This clan (Rāwal) still exists in Kashmir on the borders of Kashmir. It was probably these people who founded the famous town of Rawalpindi now in Pakistan. It was known as the village (पिण्ड) of Rawals. These two clans and others had also settled in Kashmir and belonged to the faction of Hāji Khān. They left for Rajouri along with him for providing him company and comfort. They were the natives of this place.

3. Being away from their adopted home in Kashmir, they prevailed upon Hāji Khān to return to his home and so that they would also see their kith and kin after a long absence from their homes. Moreover, they thought being a prince Hāji Khān could get a reprieve from the Sultān and they would also get scot-free.

#### VERSE 87: HĀJĪ IS COAXED INTO RETURNING TO KASHMIR

स्वामिंस्त्वदग्रजीयास्ते<sup>1</sup> कश्मीरं सुखं भागिनः<sup>2</sup> ।

क्लिश्यामः परदेशेऽत्र<sup>3</sup> वयमेव गृहोज्झिताः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ८७ ॥

O Lord: your elders are enjoying every sort of comfort which Kashmir can offer. Only we in this alien-land, far-away from our homes, are put to untold inconveniences.

#### Notes

1. The seniors in age or status to Hāji Khān. Obviously Ādam Khān is referred to here who being favourite with the king wielded plenty of power.

2. Prince Ādam Khān being in the good books of the Sultān, had every facility at his beck and call.

3. A place other than their homes where their families had settled, i.e. Kashmir is referred to here.

4. "Having forsaken our homes" literally.

Since this branch of Rawals and Lavalas settled in Kashmir, their native land was more or less foreign to them at that time.

#### VERSE 88: OTHER FACTION WITHIN KASHMIR WITH HĀJĪ KHĀN

राजानक<sup>1</sup> प्रतीहार<sup>2</sup> मार्गेशकुलजादयः<sup>3</sup> ।

अस्मत्प्रतीक्षिणः<sup>4</sup> सर्वे तत्र वीरा<sup>5</sup> बलोद्धताः ॥ ८८ ॥

There (in Kashmir) the scions of Rājanakas, Pratihāras, Mārgeśas and others coupled with their brave legions, trussed up with their unbending nerve, are waiting for us in the wings.

#### Notes

1. *Rājānaka* — This epithet has been reduced to Rāinā at present. Rāinā nomenclature was owned by Muslims and neo-converts usually. Hindus have adopted this term as well as 'Rāzdān' (Persian), an office of the secrecy introduced by Mughals here (cf. *RSP, RJT*, pp 202, 212; vs. VI, 117, 261). This may be taken as an official maintaining confidential records. Intriguing it may seem, yet it is a fact that *Rājānakas* of Kashmir have neither been the progeny of *Rājās* nor Kshatriya fighters. Instead they have been scholars par-excellence. Moreover, Joṇa Rāja has also been labelled as a Rājānaka (in the colophons of his works eg. his commentaries on *Śrīkanthacaritam* and *Kirātārjuniya*) which clearly shows that this clan professed Brahmanic faith here. A locality known as Rāināwāri at present has been the abode of Rājānakas-Rājānavātikā (cf. *STRT*, nn on VIII, vs. 756).

2. *Pratihāra* — Literally connotes a door-keeper. It may be equated with *Doodhi Afsar* an office in vogue during Mughal or Dogra rule here. Kalhana has used this term for a door-keeper (*KLRT*, IV, 142, 223 etc).

On the basis of the evidence of Persian chroniclers Narayan Kaul Ajiḥ and Birbal Kachroo, the *Pratihāras* are known as *Pādar* at present. They may well be called as PAs or receptionists in modern parlance. Kalhana (*KLRT*, II, 143) has also referred to a Royal post named *Muhā Pratihāra Pīdā* which conveys the sense of a chamberlain. This adjunct *Pīdā* with it might have changed to *Pīda*, with it might have changed to *Pīdā Pratihāra* — *Pīdā* and *Hārā* are surviving out of it only and making it *Pādar* (Kashmiri).

3. This represents the Muslim clan known as *Magray* at present. As the name suggests these Mārgeśas might have been road-toll collectors. Traffic to and from Kashmir was in their charge. Kṣémendra has also referred to these as मार्गपति (*Deśopadeśa*).

4. It seems that these Rāvatras and Lavalas while in sojourn with the prince at Rajouri had maintained secret liaison with these clans in Kashmir who had assured them of their support.

Herein we may mention that these clans were actually the virtual masters of Kashmir. During Budshāh's sultanhip their influence was not as pronounced as subsequent to his rule.

5. In Kashmir, Hāji Khān's accomplices had made all the subversive preparations. They only wanted him to act and return to his native land.

#### VERSE 89: THE RULER OF RAJOURI INSTIGATES HĀJĪ KHĀN TO REVOLT

यद्यप्यवचनग्राही भूभुजो<sup>1</sup> निश्चितो भवान् ।

तावतैव स किं क्रुद्धो हन्त्यस्मान्<sup>2</sup> करुणापरः ॥८९॥

If your honour does not respect the word sent by the Sultān, He, though compassionate to his slaves, will kill us out of spite there and then.

## Notes

1. V.I. **पुषुजः**: literally means a ruler. This term used here can be construed in two ways:

- (a) Either the Sultān might have sent a word (**वचन**) to his rebellious son to return immediately.
- (b) Or the ruler of Rajouri might have assured Hājī Khān of his support in case he invaded Kashmir. That must have been the agreement (**वचन**) reached between the two.

2. In both cases the Rāvats and Rawals plead with the prince that their life was in danger.

- (a) Sultān would suspect that his collaborators might have instigated his son to defect.
- (b) Or the ruler of Rajouri would also think that his retinue from Kashmir might be standing between the agreement reached already for invading Kashmir.

This double entendre seems plausible in view of the information contained in verse 91 later.

## VERSE 90: ĀDAM KHĀN NO MATCH FOR HĀJĪ

युद्धायादमखानश्च<sup>1</sup> निर्यातः स्वबलान्वितः ।

तन्तः स नश्यति क्षिप्रं श्येनाग्रादिव पोतकः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ९० ॥

Even Ādam Khān, along with his forces, setting out to give a fight to you, will be instantly annihilated like a small bird by a hawk.

## Notes

1. The Rāvats and Rāvāls seem to have been very tactful. They intentionally take the name of Ādam Khān thereby playing upon the animosity the two brothers had for each other. This was psychic touch employed by his collaborators to rouse prince to action.

2. In Kashmiri 'Poot' = the chick. Śrīvara has that ghastly scene before him when a kite or an eagle swoops down on the chicken and people raise an alarm to drive these away. Even to-day such scenes meet our eyes especially in villages.

## VERSE 91: THE RULER OF RAJOURI WISHES US WELL

अमी राजपुरीयाहाः<sup>1</sup> सर्वेऽस्मच्छुभकाङ्क्षिणः<sup>2</sup> ।

तत् तेनैवाधुना<sup>3</sup> यामो न किं सिध्यति<sup>4</sup> साहसात् ॥ ९१ ॥

These (rulers) of Rajouri and other (adjacent) principalities are our well-wishers. Let us then march just now. What can not be achieved through courage?

## Notes

1. The ruler of Rajouri and others might connote the principalities of Lorin (Lohāra) and Poonch (Parantosh) lying on the same route. It seems that these rulers in collusion with each other wanted to administer a jolt to the kingdom of Kashmir

which had obviously big-brother attitude towards them. Hāji Khān's sojourn there provided them a God-sent opportunity which they tried to exploit fully for this purpose.

2. Well-wishers literally. It might suggest that they would be Hāji Khān's allies in this fight.

3. V.1 तेनैवाध्वना. Rawats and Rawals did not want to give any time to Hāji to weigh the pros and cons of raising a banner of revolt against his father. They might have apprehended that Hāji might think twice before marching against the Sultān's troops, or a better counsel may prevail upon him because of his love for his father.

4. The inference that the prince lacked courage can also be read into it. In other words, they tickled his ego and as a natural reaction to this dig, they thought he would act spontaneously. These collaborators of the prince seem to be astute conspirators. They seem to have had some scores to settle with the Sultān or Ādam Khān for which end they tried every method to excite Hāji Khān to act.

#### VERSE 92: KASHMIR ORPHANED FOR WANT OF WARRIORS

मृते रिग प्रतीहारे<sup>1</sup> वीरा के सन्ति तत्परे ।  
इति त्वस्यैतृक<sup>2</sup> पदं हर्तुं गन्तुं त्वोचितम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ९२ ॥

Now that Rig Pratihāra is dead, the dauntless fighters in that city (Śrinagar) are few and far between. It seems, therefore, but right on your part to proceed and snatch the position your father has (from him).

#### Notes

1. Apart from being a proper name, रिग seems to be popular epithet for 'fearless warriors' also. Later Shuka also mentions one *Rig Cika* as a peerless fighter (I, 225).

2. Sultānship is clearly meant here.

3. It was quite appropriate for Hāji Khān to fill in the vacuum caused by the death of *Rig Pratihāra* and it might be a cake-walk for him to acquire Sultānship now. It may be asserted here that these Rawats and Rawals originally belong to Rajouri but having now settled in Kashmir could not renounce older loyalties towards the rulers of these hill-districts of Rajouri, Lorin and Poonch (see verse earlier). Their vehemence in rousing Hāji to raise arms against his father can also be construed as their being employed as agent-provocateurs by the ruler of Rajouri. Later (verses 95-106) the sons of the soil Firya Dāmara and Tāj Tantresā, dissuade Hāji Khān from taking such a risky step. They seem to have love for their own land as also for its Sultān. Actually Hāji Khān vacillated between the nefarious counsels of Rawats and Rawals on one side and the saner advice of Dāmaras and Tantresās on the other. He seems to have no opinion of his own at such a juncture wherein his life and future were at stake.

#### VERSE 93: RAWATS AND RAWALS READY TO LAY DOWN THEIR LIVES FOR HĀJI

शिष्यास्तेऽमी<sup>1</sup> वयं भृत्या<sup>2</sup> वीरास्तस्यैतृकैः<sup>3</sup> सह ॥  
योत्स्यामः कीदृशं शौर्यमेकदा द्रष्टुमर्हसि ॥ ९३ ॥



We have received training (in warfare) from you, we are your loyal servants quite valorous to give a fight to your collaterals. You can very conveniently test our willingness, at least once.

#### Notes

1. Rawats and Rawals flatter Hāji by saying that he has been their model and mentor in the realm of warfare thereby implying that Hāji was very bold and brave.
2. They also assert that they have been brought up by Hāji. Hence their loyalty can never be in doubt.
3. Collaterals. The pedigree originating from father is meant here. Reference to Ādam Khān can be obviously gleaned from it.

#### VERSE 94: HĀJĪ KHĀN. CONSULTS FIRYA DĀMARA AND TĀJ TANTREŚA. ON THIS SUBJECT

तथेत्युक्त्वाथ<sup>१</sup> खानेन पृष्टो तन्मन्त्रिणौ मतम् ।  
स किर्य<sup>२</sup> डामरस्ताज<sup>३</sup> तन्त्रेशश्चेत्यवोचताम् ॥ ९४ ॥

“Let it be so,” having said this, Hāji Khān consulted his two counsellors, Firyā Dāmara and Tāj Tantreśa, who responded in this strain.

#### Notes

1. Hāji Khān seems to have been swayed by the sentimental approach of Rāwats and Rāwals and gave his consent for invading Kashmir; in saner moments he sought the opinion of Firyā Dāmara and Tāj Tantreśa on this subject, perhaps having second thoughts on the feasibility of the steps to be taken.

2. Firyā is the name of this Dāmara. The name, obviously Muslim, is not intelligible and has not been commonly used. It must have been a corrupt pronunciation from Firoz (j)—the sounds ‘Y’ and ‘J’ being interchangeable often. Dāmaras have been usually taken as land-lords and this land owning aristocracy has often made the kings of Kashmir very uncomfortable.

Dāmaras according to Dr Stein were feudal land holders. “They seem to be fierce hillmen of a well-to-do land-holding class, capable of forming a powerful rural aristocracy” (STRT, II, p 304).

During the Hindu rule, even Lalitāditya did not desire that they should get powerful, and pose danger to the state (KLRT, IV, 348).

In the Sultān period though having embraced Islām, their influence could not be ignored. Kṣemendra has also referred to one Dāmara aristocrat Samar Sinha by name, who lived at Pratāppura (Tapar), *Samaya Mātrikā*, II, 21).

A Sanskrit lexicon gives the meaning of this term as terrific, dreadful rigorous etc., which clearly shows that these Dāmaras were dreaded by the people for their unbecoming behaviour. Therein also it has been shown as a mixed class.

3. V.I. तन्त्रेश/ तन्त्रेश obviously means the head of the Tantrey class of Kashmiri population. तन्त्रिन has been clearly referred to as a military caste, usually foot soldiers, by Kalhaṇa (KLRT, V, 248, 249, etc.; cf. RSP, RJT, pp 176, 203, 305, 360, 361).

At one time this clan assumed so much of power that they could choose a king of their own choice (KLRT, V, 251).

Commenting upon the origin of the word we can safely infer that they either belonged to weaver-class Tantra (a loom) or professed Tantric rituals or even were adept lute players (Tantri—a lute). At present this class has adopted Muslim faith and are called 'Tantrey'. They are found in numbers at Handwara, Kupwara, Trehgam, etc.

VERSE 95: HĀJĪ IS DISSUADED FROM TAKING  
SUCH A RASH STEP

देव त्वत्सेवका सर्वे स्वगृहोत्कण्ठिताशयाः ।  
देशकालावनालोक्य<sup>1</sup> कथयन्त्यसुखप्रदम्<sup>2</sup> ॥९५॥

O Lord! all those who serve and wait upon, very eager to return to their homes, without having considered the terrain and the timing involved (in this campaign) are saying something unsavoury, not in our interests.

Notes

1. V.I. देश कालमनालोक्य. These two Kashmiri advisers try to dissuade Hāji Khān from confronting his father. They emphasize the fact that this military campaign has to be directed through difficult mountain ranges, the terrain being totally hilly, hence will not go in his favour. Moreover, the timing is not also propitious, the Sultān has his son Ādam also with him at present, hence Hāji being alone cannot defeat his brother and the father at the same time (consult verse 106 later also).

2. The sycophant Rawats and Rawals are saying something which will land us all into trouble. Their only concern is to repair to their homes as early as possible. They do not seem to have any concern for Hāji Khān's future prospects.

VERSE 96: SULTĀN IS INVINCIBLE

कथमभ्यन्तरं<sup>1</sup> यामः सति शङ्खि बलोज्जिते<sup>2</sup> ।  
प्रदीप्तं व्योम्नि मार्तण्डं कुण्डेन<sup>3</sup> पिदधाति कः ॥९६॥

How can we sneak into the interior (of Kashmir) when the Sultān is armed to his teeth? Who can screen the radiance of the Sun pervading the entire sky with a bowl-shaped water-container?

Notes

1. Interior of Kashmir after giving a slip to frontier-guards. Interior can be construed as Srinagar—the seat of power and authority.

2. With his forces in good trim. The Sultān has a very efficient army well-versed in warfare. The suggestive import being here that Hāji Khān did not have regular army and had to depend on irregulars who could not be a match for well-trained royal army.

3. कुण्ड is a bowl-shaped water-container.

VERSE 97: HĀJĪ ADVISED TO MAKE  
UP WITH THE SULTAN

यावज्जीवति भूपाल<sup>1</sup> स्तावत् को बाधितुं क्षमः ।  
मनोऽनुवर्तनं कर्तुं तद् युक्तं<sup>2</sup> तव साम्प्रतम् ॥ ९७ ॥

As long as the Sultān is alive nobody has the nerve to do him any harm. Therefore, in these circumstances, it would be proper for you to make up with him and follow his instructions.

*Notes*

1. The Sultān cannot be dislodged as he is very powerful as also in his own state. A cock even can give a good fight on his own dung-hill

2. It would be in the interests of Hāji to patch up with him. The inference being that Hāji should bide his time and strike at the right possible opportunity. For the present (साम्प्रतम्) nothing should be done to give offence to the Sultān.

VERSE 98: OBEDIENCE TO PARENTS  
OF PRIME IMPORTANCE

प्रसन्ने जनकेऽस्माकं<sup>1</sup> भवेयुः का न सम्पदः ।  
ईश्वरे च गुरौ भक्तिर्जायते पुण्यकर्मणाम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ९८ ॥

(Your) parent feeling pleased will plough back innumerable riches to us. Propitiation of god and elders is the fruit of virtuous actions.

*Notes*

1. The Sultān who gave birth to Hāji. His progenitor. If Hāji tries to give the Sultān his devotion, not only he but also others will be amply rewarded with riches and consequent comforts.

2. Herein Fīrya Dāmāra and Tāj Tāntreśa impress upon Hāji to obey the Sultān in letter and spirit as he is supposed to be God on earth (BGVD, X. 27).

VERSE 99: SULTĀN'S WRATH EVEN MORE BENEFICIAL  
THAN THE FAVOUR OF OTHERS

अस्य कोपेन<sup>1</sup> यत् साध्यं परानुग्रहतो न तत्<sup>2</sup> ।  
दुर्दिने या खे दीप्तिः प्रदीपाज्ज्वलतो न सा ॥ ९९ ॥

What his (the Sultān's) wrath can accomplish, is not within the comprehension of those who support you. A lamp with a constant flame is no match for the radiance of the Sun, even on a cloudy day.

*Notes*

1. Herein the idea is that the Sultān though being averse to Hāji can provide him more amenities, comforts and even rehabilitate him, since he is a father. A

father overlooks the shortcomings of his son since he is his blood.

2. By others is meant Rawats and Rawals who had instigated Hāji against his father, as also the chieftains of Rajouri etc. who had promised to help him. The inference is quite clear that these 'others' have actually their own interests at stake. They are exploiting Hāji for their selfish ends. Their kindly disposition towards him is motivated not for love for Hāji, but for safeguarding their own interests.

VERSE 100: SULTĀN UNRUFFLED BY THE WRONG  
REPORTS ABOUT HĀJĪ

खलोक्तिश्चास<sup>1</sup> मालिन्यं सततं नयसेविनः<sup>2</sup> ।

हृदयादर्श<sup>3</sup> वैराघोत्सवंसकं नास्य दृश्यते ॥ १०० ॥

It seems that the blabbings of the vicious (tale-carriers) has completely failed in impairing the transparency of the heart of the agile diplomat (the Sultān) as if a mirror unblurred with foul breath.

Notes

1. The sycophants around the Sultān who would like to exploit the waywardness of Hāji Khān and would cook up stories to make the Sultān feel averse towards his son (Hāji). So, Śrīvara calls them wicked, vicious etc.

2. The Sultān as a deft statesman could see through their game and so kept his head cool.

3. These blabbers wanted to work up the Sultān against Hāji, hence tried to blur the mirror representing his heart through their foul breath as it were, but their nefarious efforts in this direction were thwarted by the Sultān, because he wears diplomacy on his sleeves. Those two well-wishers of the prince as well as the Sultān—Firyū Dāmara and Tāj Tantresā—try to convince Hāji that the Sultān does not harbour any ill-will against him.

VERSE 101: THE SULTĀN BENEVOLENT TOWARDS  
EVERY ONE

निर्वाणगोष्ठीनिष्ठस्य तद्वच्छास्य विवेकिनः<sup>2</sup> ।

कृपाभ्रेस्य नो किञ्चित् कृत्यमस्त्यसुखप्रदम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १०१ ॥

The Sultān does not believe in making people uncomfortable in view of his ingrained faith in spiritual dialogue, his being well versed in religious injunctions and (to crown all) being an ocean of compassion.

Notes

1. The term निर्वाण used here deserves some explanation: It is of Buddhist origin wherein it is taken to mean complete extinction or annihilation of an individual on emancipation from the worldly existence (V. S. Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*).

It also denotes dissolution or death. It is also taken to signify final liberation from matter and re-union with the Supreme Spirit. The Arya Samājists also accept this

meaning. They celebrate Rāi Nirvāṇotsava of Maharshi Dayānanda Saraswati. It also means a calm composure of mind when it does not lose its balance and is diverted of petulance. This is spiritual bliss, a connotation which has been adopted here. Budshāh would often invite very learned and spiritually advanced savants to an assembly and would initiate dialogue with them. Reference to this urge of the Sultān to rise above matter is clear here.

2. Adept in religious lore—the ~~कर्मकाण्ड~~ of the Hindus and *Shariat* of Muslims.

3. The actions of the Sultān would promote goodness always. He would not do anything which made people uneasy or uncomfortable.

#### VERSE 102: AN EVIDENT INTERPOLATION

तद् दुष्पुत्रं नितृपक्षोजिपि स्वामिभक्तिं न सोऽयकत् ।  
तेनैवान्त्यक्षणः स्ताध्यस्तस्यापूजने भूषवत् ॥ १०२ ॥

He(?) did not swerve in showing loyalty to the exploiters from his paternal side even. Hence his last days were as laudable as those of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn.

##### Note

1. This verse seems out of context here. Either this is an interpolation not done wisely, or forms a part of other earlier verses the ~~sequence of which is not traceable~~. This is borne out by the fact that the *VVR* edition of this book excludes it from the main text and gives it in notes only.

#### VERSE 103: AN OBVIOUS INTERPOLATION

सौहार्दभार्दवोपेता<sup>1</sup> योग्या कार्यविचक्षणः ।  
जाने तेनैव पुण्येन सन्ततिस्तस्य राजते ॥ १०३ ॥

Surely for this very reason his(?) progeny, endowed with friendly affection and gentle softness highly capable and quite proficient in discharging its assignment, has achieved brilliance.

##### Note

1. The note on verse 102 holds good in this case also. The *VVR* edition treats it like-wise.

#### VERSE 104: SULTĀN IS A FORCE TO RECKON WITH

स पिता<sup>1</sup> त्वं सुतस्तस्य<sup>2</sup> वयं सर्वे स्व सेवकाः<sup>3</sup> ।  
गत्वा चेत् कुर्महे युद्धं जयोऽस्माकं<sup>4</sup> भवेत् कथम् ॥ १०४ ॥

He is the father and you are a son unto him. We all are treated as dependable legions by you. Even if we march to give a fight still our victory will elude us.

## Notes

1. The Sultān is the father of Hāji, so in the long run will condone his son's misbehaviour out of affection.

2. Hāji is the son and in saner moments will patch up with his father out of respect and love for him.

The mercenaries alone will be put to harm in this fight. Hāji depended upon them, hence they would be the first fodder for the guns of the Sultān

3. This word "स्व सेवकः" can be construed in other ways also i.e. devoted to our own service, working only for selfish ends. They would think twice before confronting the royal force which might result in their total annihilation. They would not like to get sandwiched between the affection of Sultān for his son and the latter's love and regard for the former.

4. Even then these serfs of Hāji agreed to confront the Sultān, but as their loyalty was divided (between the Sultān and the prince) they could not have put heart into this campaign, and so were liable to be defeated.

## VERSE 105: SULTĀN HAS A GREATER ARMY

हताश्चेत् केऽपि तद्भृत्या बहु भृत्यस्य<sup>1</sup> का क्षतिः ।

एकपक्षक्षये किं स्याद् गरुडस्य जवात्बलता<sup>2</sup> ॥ १०५ ॥

When a few soldiers of one, who has a large number of them are killed, it hardly affects him. When a *Garuda* bird loses one of his wings, his speed is hardly impaired.

## Notes

1. The Sultān has an army which outnumbered that of Hāji to a very large extent. The poet asserts that if some of the Sultān's mercenaries are killed, he would be able to bear this loss easily. On the other hand, if Hāji's dependant soldiery which is not very large is killed, this would be a heavy loss to Hāji Khān as there would be no second line of defence available to him. Firya Dāmara and Tāj Tantrēśa emphasize the futility of this unequal fight. They try to convince Hāji that it won't be easy for him to capture the royal throne.

2. The *Garuda* bird according to Hindu mythology is taken to be the king of birds. He is also represented as the vehicle of Lord Viṣṇu. He is treated as the son of Kasyapa by his wife Vinatā. He is credited with having a white face, an aquiline nose, red wings and a golden body (BGVT, 22, 3).

Herein Śrīvāra has referred to an allusion when the *Garuda* in order to purchase the freedom of his mother Vinatā, brought down Amṛta—nectar from heaven. There during the fight with Indra, his (*Garuda*'s) one wing was damaged (cf. *Garuda Purāṇa*).

Despite this discomfiture, *Garuda*'s speed and velocity had not been impaired at all. So is the case with the Sultān whose resources are plentiful.

## VERSE 106: HĀJĪ IS DISSUADED FROM RISKING A FIGHT

न शिवाः शकुनाः<sup>1</sup> सन्ति देशाः<sup>2</sup> पर्वतदुर्गमाः ।

तत्रापि जनकस्तेऽस्मान्<sup>3</sup> कालो विग्रहस्य<sup>4</sup> नः ॥ १०६ ॥

The omens are not auspicious, the terrain (leading to Kashmir) is hilly and so unnegotiable. Your father is already (firmly stationed) there. So, this is in no way a propitious time for us to pick up a quarrel.

#### Notes

1. Muslims do not believe in omens at all. But in the case of neo-converts in Kashmir this back-log of superstitions, as former Hindus, still persisted with them. They could not easily shake off such age-old inhibitions. Or one could even say that the superstitions which marked the 19th century Muslim society were already there and they were as good or bad believers in omens as the Hindus.

2. The route from Rajouri to Kashmir lay through high mountains, very difficult to pass through or penetrate. Actually reference is made to Tosamaidab route which connected Kashmir at Hurbura near Shopian. Later on it was used by the Mughals also and came to be known as Mughal Road.

3. These courtiers of Hāji Khān would like to emphasize that the Sultān had an advantage over them in as much as he was already firmly stationed in Kashmir.

They had to march through a difficult tract and then give the Sultān a fight. They might feel exhausted and spent up by this arduous journey and may not be in good shape to face the royal forces, hence their defeat was certain.

4. They advise him not to risk war with the Sultān at this time but bide his time to strike at some more convenient moment if the ongoing negotiations with the Sultān fail.

#### VERSE 107: HĀJĪ ADVISED TO STRENGTHEN THE STATE FROM OUTSIDE

भजत्वध्यन्तरं<sup>१</sup> राजा वयं बाह्यं<sup>२</sup> भजामहे ।

तत्प्रसादादिहेवास्तां<sup>३</sup> राज्यं छत्रं विना<sup>४</sup> न किम् ॥ १०७ ॥

The Sultān may protect his state from inside, and we may protect it from outside. If his favour is made available to us being here, we shall still enjoy all the benefits a state offers, though being without a royal parasol.

#### Notes

1. These counsellors would like to emphasize upon the erring prince Hāji—that the Sultān will be the head of State within his dominions, and that right of him cannot be challenged.

2. Hāji and his retinue will watch the interests of Kashmir from outside with the consent of the Sultān.

3. If the Sultān feels gratified by the good behaviour of Hāji and his faction, he will provide us all the facilities required to meet this end.

4. The suggestive import is that Hāji would enjoy the status of a Sultān outside the state, though not possessing royal emblem. A छत्र (umbrella) is taken to be a sign of royal authority. The pre-condition for restoring princely status to Hāji is to earn the goodwill of the Sultān.

VERSE 108: IT IS DIFFICULT TO OVERPOWER A LION  
AT HIS OWN DEN

ते केर बुद्धार्थमेव्यन्ति न जेषन्त्यस्मदन्तिकर्त्त<sup>1</sup>।

वयं केदन्तो यामो न जेष्यामः कदाचन<sup>2</sup> ॥१०८॥

If they (the Sultān's troops) march (to Rajouri) to give us a fight they cannot overwhelm us. If we elect to go to the interior of (Kashmir) we will never be victorious.

*Notes*

1. If the Royal troops march to Rajouri through a very difficult terrain as referred to earlier, they shall definitely be crushed; first by the difficulties of hilly journey undertaken and secondly not being conversant with the topography of this place.

2. The same holds true in case of Hājī, if he opts to invade the Sultān inside Kashmir.

VERSE 109: HAJĪ KHĀN ATTACKS BY WAY OF 'SŪRAPURĀ'

इति दद्यात् स कुत्रापि खानः सूरपुराध्वना<sup>1</sup>।

कनकं वज्रं तु त्यक्त्वा कश्मीरिण् पिरुनेरितः<sup>2</sup> ॥१०९॥

Despite giving them (Firya Dāmara and Tāj Tantreśa) a patient hearing, Hājī Khān became worked up by the wicked (advisers), and left Rajouri and out of arrogance marched on to Kashmir by way of Sūrapurā.

*Notes*

1. The fine town called Sūrapurā was built by Śura, a minister of King Avantivarman (*KLRT*, V 39).

It is now known as Hurpora—the initial Śa sound changing to Ha in Kashmiri.

Sir Aurel Stein has remarked: "Sūrapura is undoubtedly the modern Hurpore.

It is situated in the valley of the Rambyar stream on the route which leads to the passes of Pir Pansal of Durhal and of Rupri (*STRT*, p 291).

Further he goes on to assert: "This spot, which is covered by dense fir forest is now known by the name of Ilāhī Darwāzā. There is a spot about two kilometres above the present Hurpura, where the level ground of the valley is reduced to a gorge by rocky spurs projecting from the hill side. Local tradition relates that at this spot there once stood an ancient wall and gate closing the route which leads along with right bank of the Rambyar river to the Pir Pansal Pass" (*STRT*, Note D, III, p 227). Kalhana unambiguously states that it was Drung—a watch tower (*KLRT*, V, 39). Hence Hājī also took the usual route to Kashmir from Rajouri through Durhal pass crossed over to Tosa Maidan and after negotiating the Pir Pansal came down to Hurpore.

At present there is skeleton staff manning a custom post as also an office of the grazing department of J&K government supervising the coming and going of Bakarwals along with their cattle-wealth (more prominently the sheep and goats), to and from valley. It also collects the grazing cess from these Bakarwals.



2. The evil, designers or agent provocateurs is meant here (consult note verse 88 supra).

#### VERSE 110: THE SULTÂN LEADS THE DEFENDING ARMY

अस्मिन्वसरे<sup>१</sup> श्रुत्वा स्व पुत्रं सहसागतम्<sup>२</sup> ।  
गृहीत्वा स्व बलं तूर्णं नगरान्निगान्पः<sup>३</sup> ॥ ११० ॥

Simultaneously at that very moment, the Sultân having heard about the surprise and sudden attack of his son, immediately marched out of the city with force.

#### Notes

1. The spies of the Sultân informed him about this surprise attack of his son Hâji as soon as possible.

There was a watch station a mile or so above Hulpore during the Muslim rule, now known as Illâhi Darwâzâ. The guards stationed there must have relayed this message to the Sultan by the means available to them there.

2. सहसा—means suddenly, forcibly, rashly, without giving any prior notice etc. The Sultân was probably taken aback by this rash act of his son. This can also be the inference here.

3. The city obviously was Śrinagar—the seat of royal authority.

#### VERSE 111: THE SULTÂN DETERMINED TO FIGHT TO THE LAST

गच्छन् सकटको<sup>१</sup> राजा मरणे कृतनिश्चयः<sup>२</sup> ।  
सदुःखो<sup>३</sup> निश्वासन् श्लोकमिममेकमपाठयत् ॥ १११ ॥

The Sultân determined to fight to the last, marching along with his troops with heavy heart began to recite this single verse.

#### Notes

1. With his army, the Royal force were commissioned to teach a lesson to the erring prince—Hâji.

2. Literally determined to lay down his life. The suggestion being that the Sultân would not care for his own life while giving a fight to his son. No filial considerations could soften him towards Hâji.

3. With remorse and anguish in his heart. The conspiracy of circumstances bringing father and son face to face against each other.

#### VERSE 112: INTERESTS PERMANENT OR ENMITY IMPERMANENT?

राज्येऽपि हि महत् कष्टं सन्धिविग्रहचित्तया<sup>१</sup> ।  
पुत्रादपि भयं<sup>२</sup> यत्र तत्र सौख्यस्य<sup>३</sup> का कथा ॥ ११२ ॥

“Being obsessed with the anxiety of locating conciliation or confrontation, ruling over a kingdom poses many problems. In these circumstances when even a son poses danger (for the Sultān as well as for the kingdom) how can one (the Sultān) talk of complacency.”

#### Notes

1. सन्धि actually means a treaty, a cease-fire, truce—Kauṭilya has enumerated six kinds of such conciliation (*Arthaśāstra*, VII, 3).

विग्रह : denotes falling foul, separating from each other, war, enmity etc. Kāmandaka has cited sixteen instances of such confrontation (X, 2-5).

In ancient Kashmir Minister was usually designated as सन्धि विग्रहकः—Incharge of peace and war. It might correspond to the foreign minister of present day.

Kaḷhaṇa has off and on repeated this designation (*KLRT*, IV, 137, 771, VI, 320, VIII, 1304, etc.).

The point which the Sultān wants to make is that it is very difficult to test the loyalty of the people, and the neighbouring rulers. Today they may be on your side and the next day against you. Therefore, a ruler should be always cautious in locating his friend and foes. In politics interests can be permanent while friendship or enmity are nebulous.

2. When the loyalty of even these persons be in doubt nothing can be said about others.

3. So a ruler has to wear a crown of **thorns**, and be always on alert. Complacency will be of no avail for defending a kingdom. Anything might happen any time, so **vigilance** of highest order is needed for a rule.

#### VERSE 113: HĀJĪ AN UNBECOMING SON

अधर्मशङ्का<sup>1</sup> दूरेऽस्तु युद्धे जनकपीडया<sup>2</sup> ।

वैधेयातिविधेयेन<sup>3</sup> येन स्नेहोऽपि विस्मृतः ॥ ११३ ॥

The anguish tormenting the father in terms of doing an unholy deed will be set at naught in this war, when the dunce (of a son) transgressing all limits has sealed off the love (for his father).

#### Notes

1. Herein the poet would like to allay the fears with regard to a fight between a father and son constituting an unholy deed (अधर्म) on the part of both. However, it seems creditable for the Sultān to score off his son and give priority to the defence of his kingdom.

2. Though the pin-pricks given to his father by Hāji or the rancour weighs heavy on the mind of the Sultān in confronting his own son.

3. A fool, an idiot as Hāji was. His fond of love for his father had dried up. He also did not weigh the pros and cons before taking such a rash step.

When the son turns hostile to his father, the duty of the latter should be to finish him. It is not an unholy deed at all.

Herein the echoes of *Gītā* advocating a *Dharma Yuddha*, virtuous war, can be heard distinctly (II canto).

## VERSE 114: PEOPLE SURE OF SULTÂN'S VICTORY

त्वयि कुर्वति साम्राज्यं<sup>1</sup> यः खेदाय<sup>2</sup> समागतः ।

स यातु सबलः शीघ्रं त्वदीर्याग्निं<sup>3</sup> पतङ्गताम् ॥ ११४ ॥

He (Hājī) who has appeared here to give jolt to your rule, along with his forces will immediately be consumed in the fire of your valour.

## Notes

1. Herein reference is made to the benevolent rule of the Sultān, by the people gathered enroute when the Sultān was leading his army to give fight to Hājī.

2. Hājī had actually come to finish that benevolent rule, hence was a veritable scourge for the people as well as the Sultān.

3. Herein the word वीर्य has been used by Śrīvara perhaps to convey to the sense that the Sultan's वीर्य (semen) brought Hājī to life and now his valour will finish him up. An unworthy son can be deprived of that very life by his father who has been an instrument for giving him life.

## VERSE 115: THE SULTÂN AWAKE TO RELIGIOUS AND GOVERNMENTAL OBLIGATIONS

स्वमेवाकष्टकं<sup>1</sup> राज्यं क्रिया धर्मक्रिया<sup>2</sup> मज्जन् ।

वैरिणो विमुखा<sup>3</sup> यन्तु रणे लब्धपराजयः ॥ ११५ ॥

While discharging your obligations towards upholding the tenets of piety and virtue, you will definitely earn unrivalled rule (over us). Your adversaries humbled down in the war, may fail to keep up their face.

## Notes

1. Literally means the rule without any thorn, impediment, rival etc.

2. "Dharma" has been defined as: "which sustains the world", which is observed by the pious (*Śabda Kalpadruma*, p 783).

*Amara Kośa* equates it with virtuous, good actions, right conduct (1, 4, 24).

Manu treats this as one of the four pillars of worldly existence:

*Dharma*: Piety, right conduct, religious injunctions, righteousness, investment for life after this life (death);

*Artha*: Worldly fortune, riches, wherewithals by which temporal life can become rewarding;

*Kāma*: Wish, desire, passion, the urge to move forward;

*Mokṣa*: Final emancipation, liberation from the transitory world (*Manusmṛiti*, II, 224).

3. Literally with the face averted or turned away from disinclined.

"Vi" means devoid of, bereft of, so *Vimukha* can mean having no face, their image having suffered a set-back.

Herein Śrīvara tries to elucidate that the Sultān had double duty to perform—the one which he owed to his religion and the other what he owed to his subjects. In this trial Sultān came out unscathed. He was a devout as well as a benevolent ruler.

## VERSE 116: SULTĀN WITH HIS ARMY REACHES SHOPIAN

ग्रामेष्वित्यधिकास्तास्ता शृण्वञ्जनपदाशिषः<sup>1</sup> ।

प्रापत् सकटको राजा स सुप्रशमनाभिषम<sup>2</sup> ॥ ११६ ॥

In this way lending ear to the blessings (showered) by the village folk in great numbers while passing through the rural areas, the Sultān along with his army arrived at (the bivouac) called Śupraśamana (Shopian).

## Notes

1. The village folk unreservedly gave the Sultān their support in vanquishing the enemy—Hāji. They did not want to lose such benevolent ruler as the Sultān was, hence showered their blessings on him for his good-luck and God-speed in this campaign.

2. Presently known as the town of Shopian some three to four miles below Hurpura.

## VERSE 117: THE SULTĀN SENDS A MESSAGE TO HIS SON BEFORE STRIKING

अथ मल्लशिला<sup>1</sup> स्थाने पिता पुत्र बलद्वये ।

सन्निद्धे नृपतिर्दूतं<sup>2</sup> विप्रमेकं<sup>3</sup> व्यसर्जयत् ॥ ११७ ॥

Thereafter, when the armies of the father and son were fully alert the Sultān commissioned one Brahmin emissary (to deliver a message to Hāji).

## Notes

1. Śrīvara calls this place as "Malla Śilā" literally meaning the stone for wrestlers. May be at this place large slabs of stones were used by the professional wrestlers for massaging, applying oil etc. to their bodies for being in good trim.

Dr Mohibul Hassan has named this place as Pallaśilā (*Kashmir Under Sultāns*, p 75, note 3).

Dr Parmu has given the name of this place as Mara Śila identifying it as Kashmiri "Marahilla" in the vicinity of Shopian (*History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p 168, note 181).

Hassan has taken this name to be Pal (p 203). Actually this confusion is due to the seeming similarity of the alphabetical symbol in Sharda Script—*Pa* is written as *Mā* while *Ma* is represented by *Na*. Any one who is not very conversant with the script could take one for the other.

Śrīvara is very sure of this name as he has repeated it later also.

2. A messenger is an emissary. The Sultān wanted to bring his son round before engaging him in battle. Actually he was trying to negotiate from a point of strength. This practice of sending emissaries, more so, on the eve of battle is very old in Kashmir. During the reign of the Sultāns this practice continued. Jonā Rāja also mentions that one Brahmin emissary sent to Sultān Qutub-ud-dīn by the chieftain of Lohāra (Lorin, v.s. 470).

Cānaka has enumerated three kinds of such messengers:

i) A negotiator with a rank of minister authorised to strike a deal in any way he likes, but should have an eye for the welfare of his king. Śrī Kṛṣṇa did this job in the *Mahābhārata*.

ii) A messenger for a specific purpose. Hence neither add or subtract anything from the message to be delivered.

iii) Carrier of Royal orders. He had to deliver these orders to the concerned quarters (*Cāṇakya Smṛti*, 106).

3. A learned Brahmin was commissioned for the assignment because his learning would stand him good stead during negotiations etc., as also a Brahmin could not be killed under the injunctions of Dharmasāstras (*Manusmṛti*, 380-81).

Moreover, *Rāmāyana* lays down that an emissary from an enemy should not be physically harmed (*Yuddha Kāṇḍa*).

The qualifications of an emissary have been laid down as under:

“He should faithfully reproduce what he has been told to deliver. He should be adept in the local dialect, physically strong and have fortitude enough to put up with stress and strains, have his eyes wide awake and fully conversant with the geography of the country to which he is sent. He should be resourceful enough to deliver the message at the proper time. Such people of eminence alone can deliver the goods as the emissaries of the kings (*Matsya Purāṇa*).

#### VERSE 118: BRAHMIN EMISSARY DELIVERS THE MESSAGE

स गत्वा नृप सन्देशमब्रवीदिति<sup>१</sup> निर्भयः<sup>२</sup> ।

किं वक्षतीति शरणं कुन्दस्तत्त्वज्ञैः<sup>३</sup> परिवेष्टितः ॥११८॥

He (the Brahmin emissary) without any fright whatsoever delivered the message of the Sultān (to his son) orally. (Hājī) surrounded by infuriated (counsellors) who could divine the sum and substance (of the message) “what does he say” (reacted to this message) thus.

#### Notes

1. इति will denote here the message word for word. He faithfully delivered what the Sultān had told him to convey to Hājī Khān.

2. The Brahmin emissary knew fully well that he could not be harmed as he was inviolable in two ways—both as a Brahmin and as an emissary. Hence he delivered the message dauntlessly and with no fear in his heart.

3. Herein the word तत्त्व has been used most intelligently. Among other meanings it connotes ‘sum and substance’, the inner purport etc. The counsellors could very well see through the game of the Sultān who would like to wean away his son from them. They could very well see that the Sultān must have appealed to the good sense of Hājī Khān. May be, he would cross over to his father’s side, to leave them in the lurch. So, they felt very much exercised on seeing the emissary in their camp.

#### VERSE 119: THE EMISSARY SEEKS LEAVE TO UNFOLD SULTĀN’S MESSAGE

राजपुत्रं मह्यबाहो<sup>१</sup> दाक्षिण्यामृतसागर<sup>२</sup> ।

शृणु पित्रा समदिष्टं<sup>३</sup> यत् तत्सर्वं ब्रवीमि ते ॥११९॥

“O prince of invincible valour, an ocean of undying courtesy, I shall unfold all what your father has directed me (to convey to you). Lend your ears to this (message).

#### Notes

1. This word has often been used in *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Purāṇas*. Literally it means a person having ‘long arms’. There is a very long tradition of ‘long arms’ being considered as very auspicious. In the early Pāli literature, it is enumerated as one of the ‘Thirty-two Marks of a Super Man’ ie, a person who bore all these thirty-two marks was supposed to be a very great man. Gautama Buddha is said to have had all these marks. However, some had fewer and some only one or two. (*Dīgha Nikāya*, Pāli Text Society, London edition, vol i, pp 105ff, 109, 116; ii, 16, 19; iii, 142ff etc.). This epithet is also used for Viṣṇu. But a Rākṣasa and a king in the *Kathāsarisāgara* bear this name (cf, *MW*, p 798).

2. This word means courtesy, civility, politeness etc. This professional emissary knew full well that a dose of flattery might bring Hājī round. Moreover, he wanted to appeal to the good sense of the prince for agreeing to listen to the Sultān’s message.

3. Instructed to deliver, directed to convey. The emissary would like to emphasise that the content of the message has been framed by the Sultān and himself he was acting simply as a medium for this.

#### VERSE 120: A SON IS A CONSTANT DELIGHT FOR THE EYES OF HIS PARENTS

फलं संसारवृक्षस्य लाभोऽमुत्र पत्रं च ।

पित्रोर्नेत्रोत्सवो नित्यं पुत्रः<sup>1</sup> कैर्नाम<sup>2</sup> निन्द्यते ॥ १२० ॥

Very few would elect to denigrate a son, essentially a coveted fruit of the worldly tree, an investment in this life and hereafter and a perennial feast for eyes.

#### Notes

1. पुत्रः = ‘son’ has been defined as follows:

*Putra* is one who delivers his father from the hell named *Put* (*Manusmṛti*, ix, 238).

Again Manu ordains,

A father can go to heaven only through a son.

2. The Sultān knew all this as he convened religious debates etc. (see *supra* vs. 101). But more important than that is the fact that a father considers a son as his own continuation in this world. This is natural to the human race.

#### VERSE 121: A SON IS A COMFORTER TO HIS FATHER IN THE OLD AGE

सर्वः सञ्जितो सर्वं पुत्राय प्रयतो यतः ।

वार्द्ध्ये कंचनग्राही<sup>1</sup> भवेत् पितृसुखप्रदः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १२१ ॥

Every body amasses everything for his son with meaningful efforts so that he would stand by his (father's) words in his old age and thus give him comforting delight.

*Notes*

1. Father invests everything in his son so that he (the son) would listen to him respectfully in his old age.
2. In this way the son comforts his father who spends his last days quite in peace.

VERSE 122: HĀJĪ AN UNBECOMING SON

इत्थं<sup>१</sup> लोकद्वयस्थित्यां<sup>२</sup> त्वयि जाते सुते मम ।  
दूरे सर्वसुखाशास्तु चिन्ता<sup>३</sup> प्रत्युत वर्धिता ॥ १२२ ॥

Hence, on your having born as my son, instead of my perpetual well-being in this life and hereafter and the hope of all pervading comforts, my anxiety has increased because of it (on your birth).

*Notes*

1. Since Hājī had chosen to challenge his father, instead of serving him as a son should do, the Sultān lamented about his as well as his own lot.
2. This word स्थिति has a large number of meanings.  
Among these meanings also connotes, perpetuation, permanence, continuance, well-being, welfare, etc., also.
3. Anxiety, concern for his son was eating into the vitals of the Sultān. The son, as a matter of course, should have given comfort to his father, but this unworthy son Hājī was making the Sultān uneasy, by his intransigence.

VERSE 123: HĀJĪ'S WAYWARDNESS IS SLUR ON THE BRIGHT  
FACE OF KASHMIR

त्वत्कृतो दुर्जनाश्वासो<sup>१</sup> निःश्वासो य इवान्वहम् ।  
मलिनी-कुरुते शुद्धं<sup>२</sup> मद्राज्यं मुक्तोपमम्<sup>३</sup> ॥ १२३ ॥

The support extended to you by these vile persons, like the breath on a mirror, is tarnishing the transparent image of my kingdom every day.

*Notes*

1. The support of not good people, those who would like to wean away a son from his father, hence not well meaning, so vile, bad.
2. The kingdom could boast of being free from any blot whatsoever, hence was pure in content and appearance. The people were honest as also the rule was benevolent.
3. Śrīvara has used this simile earlier also (see vs. 100 supra).

VERSE 124: HĀJĪ HAS FAIR WEATHER FRIENDS  
AROUND HIM

जीवनाशोद्यता<sup>1</sup> येऽमी तसन्त्युच्छ्रुलाः<sup>2</sup> खलाः ।  
सुचिरं नैव तिष्ठन्ति सरसि सारसा<sup>3</sup> इव ॥ १२४ ॥

The undependable villains motivated simply by safeguarding their own life (interests) possess credibility with you. They can never stay longer (with you) as the cranes in a lake.

*Notes*

1. Actual idiom used here means 'hope and life'. It can be construed as their fear of losing life if Hāji crosses over to his father's camp or the interests which will make their life rewarding. So, these villains, his advisers have poisoned him against the Sultān.

2. Unbridled, perverse, unrestrained, such people, the Sultān emphasized upon his son, would forsake him when they would see that he had no use for them. They are with him simply for serving their own ends.

3. Cranes. Herein Śrīvara has made reference to cranes crossing over to Kashmir during winter months and making the lakes as their abode, as soon as spring is in the offing, then they return to their Siberian haunts. In Kashmir these are called 'Pachhin' (presumably from Sanskrit *Paṅśin*—a bird in general). However, in Kashmir its meaning signifies a particular bird i.e. a crane, and are relished as a nicety. The point made by the Sultān is that Hāji has fair weather friends around him.

VERSE 125: PLUCK WITHOUT LUCK NEVER MAKES A KING

मदादेशं<sup>1</sup> विनादेशं किमर्थं स्वयमागतः<sup>2</sup> ।  
केन राज्यं बलात् प्राप्तं निजभाम्योदयं<sup>3</sup> विना ॥ १२५ ॥

How did you cross over to Kashmir of your own will and without my orders. Who has annexed a kingdom by sheer force if the dame fortune does not smile over him?

*Notes*

1. Hāji was sent to Lohara (Lorin) for subjugating it. The Sultān actually wanted to keep the two brothers Ādam and Hāji at a distance from each other, since they were daggers drawn at each other (cf. *Supra*, verses 82-83).

2. Hāji did not wait for the orders of the Sultān to return, instead turned a rebel and invaded Kashmir.

3. Pluck and luck both are responsible for carving out a kingdom.

VERSE 126: TERRITORIAL JURISDICTION OF THE SULTĀN  
WAS SHRUNK NOT MUCH

बाह्यदेशावनिः<sup>1</sup> सर्वा भुज्यते तृष्यसे न किम् ।  
येन मण्डलमात्रं मेऽवशिष्टं<sup>2</sup> हर्तुमागतः ॥ १२६ ॥



Entire periphery outside the valley of Kashmir is at your disposal. Obviously not satisfied with it, you have come to grab the remaining dominion under my jurisdiction?

#### Notes

1 The entire territory outside the mountains of Kashmir is obviously not under the suzerainty of the Sultān. This territory corresponds to modern Poonch, Lorin and Rajouri. Actually these places were beyond the passes meant for entering Kashmir. Hāji Khān was sent by Sultān to conquer 'Lohara—(Lorin)' (verse 82). 'Lorin' lies between Poonch and Rajouri regions, which have been 'बाह्य देश'.

2 Literally remainder, residue. The Sultān would like to say that Hāji Khān instead of annexing these territories with Kashmir has a deal with the rulers of these principalities for invading Kashmir. Reference to this can be gleaned from verse 91 (supra). The territory of Kashmir which should have been in these circumstances extended beyond its mountain frontiers, was a 'remainder' (अवशिष्ट). This was due to the rebellious attitude of Hāji. The territorial jurisdiction of the Sultān was simply confined to the tract of land lying on this side of the mountain walls of Kashmir.

#### VERSE 127: HĀJĪ IS ADVISED TO RETURN

तन्निवर्तस्व<sup>1</sup> मा पुत्र पापबुद्धिं वृथा<sup>2</sup> कृथाः ।

बलद्वयवधात् पापं तवैतत् परिणश्यति<sup>3</sup> ॥ १२७ ॥

So, my son, retrace your steps, do not commit yourself to vice, an exercise in futility. The sins accruing from the annihilation of these two armies will stick to you.

#### Notes

1 When all was said and done, the Sultān (father) advised his son to go back and desist from attacking Kashmir.

2 Confrontation with a father is a sin, even if the Sultān would suffer initially, he cannot win in the long run. It will be impossible for him to defeat forces comparatively better equipped and also which were more in number.

3 The innocent lives on both sides will be destroyed for no fault of theirs. Actually the fault lay with Hāji and hence the sins accruing from this slaughter will sooner or later recoil on him. He shall have to pay dearly for these.

#### VERSE 128: THE SULTĀN MORE POWERFUL THAN HĀJĪ

इत्युक्तिः पैतृकी प्रोक्ता किंतु सत्यमहं<sup>1</sup> ब्रुवे ।

नश्यन्ति भूपाच्छयेनाग्रात् त्वद्भटारचटका<sup>2</sup> इव ॥ १२८ ॥

I have unfolded the message sent by your father, to add weight to it, I say in all sincerity that the Sultān will annihilate your forces, just as an eagle kills the sparrows confronting it.

## Notes

1 The messenger in all good faith would like to emphasize upon Hāji that he is taking a grave risk which will ultimately go against his interests. Hence he should make up with his father like an obedient son.

2 The messenger compares the mercenaries of Hāji to the sparrows in their foolhardiness trying to give a fight to the mighty eagle, the royal army thereby making themselves an easy prey to him. A fight should take place between equals, Hāji being at a discount was well advised not to sign the death warrant of his forces deliberately.

## VERSE 129: THE MESSENGER IS INJURED

इति रुक्षाक्षरामुक्तिं<sup>1</sup> श्रुत्वा विप्रस्य ते भटाः ।

छित्त्वा कर्णौ व्यधुः रक्तादायुधेषु त्रिशूलकान् ॥ १२९ ॥

Those soldiers having heard such an unkind admonition from the Brahmin, cut off his two ears and made signs on their weapons with blood.

## Notes

1 Literally it means 'unkind', harsh. The message punctuated with unpalatable words.

2 The Brahmin had belittled the valour of Hāji's forces which naturally hurt their ego, and out of vengeance they clipped his ears.

3 The warriors of Hāji Khan then bathed their weapons with blood dripping from the ears of the Brahmin. It was custom prevalent among Rājputs to make a mark of blood on their forehead as a *tilaka* and also make some mystical signs with it on their weapons. This was thought to augur victory. Obviously this custom persisted even after their conversion to Islam.

## VERSE 130: THE PRINCE IS PENITENT

तद् दृष्ट्वा राज्ञ्यखानोऽथ सत्रपः<sup>1</sup> पितुरागमत् ।

अभिमन्युप्रतीहारं<sup>2</sup> मुख्यानाख्यदिदं वचः ॥ १३० ॥

Having seen this (discourtesy perpetrated on the messenger) as also feeling ashamed on account of his father's arrival, Hāji Khān addressed these words to Abhimanyu Pratihāra and other chiefs of his army.

## Notes

1 Feeling penitent, very much ashamed for two reasons—first not respecting the diplomatic immunity of an emissary and the second for having troubled his ageing father to come all the way from Srinagar to Shopian.

2 Abhimanyu seems to be a notable chief of Hāji's army. His name occurs again at II, 197, III, 103, 125 etc. He belonged to a Kashmiri Padar clan (cf. *Supra*, vs. 88nn).

VERSE 131: HĀJĪ INTENDS TO MAKE  
UP WITH THE SULTĀN

वरं<sup>1</sup> पादप्रणामार्थं पितुर्याम्यमुतो<sup>2</sup> बलात् ।  
भूपस्तुष्टोऽथ<sup>3</sup> रुष्टो वा यत् करोतु करोतु तत् ॥ १३१ ॥

It would be far better to pay obeisance to my father than confronting him with my forces. Let the Sultān do whatever he likes out of pleasure or spite.

Notes

1. Good sense prevailed upon Hājī on seeing the irresponsible behaviour of his army chiefs (clipping the ears of the envoy). Perhaps he in his saner moments felt that such forces of his, will jilt him any time and throw him to wolves.

2. So, it was better and even in his interests to forget the past and proposed to pay respects to his father who in the final analysis was his most dependable benefactor.

3. Hājī would like to throw himself at his mercy. Whether the Sultān would be offended or pleased by this surrender was no concern of Hājī. He would submit to his orders whatever these be.

VERSE 132: HĀJĪ AVERSE TO WAR

सर्वथा तातपादा<sup>1</sup> मे सेव्या रक्षेत्<sup>2</sup> स नो ध्रुवम् ।  
तन्मा कुरुत युद्धेऽस्मिन् संरम्भं<sup>3</sup> तन्मतं मम ॥ १३२ ॥

For me my revered parent is always adorable. He will definitely grant us reprieve. Hence we need not initiate this war which is my considered opinion.

Notes

1. Pāda is a hononfic expression expressing utmost respect. Tāta means a loving father of senior image. It has been used for juniors also. Mammata has used Pāda with the name of Abhinavagupta for showing extreme esteem for him (cf. *Kāvya Prakāśa*).

2. Hājī assures his generals that the Sultān does not believe in reprisal. He would give protection to all of them.

3. To initiate, to begin, to prepare etc.

VERSE 133: HĀJĪ'S RESPECT FOR HIS FATHER

किंतु स्वप्नेऽपि भूपाय नानिष्टं चिन्तयाम्यहम् ।  
यो मे देवाधिकः<sup>1</sup> पूज्यो लोकद्वयसुखप्रदः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १३३ ॥

I never think of doing anything evil to the Sultān even in my dreams. He is more venerable to me than the gods and he is a medium for my comforts in both the worlds.

## Notes

1. Herein reference is to the Hindu tradition. It seems that Hāji and his collaborators could not easily shake off the Hindu beliefs even though they had embraced Islam.

2. This world and the one hereafter. Again Hindu thinking seems to be at work here.

VERSE 134: ĀDAM KHĀN AT THE VANGUARD  
OF ROYAL ARMY

अग्रजोऽग्रे<sup>1</sup> समायाति रणायायाति नो नृपः ।

इत्युक्तं तेन सम्प्राप्तो<sup>2</sup> नाहं पितृवधोद्यतः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १३४ ॥

“The King (the Sultān) is coming to give us a fight with his elder son in the vanguard. Even though he (the Sultān) be within my reach, still I am not ready to kill my father.” So said he (Hāji)

## Notes

1. अग्रजः The first born, the elder son of Budshāh Ādam Khān. Since the two brothers were not seeing eye to eye with each other. May be that Ādam thought it was a God send opportunity to rid of Hāji. He, therefore, was marching in the first line.

2. This word is used in the context of the Sultān, meaning having arrived, being face to face, within reach, etc.

3. Patricide is a sin beyond redemption. Manu says, “Father represents progenitor” (MS, II, 226).

VERSE 135: TĀJ TANTREYA AND OTHERS DO NOT ENDORSE  
THE VIEWS OF HĀJĪ

श्रुत्वेति मन्त्रिणस्ताज<sup>1</sup> तन्त्रिपत्यादयस्ततः<sup>2</sup> ।

तत्तुङ्गातवल्गाग्रा<sup>3</sup> निष्ठुरं तेऽब्रुवन्निर्ति ॥ १३५ ॥

Thereupon, Tāj—the head of Tantreya clan and his (Hāji’s) other counsellors having lent ear to this (as stated above), caught hold of his horse by the bridle and spoke these unbecoming and unkind words.

## Notes

1. ताज तन्त्रिपतिः Tāj—the chief of Tantrey clan (see *supra* vs. 94).

2. Other counsellors as enumerated by Śrīvara earlier belonged to Rawat and Rawal clans (verse 86). There was one Firya of Dāmara clan also (verse 94).

3. The suggestive import being that Hāji ascending his steed was going to surrender to the Sultān. These counsellors caught hold of the reins, did not allow the prince and his steed to proceed to the Sultān’s camp.

VERSE 136: IT IS NOT PROPER TO STOP  
WAR PREPARATIONS

यदोक्तं समयो नायं<sup>१</sup> याम इत्यवधीरितम्<sup>२</sup> ।  
आरब्धस्यान्तगमनं<sup>३</sup> तद्युक्तमधुना तव ॥ १३६ ॥

When we implored you that it was not the propitious time (to strike) you gave a rebuff to us saying, "We shall march". Does it behove you now to cry halt to the preparations already afoot (for war)?

Notes

1. For this see verses 94 to 108 earlier.
2. Verse 109 earlier may be consulted.
3. These counsellors stopped him seated on his horse by the reins. They could very well devine that Hâji would surrender to the Sultân in view of what he had told them earlier (verses 131 to 134).

VERSE 137: COUNSELLORS FEEL THEMSELVES DOOMED

यूयं चेज्जातसौहार्दं<sup>१</sup> मार्दवनन्दिता<sup>२</sup> पराः ।  
वयमेव हताः कष्टं क्लिष्टास्त्वत्सेवनाशया<sup>३</sup> ॥ १३७ ॥

If you all (Hâji, Sultân and Âdam Khân etc.) have regained the lost love for one another and are extremely gratified by this tender softness then alas! we alone, who have been at your beck and call in your lean days, are doomed.

Notes

1. The counsellors would like to convey that this change of heart, so sudden, on the part of Hâji is to be taken with a grain of salt. Till yesterday being sworn enemies, Hâji, the Sultân and Âdam Khân and others now have found love for one another, which does not seem genuine but a matter of convenience.
2. This softness of heart for one another has afforded them extreme joy. The son will rejoice at his re-union with his father, the brother with his brother.
3. But the counsellors who were with the prince through thick and thin would be brought to the dock for instigating Hâji against his kith and kin. They felt that their days were numbered. The prince had altogether forgotten what they had done for him and intended to leave them in lurch.

VERSE 138: HAVES TRAMPLE THE HAVE-NOTS

भवेत् सन्तप्तयोः<sup>१</sup> सन्धिर्नित्यं तैलकटाहयोः<sup>२</sup> ।  
तदन्तः पूरणी<sup>३</sup> क्षिप्ता सैव दन्दह्यते क्षणात् ॥ १३८ ॥

On being heated properly there is always a mutual understanding

between the oil and the frying pan. The raw cake on being thrown into it gets fried instantly.

#### Notes

1. This word can be translated as afflicted, tyrannised, persecuted etc, also. Here it is used in the sense of heated completely to suit the context.
2. The oil and the frying pan both being heated are ready to consume any intruder whatsoever. That is the secret pact between these two.
3. पूणी = a cake made of dough. If proper care is not taken while it is being deep fried, it will get charred in the simmering oil and the frying pan working in collusion with each other. Probably it is the older form of the modern Punjabi word पूरी. It is deep fried in the oil.

#### VERSE 139: HĀJĪ HAS NOTHING TO LOSE

भवान्<sup>1</sup> स्वामी वयं दासाः पौरुषं<sup>2</sup> पश्य साम्प्रतम् ।  
जयश्चेत्तव राज्याप्तिर्नष्टे<sup>3</sup> याहि यथागतम् ॥ १३९ ॥

You are the master and we are your slaves. Now witness our manly valour. If you are victorious, you will get the kingdom. In case of your defeat, you can go as you have come.

#### Notes

1. This is a mode of flattery used even earlier (verse 93). The inference being that Hājī would still earn the kingdom. But the courtiers had everything at stake, so they shall have to fight to the last.
2. There is a pun on this word. It means manliness as well as valour, bravery. The courtiers are having a dig at Hājī that he had lost manliness in being prompted to patch up with the Sultān. They will instead prove that they are men to all intents and purposes by their call to steel.
3. Even if defeated, Hājī could repair to Rajouri, all comfort awaiting him there. Actually the counsellors shall get orphaned. Hence they would try their luck in the war.

#### VERSE 140: HĀJĪ CAN MAKE UP WITH THE SULTAN

यावद्युद्धं करिष्यामस्तावदेव विलम्ब्यताम् ।  
हतेष्वस्मासु<sup>1</sup> कर्तव्यं<sup>2</sup> यत् पुनस्तत् समाचार ॥ १४० ॥

You delay (your truce with the Sultān) till we give a fight. After we are killed, you re-pay what you owe (to the Sultān).

#### Notes

1. The courtiers try to emphasize upon Hājī that they had come to the end of the precipice. Hence they had to engage themselves in war. The inference being

that the Sultan would never condone their misbehaviour and would put them to sword when Hâjī crosses over to the camp of his father. It was, therefore, better to die as a hero than being a hostage hanging between life and death.

Here an echo of the thought contained in the *Gītā* can be distinctly heard (II, verses 33-37).

2. The duty towards his father, his obedience, etc. or the regard for those who lay down their lives for him. The options are open for Hâjī. He can make up with his father, or die with those who want to die for him. Any of these options can be carried out by Hâjī only when they are no more.

#### VERSE 141: HAJI IS THREATENED WITH REPRISAL.

अस्मदुक्तं न गृह्णासि यदि त्वं पितृवञ्चितः<sup>1</sup> ।

त्वय्येवानुचितं<sup>2</sup> कृत्वा पुनर्यामो दिगन्तरम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १४१ ॥

If you, deceived by your parent do not stand by what we have unfolded, we will once again seek asylum outside Kashmir after doing wrong to you.

#### Notes

1. The counsellors emphasize upon Hâjī that he has been created by his father into coming to an understanding with him. This might be a ruse employed by the Sultān to entice Hâjī and thus lay his hands upon his collaborators.

2. Literally not proper, unusual, unbecoming might connote here that they kill him or take him as a hostage and start the war.

3. In consequence of which they shall have to go in a different direction and bid farewell to their native land for good.

#### VERSE 142: HAJI COERCED INTO DECLARING WAR

इति निर्भर्त्सनावाक्यै<sup>1</sup> जातभीतिर्नृपात्मजः ।

ततश्चिन्तार्णवे मग्नो<sup>2</sup> युद्धश्रद्धामगाहत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १४२ ॥

On hearing these threatening words, the king's son (the prince) was frightened. Then drowned in the ocean of anxiety, he gave the permission for the war,

#### Notes

1. Literally connotes threat, revile, reproach, abuse, etc. The counsellors now resorted to the fourth alternative, that is threat of war. The first three being appeasement, gratification and disruption (साम, दाम, दण्ड, भेद) respectively. (*Manu Smṛiti*, VII, 109). This threat was administered to Hâjī for coercing him to their point of view i.e., threatened him that they would force him into a difficult situation if he does not take up arms against the Sultān. This frightened Hâjī. He shivered in his shoes and most unwillingly endorsed their views simply to save his own life and expediency but not out of conviction.

2. Drowned in the ocean of anxiety, misgivings, apprehensions etc., out of duress.

The courtiers thus fired the last salvo to intimidate the prince

3. He was actually coerced into ordering a war against his father by these courtiers.

VERSE 143: THE SULTĀN READY FOR  
THE WAR

अत्रान्तरे द्विजं<sup>1</sup> तादृगवस्थं<sup>2</sup> वीक्ष्य भूपतिः ।

मुरारतिरिव<sup>3</sup> क्रुद्धो युद्धसन्नद्धतां दधे ॥ १४३ ॥

In the meanwhile, the Sultān observing the plight of the Brahmin (the emissary) was enraged like the foe of Mura (Lord Kṛṣṇa) and got ready for the war.

Notes

1. The twice-born or Brahmin whom the Sultān had sent to Hāji for negotiating peace.

2. The miserable plight of the emissary (Brahmin) supposed to be inviolable. His ears had been chopped off by the courtiers of Hāji.

3. Mura was the son of Śankhāsura whom Śrī Kṛṣṇa allayed (BGVT, IV, 26 etc.). Hence Lord Kṛṣṇa came to be known as Murāri or Murārāti (used by Śrīvara here) ie, the foe of Mura.

4. The Sultān could divine now that war was inevitable.

VERSE 144: THE SULTĀN AT HOME  
IN ASTROLOGY

शुक्रयोगजनामर्क्षपरीक्षणविचक्षणः<sup>2</sup> ।

स्वपक्षरक्षणं<sup>3</sup> क्षापः पृष्ठीकृतरिविर्व्यधात्<sup>4</sup> ॥ १४४ ॥

The Sultān, proficient in deciphering the course of star named after Venus-combination and with his back towards the Sun, provided shield for his side.

Notes

In these verse there is a pun on the word Sun. It was the planet Sun as well as the sunlight.

1. The movement of the planet Venus. According to the Hindu astrology the Venus should be in front at the time of initiating a project. It is supposed to yield prosperity. The Sultān was at home in the Hindu astrology. *Rkṣa* used here also means the northerly direction. It might connote that Sultān's army faced north at the time of battle.

2. Very well versed, proficient.

3. To safeguard his army.

4. The Sun was kept at the back. The conjunction of Venus and the Sun does not augur well for undertaking a noble deed (Varāha-Mihira's *Brhat-Samhitā*).

In the *Pañcatantra* it is laid down that the Sun should be kept at the back (and not in front) for reasons obvious. It affects the sight.



VERSE 145: PORTENTS FAVOURABLE  
FOR SULTÂN'S VICTORY

राज्ञः पृष्ठगतः सूर्यः खड्गान्तः<sup>1</sup> प्रतिबिम्बितः ।  
जयस्ते भवितेत्येव वक्तुं व्योम्नोऽवतीर्णवान् ॥ १४५ ॥

The Sun at the back of the Sultân was reflected in the sword. It was as if it had come down from the sky to announce his (the Sultân's) victory.

*Note*

1 अन्तः means inner as well as outer fringe or surface. The position of the Sun both in terms of astrology and shadow was very favourable.

VERSE 146: THE ROYAL FORCES ARMED TO THE TEETH

कियन्तोऽमीति<sup>1</sup> यावत् सोऽचिन्तयत् तावदग्रतः ।  
अर्क दीप्तिज्वलच्छस्त्र द्युतिघोषित<sup>2</sup> भूतलम् ॥ १४६ ॥

No sooner did he (the Sultân) ponder over their (the enemy's) number, the entire space (of the battle field) was beaming with radiance, as if by shimmer of war weapons in the back drop of the Sun's light.

*Notes*

1. Those days, the hand to hand fight was the order of the day. Hence the Sultân as the head of the forces would send only that number of soldiers into fight who would be equal to the number on the other side. Others would stand by as re-inforcements. Hence he would like to form an idea of the number of soldiers on the side of Hâji.

2. It was a bright sunny day. The war weapons carried by the soldiers of either side apparently polished and sharpened. The sun rays were reflected in these and the entire battle field was bathed in a bright sheen.

VERSE 147: INFANTRY AND CAVALRY THROWN  
INTO THE BATTLE

निर्यत्सनाहिसाद्योष पतद्भट<sup>1</sup> तुङ्गमम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
गणशो<sup>3</sup> गणशो धावत् तत्सैन्यं समवैक्षत ॥ १४७ ॥

He (the Sultân) perceived that army in which the fighters in armour were moving fast in collective formations along with the infantry and cavalry.

*Notes*

The army consisting of horses of the hired soldiers running in batches of armoured horsemen coming out. The whole first half is the adjective of *sainyam*.

1. 'पट' actually means a 'hired soldier', a mercenary (MW. 745) Foot-soldiers or infantry is meant here.
2. Apparently the soldiers on horses or cavalry.
3. The troops in close formation.

#### VERSE 148: A COMPLIMENT TO HĀJĪ KHĀN'S BRAVERY

कोऽन्यो वीरो<sup>1</sup> हज्यखानद्वो यज्ञा वाग्रजेन<sup>2</sup> वा ।  
गृहीत<sup>3</sup> सर्व सैन्येन धैर्यात्कृष्टुमशक्यत<sup>4</sup> ॥ १४८ ॥

No other brave warrior except Hājī Khān could try the fortitude of the Sultān or that of his elder brother (Ādam Khān), though commanding a fullfledged army,

#### Notes

1. Herein Hājī Khān's bravery has been extolled. He seems to be a more than a match for the Sultān's or his own brother's fortitude
2. Elder brother of Hājī Khān, Ādam Khān is referred to here
3. Having collected a fullfledged army including infantry and cavalry
4. Hājī had the stamina to tax the 'patience' of the Sultān and Ādam Khān. The inference being that Hājī might have been a tactful sniper and an adept in guerrilla war. He could afford to keep this whole army at bay for months together, thus snatch away the fortitude of the Sultān. Hence the Sultān's tactics were to make a lightening attack and not to give time to Hājī Khān to arrange his snipers by attacking him instantly. Subsequent verses point to the same conclusion unambiguously.

#### VERSE 149: SULTĀN'S ARMY VERY WELL TRAINED

तत्र मल्लशिलारङ्ग<sup>1</sup> सङ्गतास्तद्वद नटाः<sup>2</sup> ।  
त्वङ्गदङ्गाः<sup>3</sup> विहङ्गानां नाट्यमङ्गिमदर्शयत् ॥ १४९ ॥

There at the theatre (of war) known as Malla Shila the royal soldiers as its actors displayed their dexterity in accomplishing various dramatic sequences; as do the birds with the suppleness of their limbs.

#### Notes

1. Mentioned in vs. 115, *supra*.
2. The soldiers of the Sultān were as gay and jolly as actors. They did not feel scared in being thrown into the war.
3. By displaying the suppleness, dexterity and elasticity of their limbs, were adaptable to any stress or strain. They could even beat the birds, whose suppleness of limbs is a known fact, on this score.
4. Various sequences of dramatic composition. While on march birds were the lone onlookers of that army. The other army was at a distance and the local population had deserted this terrain for fear of loot and murder. In those days this was the usual pastime of an army when in harness.

VERSE 150: OFFENSIVE FROM THE SULTÂN'S  
ARMY STARTS

ववर्ष शरघराभिः स भूपकटक्रान्दः ।

स्फुरच्छस्त्रतडिज्ज्योतिस्तूर्यगम्भीरगर्जितः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १५० ॥

The army of the Sultân rained arrows in quick succession, as if a cloud was raining. The shining weapons flashed as if the lightening was flashing and the drums were as deafening as the roar (of the cloud).

*Notes*

1 Śrīvara has compared the Sultân's army with a cloud, which instead of pouring down water, rained arrows. The shining weapons flashed just like the flashes of lightening and the incessant drum-beats were there in order to boost the morale of the forces as also to forewarn the other side about the imminent attack. It acted like the roar of the cloud. Śrīvara's mastery over the language and its diction is evident from the simile of this verse.

VERSE 151: THE NOISE OF THE BATTLE

अन्यान्यमिलिताः कांस्यघनवत्<sup>1</sup> कठिना घनाः ।

अन्योन्याघातसहना<sup>2</sup> नदन्तः सुभटा वधुः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १५१ ॥

Like the solid compact bronze cymbals striking against one other (and producing a) sonorous and violent sound, the valiant fighters earned applause while challenging each other and defending themselves from the charge made by others.

*Notes*

1 Balls or cymbals made of bronze. Herein घन has been used in two different senses—(i) The cymbal, (ii) Compact, solid, sonorous sound.

2 In man to man fight the attacks made on the adversary with sword, bayonet etc. The warriors on both sides were well-trained to defend themselves from such attacks.

3 Challenging each other. Inciting the foe to engage in fight.

VERSE 152: HĀJĪ UNDER THE SURVEILLANCE  
OF HIS OWN TROOPS

भटा नयन्ति मां युद्धे मां मा ताडयत हुतम् ।

इतीव तारं दध्वान् खानस्यानकदुन्दुभिः ॥ १५२ ॥

The soldiers are taking me out of the battle field in haste, do not beat us any more. In this manner as if the war drums of Hājī raised a loud and shrill cry.

## Notes

1. आनक is a large military drum beaten at one end (MW, 139). Indirect purport from this verse is that the troops of Hāji Khan had been tutored by the counsellors that they should watch the movements of Hāji and never leave him alone. They feared that he would defect to the other side.

Śrīvara has been very cautious in delineating this trait of Hāji. Śrīvara saw him ascend the throne after the death of his father and has described his reign also, hence has emphatically referred to Hāji's being in two minds while the war was on. The poet could not afford to give offence to Hāji the reigning Sultan after Budshāh.

## VERSE 153. ŚRĪVARA, A WITNESS TO BATTLE

पूर्व<sup>1</sup> मया प्रतीहारमुख्या<sup>2</sup> गुरुलघूर्जिताः<sup>3</sup> ।  
रणे फलतया दृष्टा खेर्वृत्ते<sup>4</sup> घना इव ॥ १५३ ॥

First of all, I saw high and low with uncommon bravery under the command of 'Pratihāras' reaping a good harvest in the battle-field, like the sun (momentarily) overshadowed by the clouds.

## Notes

1. As the battle started, the hour for the combat approached.
2. The ranks under the command of प्रतिहार. For Pratihāras see verse 88, supra.
3. High and low, the officers as well as the soldiers. It might even connote those carrying heavy armour and those having light and small missiles like arrows etc.
4. Just as clouds envelope the Sun, which is a temporary phase. Śrīvara would like to say on his personal authority that Hāji's forces gained an edge over those of the Sultān in the first round of the battle, wherein Pratihāras (Padrus of to-day) dealt the first blow on the royal forces.

## VERSE 154. THĀKUR BROTHERS LEAD THE ROYAL FORCES

ततो भूयबलात् कुद्धौ धात्रेयौ<sup>1</sup> भूपतेर्हितौ ।  
ठक्कुरौ<sup>2</sup> निरगातां<sup>3</sup> तौ वीरौ<sup>4</sup> हस्सनहोस्सनौ<sup>5</sup> ॥ १५४ ॥

Thereafter, the two brave sons of the wet-nurse Hassan and Hussain Thākur wishing well for the Sultān, felt exercised over the (incompetence) of royal forces, gave lead to them personally.

## Notes

1. The Thākur brothers, actually foster brothers to the Sultān, were enraged to see royal forces being massacred by Hāji's combatants. They ascribed it to the incompetence of royal forces.
2. See verse 44 supra.
3. It seems they had changed loyalty and had now become friends with the Sultān.
4. See verse 44 earlier.

Hāji's forces were commanded by Pratihāras and the royal army by the Thākurs. It seems that witnessing the rout of his army, the Sultān might have changed the command and elevated Thākurs to this strategic post.

5. V.I. हसनहुस्सनी (VVR/ prefers this).

VERSE 155: RAJPUT PRINCES ALLIES OF  
HĀJĪ KHĀN

सुवर्णसिंह<sup>1</sup> नग्राद्या रजपुत्रा रणाध्वरे ।

शस्त्रज्वालावली लीढे जुहुवुः<sup>2</sup> श्रीफलं वपुः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १५५ ॥

The Rajput princes Suvarṇa Simha, Nagra etc. laid down their lives in the sacrificial fire of the battle field emitted by the war weapons making a *bilva* fruit of their body.

Notes

1. Siha or Suha is actually Kashmiri rendering of Simha (Sanskrit). Such peculiar Kashmiri variations from Sanskrit have been used by Kalhana and Jona Rāja also.

2. A battle has often been compared to sacrificial fire in which oblations in the form of soldiers killed are thrown.

3. श्रीफलम्, the fruit of *bilva* tree—one of the oblations. It is used for the Rajput Princes who lost their life in this battle. *Bilva* leaf is thought to be very dear to Lord Śiva. Being a votary of Śiva, Śrivarā might have used this epithet quite involuntarily. It is also called the wood apple or Aegle Marmelos.

VERSE 156: WARRIORS TAKE THEIR LIVES  
IN THE BATTLE CHEERFULLY

ते वीरभ्रमरस्तत्र<sup>1</sup> रसोद्याने तदाभ्रमन् ।

स्वामिमाधव<sup>2</sup> सान्निध्याद् यशः कुसुमलम्पटाः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १५६ ॥

Those valiant warriors with their commanding officers near them, roamed in the battle field infatuated by the desire to amass fame, like the bees finding the spring at hand, roaming the pleasure garden looking for flowers.

Notes

1. The valiant soldiers of both the armies, like busy bees.

2. (i) All dominant; (ii) The general officer commanding the forces, (iii) The Sultān or Hāji, lords of either side. It might be translated like this also:

The officer in command (the Sultān or Hāji) in the shape of spring being very close; under his very nose the forces on either side like bees fought valiantly to gather fame as if the flowers.

The fighters on both sides wanted to display their prowess to their respective commanders or to Sultān or Hāji. They fought like busy bees with cheer and undivided attention.

3. Infatuations, longing, for flowers in the case of bees to collect their pollen, in the case of soldiers to amass fame, to earn good-will etc

#### VERSE 157: THE BATTLE AT ITS HIGHEST PITCH

ते वीरमस्तकाश्छिन्ना<sup>1</sup> रणभुभोजने<sup>2</sup> स्फुटम् ।  
क्षुप्तस्य कृतान्तस्य कवला<sup>3</sup> इव रेजिरे<sup>4</sup> ॥ १५७ ॥

Those warriors with their heads chopped off earned approbation by becoming morsels of the insatiable God of death as soon as they entered the battle field (like morsels) in the eating bowl.

#### Notes

1. The soldiers were despatched to the other world as soon as they joined the combat. They could not get time to cool their heads even.
  2. The battle field represented the bowl in which morsels in the shape of soldiers were arranged for allaying the hunger of the God of death.
  3. The feed, the fodder, the morsels. The soldiers represented the feed for the insatiable God of death.
  4. The inference being that soldiers died in great number on either side and still more had to die since the hunger of the God of death knew no bounds.
4. V.I. रेजिरे (VVRI, p 23).

#### VERSE 158: DEAFENING NOISE AT THE BATTLE FIELD

रणतुर्यस्वनैस्तैर्जन<sup>1</sup> कोलाहलैस्तथा ।  
वीराणां सिंहनादैश्च शब्दाद्वैतमजायत<sup>2</sup> ॥ १५८ ॥

The noise of the war trumpets and that made by the roar of the challenges thrown by the warriors to each other combined to make the tumult unprecedented.

#### Notes

1. तैस्ते is to be read with जनैस्त्रहलैः which will mean the noise produced by the dying soldiers in pain or by the charging soldiers in joy.
2. अद्वैत literally means without a second, one and only one. It is actually a philosophical term used by Vedāntists. Here it will give the ordinary sense of unparalleled, unprecedented or nothing like it before. A verbal non-dualism.

#### VERSE 159: THOSE IN ROYAL SERVICE NOT DEPENDABLE

तच्छुद्धये<sup>1</sup> ऋणमिवैक्ष्य<sup>2</sup> नृपप्रसादं  
प्राप्ते क्षणे जहति ये निजजीविताशाम्<sup>3</sup> ।  
तत्तद्दिहस्तपरिरक्षणधर्मलुब्धा<sup>4</sup>  
धन्यास्त एव<sup>5</sup> कतिचिन्नुप सेवकेभ्यः ॥ १५९ ॥

Those handful (of people) are more blessed than those (countless) in royal service, who treat the favour of the king as an imperative obligation (debt) and pay it back, in the hour of need at the cost of their very life, who feel drawn towards duty (virtue) in order to reap virtue out of it.

*Notes*

1. To pay back what you owe is called *रुद्धि*.
2. The debt in lieu of the favour of the king. According to Hindu scriptures there are five debts to be defrayed including *पितृकर्मणः*, *देवकर्मणः*. What we owe to the manes and gods etc. A king has been taken as the supreme amongst men (*BGV TG*). Hence people owe a duty to him also.
3. Such enlightened people pay back the good done to them by the king with their blood. They are never ungrateful.
4. Such good natured people crave for doing good to the have-nots, so that they could reap virtue out of it.
5. They are blessed.

VERSE 160: THE MORALE OF HĀJĪ'S TROOPS SINKS

रजाम्रादागतास्तीक्ष्णाः<sup>1</sup> शरस्तत्पक्षपातिनः ।  
स्वयं पाहीति<sup>2</sup> भीत्येव स्खलन्तः समचोदयन् ॥ १६० ॥

A volley of sharp arrows coming from the side of the Sultān made his (Hājī's) supporters stumble due to fear, (while) he in order to boost up their morale (admonished) them to get out of the range of (these arrows) for saving themselves.

*Notes*

1. Sharp arrows one after the other were discharged at the troops of Hājī. A fierce attack of such missiles was launched by the Sultān's army. Hājī's troops could not stand up to it. They tottered out of fear. Their morale was sinking.
2. Hājī began to boost them up by crying at them to get out of the range of arrows for their safety.

VERSE 161: VIOLENT WIND BLOWING OVER  
THE BANNER

ध्वजचैलाञ्चला<sup>1</sup> रजसुतस्याग्रे तु वायुना ।  
सकम्पा रणभीत्येव पश्चान्द्रागमशिप्रियन्<sup>2</sup> ॥ १६१ ॥

The drapery of the (war) banners in front of the prince were in terrible commotion due to the wind as if alarmed at this (bloody) war, and being in constant tremor had opted to lean on their hind parts.

*Notes*

1. The cloth of which these banners were made, the drapery. The prince's

body-guard presumably consisted of horse-men armed with lances with pennons  
replies of prince's standard fixed on their tops.

2. These pennons stopped to flutter and got wrapped up on the staff. Actually  
the staff is the hind-part of a banner. The banners found a more safe and calm perch,  
to rest upon.

#### VERSE 162: BATTLE FIELD COMPARED TO A LOTUS POND

शस्त्र कृतस्फुरद्गिर शिरः कमल<sup>1</sup> निर्भरा ।

जीवनाशा चलत्पत्रा<sup>2</sup> नलिनी<sup>3</sup> रणभूरभूत् ॥ १६२ ॥

In the battle field the heads of the brave warriors chopped off  
by the weapons looked like the lotuses shining brightly and the  
hopes of survival hanging on a slender thread were like the  
quivering leaves of the water lilies.

##### Notes

1. The lotus flowers at the top of the plant. Lotus is usually red. The dismembered  
heads cut off from the body, still dripping blood, have been compared to lotuses.

2. The hopes of life, survival etc. were as tremulous as the quivering leaves.

3. The water lily (*Nelumbium Speciosum*). The inference being that instead of  
standing in water like a lotus, this battlefield was drenched in blood

#### VERSE 163: PEERLESS VALOUR OF HĀJĪ AND HIS TROOPS

शौर्यमत्यद्भुतं दृष्ट्वा सूनोस्तत्कटकस्य च ।

पुनर्जात<sup>1</sup> मिवात्मानं रणोत्तीर्ण<sup>2</sup> नृपोऽविदत् ॥ १६३ ॥

Beholding the unparalleled valour of his son and his troops, the  
Sultān, on inflicting a defeat over them, considered it to be his  
re-birth.

##### Notes

1. Having taken a second birth. The inference being that the Sultān was not sure  
of defeating them and returning unscathed from the battle.

Another meaning can also be attached to these words. The Sultān felt very much  
flattered on the display of the bravery by his son and thought him (Hājī) to be his  
(Sultān's) replica.

2. Going across the battlefield, vanquishing the other side i.e. running the other  
end of the battle field. It was very perilous to confront the brave soldiers of Hājī,  
more so to dislodge them from their positions.

#### VERSE 164: HĀJĪ KHĀN SURRENDERS

कृत्वा सर्वदिनं युद्धं बलाद् भृत्यैर्निवारितः<sup>1</sup> ।

हृज्यखानः सवित्राणः<sup>2</sup> समरात् स न्यवर्तत ॥ १६४ ॥



Hāji Khān, being kept at a respectable distance (from the range of missiles) against his will by his attendants, fought from dawn to dusk. Finally he withdrew from the battle-field, under a safe escort.

*Notes*

1. Forcibly detained by his retinue from going ahead into the thick of the battle. The reason for this is obvious. His (Hāji's) loyal guards did not want him to be struck with a missile from the royal forces. His life was a symbol for the unity of his ranks.

Other inference from it can be that his troops knew quite well that Hāji's elder brother Ādam was a sworn enemy of his and might do him any harm if Hāji Khān was allowed to go deep into the battle (cf. verses 82-83, *supra*).

It can also be suggested that Hāji once free from the custody of his guards, might have gone over to the Sultān's side (cf. verses 131-133, *supra*). Hence in utter desperation he fought throughout the day.

2. Royal forces overwhelmed Hāji's troops and he ran off the battlefield. His guards provided safe escort to him. He had to surrender at last.

VERSE 165: ĀDAM PERSUES FLEEING HĀJĪ

धनं निजानुजं दृष्ट्वा पश्चात्लग्नो विविग्मधीः<sup>1</sup> ।

अग्रजोऽथावधील्लग्नान्मग्नान्स्त्रासार्णवे<sup>2</sup> भटान् ॥ १६५ ॥

Thereafter having seen his younger brother (Hāji) crest-fallen and shattered, the elder one (Ādam) in utter frustration gave him a chase, killing his body-guards, (already) immersed in an ocean of great fear.

*Notes*

1. With distracted mind, in utter despondency. Ādam seeing his younger brother Hāji defeated but unscathed was not happy, since he wanted him to be killed, thus getting rid of a contender for the throne after his father.

2. The troops giving a cover to fleeing Hāji were very much anxious in respect of their future. They apprehended reprisal from the Sultān; more so, for weaning away Hāji from his father. This guilt weighed heavy with them.

VERSE 166: ĀDAM, A VERY CRUEL PRINCE

किमुच्यते नृशंसत्वं येन शूरपुरान्तरे ।

जन्मयात्रा<sup>1</sup> गतो मोहान्निहतः<sup>2</sup> पथिकव्रजः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १६६ ॥

What can be said about his (Ādam's) callousness who out of an error of judgement killed a host of travellers forming the marriage party of a bridegroom—in Śūrapura (Hurapura).

*Notes*

1. A party accompanying the bridegroom to the bride's house. Bridal party (see MW). Apparently he killed a group of people who were not combatants at all.

2. Thinking them erroneously to be the sympathisers of Hāji.

Another shade of meaning can be that Ādam on seeing Hāji alive was feeling very sad and dejected and could not bear up with any kind of festivities. The marriage party always wears a festive, gay and folly look.

3. A group of travellers.

**VERSE 167: THE SULTĀN STAYS AT HURPURA  
FOR SOME TIME**

यस्यां मन्दप्रभो<sup>१</sup> भास्वान् गणैः<sup>२</sup> सर्वैर्विलोकितः ।

दक्षिणस्या<sup>३</sup> दिशस्तस्याः प्रवासी<sup>४</sup> स नृपोऽभवत् ॥ १६७ ॥

The Sultān carved out a temporary abode for himself quite away from his original home (Śrinagar) in the southern direction where his legions experienced the reduced warmth of the Sun.

*Notes*

1. Being on higher elevation than Śrinagar. Śūrapura was a colder place where the rays of the Sun were not as hot as in Śrinagar, the royal capital.

2. V.I. जनैः, another v.I. is भास्वानपि for जनैः सर्वैः ॥

3. Hulpura is to the south of Śrinagar above Shopian in the Pir Panjal range.

South is taken to be the direction of the God of Death. Hindus keep the head of the dead towards south before cremation for this very reason.

Moreover, so many had dropped down dead in this battle that is virtually earned the name of the quarter of the God of Death, i.e. south. The Sultān delayed his return to the capital with the intention of not allowing Ādam to do harm to Hāji. Had Ādam been left to himself he would have certainly killed Hāji. Sultān, therefore, acted as a brake on his (Ādam's) bad intentions.

4. A temporary resident. The one who adopts a habitat far away from his original home.

**VERSE 168: HĀJĪ'S FORCES BAD FIGHTERS**

दुर्यो<sup>१</sup> धनार्पितरसा गुरुशल्यनिष्ठा

भीष्मप्रियाः<sup>२</sup> परहर्ति<sup>३</sup> प्रति दत्तकर्ण<sup>४</sup> ।

ये धर्म<sup>५</sup> जाति<sup>६</sup> विमनस्क तया कृपेच्छा<sup>७</sup> —

स्ते कौरवा<sup>८</sup> इव रणे न जयं लभन्ते ॥ १६८ ॥

There is a pun on the words used in this verse; double meaning contained therein can be rendered thus:

A. Those, who straightway delegate the onerous duties of warfare to incompetent fighters, depend solely on heavy spears and are enamoured of dreadful deeds, lend ear to (the plans) involving annihilation of their rivals, are indifferent to the moral values and social discipline, and wish to spread consternation, like tipsy drunkards, cannot win a war.

## Notes

1. दुः means bad, unwholesome, not competent.
2. योधना—Fight, battle warrior, fighter.
3. भीष्म—terrible, dreadful; शल्य—lance, bayonet, spear, etc.
4. परः—others, rivals, contenders, enemies. Hatred—disaster, extermination, annihilation.
5. Karna is an ear or lend an ear.
6. Dharma—Morality, religious obligations.
7. Jāti—social customs, discipline, caste.
8. Kripā—mourning, pity, consternation.
9. कौरवा = like tipsy drunkards.

A comparison made with the characters of *Mahābhārata*

B. Those who in a fit of rashness depend on Duryodhana, pin their faith in Guru Droṇācārya and Śalya, are enamoured of Bhīṣma, and lure Karna to destroy the enemies, want Kripācārya on their side and have no regard for the duty and birth, such Kauravas cannot register a victory in the battle.

## Notes

1. Duryodhana—was the eldest son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Gāndhārī, eldest of the hundred Kauravas.

2. The teacher (Guru) in archery—"Droṇācārya"—a brahmin warrior. The second in command of the Kaurava forces.

Śalya—the King of Madra Deśa (Sialkot). The last commander of the Kaurava forces in the great battle (*Mahābhārata*).

3. The first commander of Kaurava forces. He was grand paternal uncle to Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas.

4. Disaster to the Pāṇḍavas—the enemies of the Kauravas.

5. Karna was actually the son of Kuntī, hence half-brother to Pāṇḍavas. He took over as the commander of Kaurava forces after the death of Droṇa. He was a close friend of Duryodhana.

6. Dharma—The tenets of good conduct, virtue. Kauravas had violated all the prescribed canons of good-conduct, morality etc. in refusing to part with the share accruing to the Pāṇḍavas.

7. Jāti connotes genus, family, race etc.

Pāṇḍavas belonged to the same family of which the Kauravas were the scions. Their common ancestor was Kuru.

8. Kripācārya was the brother-in-law of Droṇācārya, a brahmin warrior who sided with Kauravas in the *Mahābhārata*.

9. The progeny of Kuru, the common ancestor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. Later on this epithet was used exclusively for Duryodhana's side. All these characters mentioned here fought on the side of the Kauravas in the *Mahābhārata* battle.

## VERSE 169: HĀJĪ KHĀN FLEES TO BHIMBER

अन्येद्युर्हतशिष्टांस्तान् भृत्यानीय पूर्ववत् ।

राज्यखानः<sup>1</sup> सानुतापेऽपि च देशे स्थितिं व्यधात् ॥ १६९ ॥

Hāji Khān on the following day collecting those troops of his who had escaped death, full of remorse, thought of finding asylum in the land of Cibhas (Bhimber) as he had done earlier.

*Notes*

1. Hāji Khān had directed the rebellion against the Sultān, his father, from this very country of Cibhas (cf. verse 91 supra).
2. With repentance, Hāji Khān could not feel that he had not taken the right step in confronting the Sultān. Thousands of his troops had been killed and his own future hung on slender thread.
3. For the country of Cibhas (cf. vs. 47 earlier).

VERSE 170: HĀJĪ SPENDS THE NIGHT ON  
THE MOUNTAIN

खिन्नानाशवासयन् कांश्चित् संभिन्नान् प्रतिपालयन् ।  
भक्षयन् क्षुधया क्षीणान् नगाग्रे<sup>1</sup> सोऽजयन्निशाम् ॥ १७० ॥

Consoling the dejected, arranging funeral for some dead, providing food to those famished and emaciated, he (Hāji Khān) spent the night at the top of the mountain.

*Notes*

1. The top of the mountain; presumably it was the Pir-Panchal range. It is interesting to note that the leader had a duty towards the followers and the dead to perform, before he retired from the battlefield. This appears to be an old tradition.

VERSE 171: THE SULTĀN ISSUES A 'FIRMĀN'  
NOT TO KILL HĀJĪ

मा वधिष्ट सुतं<sup>1</sup> कश्चिन्मत्परो वातिविह्वलः<sup>2</sup> ।  
इति कारुणिको राजा न्यवर्तत<sup>3</sup> रणाद् द्रुतम् ॥ १७१ ॥

Exceedingly exasperated the Sultān issued a command to his side as well as to those on the other side not to kill his son (Hāji) and out of compassion withdrew from the battle in haste.

*Notes*

1. Those forces on the side of Sultān and also those who fought for Hāji. The Sultān could very well smell that Ādam might kill Hāji as also the frustrated army commanders of Hāji whose future was now very bleak.
2. On this score he—the Sultān—felt very much distracted. He wanted to save the life of his son Hāji at any cost.
3. It might also mean that he ordered a cease-fire immediately. When the hostilities were suspended, Hāji could not be killed.

VERSE 172: THE SULTAN REGRETS FOR BEING  
INDULGENT TO THE NEIGHBOURING  
RULERS

आसिष्ये सुखितः सुतार्पितभरो बुद्ध्येति दत्ता निज—

राष्ट्रेशा<sup>1</sup> वरसेवकाः सतुरगाः संवर्धिता<sup>2</sup> ये मया ।

तेऽमी राज्यजिहीर्षवः सुतरता युद्धाय मय्यागता

धिङ्मां येन नयोज्झितेन घृणयानर्थः<sup>3</sup> स्वयं स्वीकृतः ॥ १७२ ॥

“Transferring the burden (of rule) to the son, I had thought that I shall feel composed and happy. Those very rulers of the (adjoining) countries whom I projected with worthy attendants and horses, gave a fight to me having a soft corner for my son (Hāji) to grab the kingdom. Fie on me who out of compassion quite bereft of expediency, invited a calamity on myself.

Notes

1. The princes of the adjoining countries around Kashmir. Reference to obvious towards the princes of Lohara (Lorn), Rājāpurī (Rajouri) and Bhīmavārā (Bhimber) who actually instigated Hāji against his father.

2. As a matter of policy, these rulers of places around Kashmir should not have been fondled by me. They ought to have been cut to their size.

3. Aversion for Hāji is meant here. The Sultān would like to convey that he had not been a bit too soft towards Hāji, this mishap would not have taken place. The battle between father and son as also the lurking fear in the mind of Sultān that Hāji might be killed.

VERSE 173: LEGAL ACTION TAKEN AGAINST  
UNFAITHFUL ATTENDANTS

इत्यादि विमृशन्<sup>1</sup> राजा स्वपुं दुःखितोऽगमत् ।

विरोधादायिनो निन्दन्<sup>2</sup> सेवकान् विधिकर्मणा<sup>3</sup> ॥ १७३ ॥

In this manner while given to brooding, the Sultān quite broken returned to his metropolis, censuring through legal action, the attendants who had sown seed of discord (between him, the father—and his son).

Notes

1. The Sultān was pondering over the outcome of his battle wherein he had to be on guard against any damage being done to the life of his son Hāji. He had consequently returned to Srinagar with a heavy heart.

2. The law, prevalent custom of the land, with consequent follow-up action. The law or the custom in vogue in Kashmir for those who collaborate with the enemies of the state specifically must have contained some sort of action which the Sultān wanted to take now.

VERSE 174: MINARS MADE OUT OF THE SKULLS  
OF DEAD WARRIORS

संग्राममृतवीरिन्द्रच्छिन्नमस्तक<sup>1</sup> पङ्क्तिभिः ।

आनीय राजा नगरे मुखगारमकारयत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ १७४ ॥

The Sultān having cut off the heads of these important warriors who had been killed in the battle field, brought them to the city (Srinagar) and having lined them up, built minarets of them.

Notes

1. The Sultān got the skulls of very celebrated warriors to the city the royal capital perhaps beckoning to his people that however powerful an individual be if going against the interests of the state will meet the same fate. This was a device sagaciously used by the Sultān to emphasize upon his subjects not to rebel against the royal authority.

2. Literally meaning the front-apartment especially of a **mosque**. In mosques the front as well as the hind portions there were usually minarets, which also served as the staircases leading up to its top for the Muazzin to give the call to prayers. It looks like a front-apartment actually; hence this very epithet has been used by the author.

VERSE 175: ALL GOOD WARRIORS PUT TO SWORD

इत्थं सेवक<sup>1</sup> पैशुन्यात्<sup>2</sup> पितृ पुत्र विरोधतः ।

समरे तत्र तद्वर्षे वीरलोकक्षयोऽभवत् ॥ १७५ ॥

In this way, due to the treachery of the sycophants fomenting trouble between the father and son, no warrior worth the name could survive in that battle that year.

Notes

1. The servants literally, the retinue of Hāji Khān. The sycophants who incited Hāji to rise against his father.

2. On account of their ulterior motive, ungratefulness, deceit, treachery, etc.

VERSE 176: HOSTILE ATTITUDE OF NEAR AND DEAR ONES  
IS A CURSE TO THE RULER

राज्यस्थितिप्रविकसन्नलिनीहिमौघो<sup>1</sup>

लोक<sup>2</sup>क्षयोदित<sup>3</sup>महाभय धूमकेतुः<sup>4</sup> ।

विघ्नप्रसक्तखलधूकनिशान्धकारः<sup>5</sup>

शापः सुखस्य नृपतेः स्वजनैः विरोधः<sup>6</sup> ॥ १७६ ॥

Treachery of his own kith and kin is a curse for the happiness of the ruler (the Sultān) in as much as it acts as a mass of snow on

a lotus plant in full blossom (representing) the health of the state, works havoc with the people as the inauspicious foreboding destruction of highest magnitude, serves as the dark cover of night for the owls, the wicked bent upon sabotage and subversion.

*Notes*

1. The lotus plant in full bloom represented the health and good rule of Budshāh. But his own people eg. Hāji, wrought havoc with it like a mass of snow on this very lotus plant which withers it down immediately, its bloom youth is destroyed at once.

2. The destruction of the people and the country is a sure aftermath the appearance of a comet (a smoke bannered star). It is generally believed to bring calamities for the country and the people.

3. Mislec चित for दित.

4. A star which is smoke bannered. It is supposed to leave a trail of flash or light from its tail.

5. Darkness of night is a coveted boon for owls as also for those who indulge in conspiring surreptitiously, secretly etc.

6. To be at logger-heads, treachery, hostile attitude etc.

इति पण्डितश्रीवररचितजैनराजतरङ्गिण्यां मल्लशिलायुद्ध-वर्णनं नाम प्रथमः सर्गः ।

This is the end of the First Canto, named 'The Battle of Mallaśilā' of the *Zaina Rājataranginī*, composed by Pandit Śrīvara.

## WAVE I, CANTO II

VERSE 1: THE SULTÂN NOW KINDLY DISPOSED TOWARDS  
ÂDAM KHÂN

धूमृतो<sup>1</sup> निर्गता प्रेमसरित् प्रोच्चानुजच्छलात्<sup>2</sup> ।  
प्रत्यावृत्ता कियत्कालं<sup>3</sup> शुद्धाग्रजमशिश्रियत्<sup>4</sup> ॥ १ ॥

Due to the perfidy of the younger brother (Hājī), the fount of love coming out from the Sultân turning its back towards him (Hājī) now began to flow towards the elder brother (Âdam) only for some time, just like a fond stream taking its birth from a mountain negotiating the higher and lower elevation, settles a equanimity on the plains.

*Notes*

1. धूमृतः—(a) A king, (b) A mountain.
2. प्रोच्चानुज—(a) Elder and younger, (b) High and low.
3. For some time. It was short-lived affair as will be seen later.
4. शुद्धाग्रजम्—(a) Purely the elder one, (b) Levelled without any ups and downs.  
Herein reference is made towards Sultân's owning his eldest son Âdam.

VERSE 2: ÂDAM KHÂN FONDLED OUT OF NECESSITY

यत् स्नेहभागी<sup>1</sup> सुदशाभिरामो<sup>2</sup>  
भाति प्रदीपः समुपास्य पात्रम् ।  
आशाप्रकाशैकनिधेस्तदारा—  
दसंनिधानेन<sup>3</sup> विरोचनस्य ॥ २ ॥

When the sole illuminer of the directions—the sun—having set, the lamp having negotiated the container, feeds it with fats (enlivening it) by a lovely wicker (then only) comes into lime light.

*Notes*

1. स्नेह means love as also fats, oils etc.
2. A lively situation as also a lovely wicker.
3. Not being in view, out of sight.

The point made here is that Sultân out of necessity had to woo Âdam Khân his eldest son just like a lamp in the absence of the Sun. Śrīvara would like to emphasize



that the Sultān had spontaneous love for Hājī. It was now a mere expediency in the case of Ādam.

VERSE 3: "KAMRĀZA" BESTOWED UPON ĀDAM KHĀN  
AS A JĀGĪR

ददावादमखानाय नायकः<sup>१</sup> स क्षितेस्तदा ।

प्रमेयन्<sup>२</sup> क्रमराज्यस्थाननुजीव्यान्<sup>३</sup> विरगतः<sup>४</sup> ॥३॥

The first citizen of the land, thereafter made over the Jagirs situated in Kramarājya (Kamrāza) along with those who lived on these to Ādam Khān out of aversion (for them).

Notes

1. The leader, the guide. Here it refers to the Sultān.

2. Actually the well measured land.

प्रमेय in singular is used in Śaiva-philosophy to mean the impersonal transcendence about which a correct notion should be formed or which needs to be ascertained by the realizer—प्रमर्तः. Śrīvara seems to take this word here as a *jagir* the boundaries of which are well defined for purposes of revenue collection. The *jagir* seems to have been fully demarcated so that it does not overlap the royal or private lands.

3. Those who lived on its produce, the cultivators etc.

4. This epithet can be construed in two ways:

(a) Out of aversion for inhabitants of this *jagir* within Kramarājya—Hājī Khān was in charge of this *jagir* earlier, hence the people over there must have helped him in conspiring against his father—the Sultān. Hence, Ādam Khān was sent there to teach them a lesson, as his cruelty was well-known (verses I, 1, 166). Kramarājya is also mentioned in *KRJT*, v. 87. Its present name is Kamrāz and is supposed to lie to the south of the river Jhelum, while the northern region is known as Marāz (cf. *RSPRJT*, ii, 15nn).

(b) Indifference for Hājī Khān as he had been impetuous enough to raise a nabber of revolt against the Sultān—his father. Hājī was perhaps sent there to undo all what Hājī had done there earlier.

VERSE 4: ĀDAM KHĀN GRABS THE WEALTH AND  
PROPERTY OF HĀJĪ KHĀN

जगृहे स च वित्तोद्यं गृहं ग्रामादिदेवगम्<sup>१</sup> ।

हाज्यहैधरखानीयं<sup>४</sup> पानीयमिव वाडवः<sup>५</sup> ॥४॥

He (Ādam Khān) seized all the piles of wealth, the residential quarters, villages (comprising the *jagir*) belonging to Hājī alias Haider Khān as well as those for divine purposes just like the oceanic fires consuming water.

Notes

1. Śrīvara now says explicitly that Hājī Khān was the former jagirdār of Kamrāz where he had also built a house to live in. This was now occupied by Ādam Khān

2. The villagers conspiring in Kamrāz.
3. This epithet can suggest more than one explanations:
  - a) The villages or the money earmarked for *waqf* purposes.
  - b) The money to be given in charity—Zakāt—is 2.5 per cent of the annual income from the assets. According to the Muslim law it is the duty of every Muslim to contribute this amount.
  - c) The wealth or the revenue-receipts of the villages under the Sultān directly i.e. royal property. दैवः also means the king, or the ruler.
4. Srivara here alludes to the name used by Hāji Khān on becoming Sultān which was Haider Khān.
5. The submarine fire. The fire at the bottom of the sea. Supposed to be at the South Pole.

VERSE 5: ĀDAM KHĀN BECOMES AS HEIR TO  
THE THRONE FOR FIVE YEARS

ततः प्रभृति ज्येष्ठः स कश्मीरान्तर्गुणाग्रगः<sup>2</sup> ।  
यौवराज्ये सुखं तद्वद् बुभुजे पञ्चशः<sup>3</sup> समाः ॥ ५ ॥

From that period onwards he (Ādam Khān) the eldest (son of his) following in the foot-steps of the Sultān, enjoyed all the privileges of an heir-apparent for the next five years, inside Kashmir.

Notes

1. Srivara tries to suggest that Ādam Khān lived inside Kashmir only for five years at a stretch. As will be clear later, he had to flee the country of his birth and die outside Kashmir. Emphasis on the word अन्तर 'inside' thus can be easily understood.

2. अग्र means both to go forward or follow. Herein it has been taken in the second sense. Here again Srivara suggests that Ādam Khān gave unreserved obedience to the Sultān for the next five years. He was otherwise not always very happy with his father (v.l., अः for गः).

3. Five times. Srivara says that Ādam Khān was an heir-apparent for five years only while the Persian chroniclers suggest this duration to be of six years. V.l., पञ्चशः is supposed to be a better reading (cf, VVRI, ed, p 27).

VERSE 6: FAMINE IN THE OFFING

येषां सुखं वितनुते विधिरन्न वृद्ध्या  
दुर्भिक्षदुःखमपि संतनुते स तेषाम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
वृष्ट्या विवर्धयति यानि तृणानि मेष-  
स्तान्येव शोषयति भावितुषारभारात् ॥ ६ ॥

The creator by replenishing the produce of the cereals multiplies the happiness of those very people whom he also drowns in gloom by improvising famines. The clouds which fondly nurse the blades of grass through rain also dry them up under the impending weight of frost.

## Note

1 Happiness or gloom, pleasure or pain of the people change hands. Neither of these can be of permanent duration. Sun and shade are the usual lot of the people.

## VERSE 7: DUST RAINS DOWN OVER KASHMIR

सर्वशस्यसमृद्धेऽस्मिन् देशे षट् त्रिशवत्सरे<sup>1</sup> ।  
अकस्मादभवच्चैत्रे गगनात् पांशुवर्षणम्<sup>2</sup> ॥७॥

In the thirty-sixth year, over this land of plenty in terms of grains, all of a sudden, dust-showers came down from the sky.

## Notes

1. It is Saptarshi era 4536 which comes to 1460 AD of Christian calendar.

Peer Hassan has given the year as 875 Hijri which is equivalent to 1455 AD. However the eye witness of Śrīvara cannot be doubted and Hassan might have made a mistake when he wrote his chronicle in the 18th century. The mistake can be due to the difference in the lunar and solar years used by the Muslims and the Hindu almanacs.

2. A violent dust storm is a prelude to excessive rain always. Such out of season calamities are not unknown to Kashmiris. Kalhaṇa has also alluded to a heavy snow fall in the month of Bhādrapada.

## VERSE 8: THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR SUPPOSED TO BE INAUSPICIOUS

बभूव वर्षः षट्त्रिंशः<sup>1</sup> सर्ववृणि<sup>2</sup> कुलक्षयात् ।  
भयकृत् सर्वजन्तूनां भारतादिति<sup>3</sup> विश्रुतम् ॥८॥

“Thirty-sixth year is always horrifying for all the creatures” is an adage quite well known from the times of *Mahābhārata* as during it whole of the Yadu race was annihilated.

## Notes

1. Credulity of Hindus has always taken thirty-sixth year as a year of disaster, perhaps taking a cue from *Mahābhārata* to which Śrīvara has also referred (consult note no. 2).

2. Literally very powerful, mighty, shepherd, cowherd etc. A proper name for the race Yadu to which Lord Kṛṣṇa belonged. An allusion to the wholesale destruction of Yadu race is made here, vide the *Mahābhārata* I, 13 in which the descendants of Yadu are said to have killed each other with pestles or clubs.

3. Bhārata is meant The *Mahābhārata* here (refer 2 above).

## VERSE 9: VEGETATION BATHED IN DUST

अभवन् पत्रपुष्पोष्वा धूलधूसरिता नताः<sup>1</sup> ।  
भाविदुर्भिक्ष<sup>2</sup>पोडार्तजनचित्तावशादिव ॥९॥

The greying clusters of leaves and flowers were bent down by the (weight) of the dust over them as if exercised first like people over the impending threats of famine and disease.

*Notes*

1. Dropped from the sky in such an abundance that the vegetation knelt down under its weight.
2. Famine and epidemics are suggested here. They are supposed to follow the ominous signs.

**VERSE 10: THIS UNUSUAL PHENOMENON FOREBODES FAMINE**

ध्विता वत्सरेऽमुष्मिन् दुर्भिक्षं पांशुवर्षणात्<sup>1</sup> ।  
इत्याख्यन्नुतरं पृष्टा भूभुजा दैववित्तमाः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १० ॥

The astrologers on being asked (about this unusual phenomenon) by the Sultān replied that due to the raining of the dust, this year will witness famine.

*Notes*

1. The downpour of dust was taken by the Kauravas also as an inauspicious omen presaging their defeat in the war against Pāṇḍavas (*Mahābhārata*, Bhishma Parva, III, 39).
2. The astrologers, the soothsayers.

**VERSE 11: ONE CENTURY EARLIER THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR  
HAD ALSO STRUCK TERROR HERE**

षट्त्रिंशो वत्सरोऽतीतो<sup>1</sup> दुर्भिक्षार्तिं प्रदोऽभवत् ।  
ऐषमस्तादृशः प्राप्तो भीतिरित्युदभूद्धृदि<sup>2</sup> ॥ ११ ॥

In the past, thirty-sixth year had brought the terror of famine in its train. Those very (inauspicious) times might now be repeated again; this kind of scare haunted the minds (of the people).

*Notes*

1. In the past, in the bygone days. The allusion is to the thirty-sixth year during the reign of Sultān Shahāb-ud-Dīn Saptarṣi 4436 (1360 AD) exactly one century earlier (cf. Jona Rāja, *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*, verse 504).
2. The credulous people of Kashmir were now on their wits end and feared that such a mishap might occur again.

**VERSE 12: HAIL DESTROYS THE PADDY CROP**

पपात मार्गशीर्षेऽथ<sup>1</sup> मास्युपद्रव<sup>2</sup> दर्शनम्<sup>3</sup> ।  
देशेऽत्र विलमच्छालि<sup>4</sup> माले प्रालेय<sup>5</sup> वर्षणम् ॥ १२ ॥

And on its heels, in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa or Agrahāyana when the row after row of the paddy fields were in full bloom, sleet and snow came down in showers spelling wholesale disaster.

*Notes*

- 1 The month of Agrahāyana roughly corresponds to mid-October to mid-November.
2. Showing, displaying adversity, distress,
3. V.l. दर्शकम् , cf. VVRI edition.
4. This is the season here in Kashmir when paddy is harvested.
5. Hail, snow, ice, etc.

VERSE 13: VALLEY BURIED UNDER THE SHROUD OF SNOW

दुर्मिश्रं दुःस्थितं लोकं कथं पश्यामि<sup>1</sup> साम्प्रतम् ।  
इतीव भूम्भूच्छन्<sup>2</sup> मुखी हिमसितांशुकैः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १३ ॥

How can I afford to look now at the country in this tight jacket on account of the failure of crops. (I can only convey this) as if the valley had covered its face with snow-white cloth.

*Notes*

1. Śrīvara is so much overwhelmed with grief on seeing his country in the clutches of famine that he cannot find words to express it.
2. Screening the face, covering it. Usually it is done when somebody dies. Śrīvara would like to convey that the country was more or less dead, all activity stood paralysed.
3. The snow white garment or cloth—refers to the shroud with which the dead body is wrapped from tip to toe before funeral rites are performed.

VERSE 14: RIPENED PADDY CROPS DESTROYED BY SNOW

छादिताः शालयः पक्षा हिमैर्जन<sup>1</sup> मनोहराः ।  
खलमूर्ख<sup>2</sup> सभामध्ये पण्डितैः<sup>3</sup> स्वगुणा इव ॥ १४ ॥

The ripe crop of paddy, delightening to people, was fully covered by the snow, just as the learned (conceal) their inherent merit in an assembly of the wicked and the fools.

*Notes*

1. The people on seeing the ripe paddy ready to be harvested felt very happy. This crop would have provided them food for the whole year.
2. The people wishing evil for others and also those who have learnt nothing.
3. The well-read scholars, the elite. In an assembly of wicked and foolish people men of merit and eminence try to conceal their stature since these perverts, cannot appreciate all that; instead they could indulge in scandalizing their loud edge over them.

## VERSE 15: SCARCITY ALL AROUND

कुक्ष्यावेगाद्<sup>1</sup> बुभुक्षार्तः क्षपिताक्षः<sup>2</sup> क्षणे क्षणे ।  
आशु दुर्भिक्षयक्षोऽत्र<sup>3</sup> व्यधात् प्रक्षीण<sup>4</sup> लक्षणम् ॥ १५ ॥

The ghost of famine on account of the flurry of the belly distressed with hunger and mortified vision began to manifest the symptoms of acute scarcity, minute after minute.

## Notes

1. V.I. वेगाद्.
2. Having spent-up eyes, bereft of lusture, hungry or mortified.
3. Yakṣa—A supernatural being, a demi-god. He is supposed to revel in eating animals and men.  
In Kashmiri this word is pronounced as यच्छ meaning unwholesome, unclean, inauspicious etc. Śrīvara has used this in that very sense
4. Acute non-availability. Scarcity.

## VERSE 16: FOOD GAINING EDGE OVER GOLD

प्रविश्य रात्रौ गेहान्तः क्षुद्यक्षोद्रेकपीडितः<sup>1 2</sup> ।  
हिरण्यादि धनं<sup>3</sup> त्यक्त्वा भाण्डेभ्योऽन्नमपाहरत्<sup>4</sup> ॥ १६ ॥

Afflicted by excesses exercised by the goblin in the form of hunger, (a prowler) stealing his way into a house under the cover of night would take away the food out of the utensils leaving gold and other kind of wealth untouched.

## Notes

1. Harassed by hunger, wanting to eat something.
2. V.I. यक्षोद्रेक.
3. Gold, silver and other precious wealth had lost importance in comparison to food
4. The cooked food in utensils, or the grains in jars etc.

## VERSE 17: NON-STOP BEGGING THROUGHOUT NIGHT AND DAY

सर्वस्मिन् दिवसे रात्रावपि भिक्षुपरम्पराः<sup>1</sup> ।  
शरा इवाविशन् देहे गेहे धान्यवहे<sup>2</sup> तदा ॥ १७ ॥

Throughout whole of the day and even night, the beggars one after another entered the houses with paddy in store, like the shafts (piercing) the body of a fighter in quick succession.

## Notes

1. The word means an uninterrupted line, unbroken series, one after another

etc. Begging for food was non-stop.

2. Those houses in which paddy was stored, those householders who had good stock of grains in their houses.

#### VERSE 18: CAKE MADE OF POWDERED HUSK EATEN BY PEOPLE

धान्यवद् गृह<sup>1</sup> संदिष्ट कृष्ट<sup>2</sup> कम्बुकदम्बकाः<sup>3</sup> ।  
नीरसा<sup>4</sup> पूषभोगेनाप्यरक्षन् केऽपि जीवितम् ॥ १८ ॥

Some managed to keep their body and soul together by taking tasteless cakes made of powdered husk stored in heaps like paddy in their houses.

##### Notes

1. People had stored husk in heaps in their houses as if these were cereals like paddy.

2. Pounded, made into a powder.

3. Shell, husk of rice. Earlier heaps of paddy were stored for the winter by the people. Now due to untimely and unusual snowfall only the outer covering or the shell of the paddy-grains could survive this inclemency of weather. It appears as if some people must have tried to collect whatever was left under the sleet and use that shrivelled paddy which had more husk than rice, for eating.

4. The cake formerly made of rice-flour were now replaced by powdered husk, hence though tasteless, these were eaten by the people to satisfy hunger and escape death.

#### VERSE 19: RATIONING INTRODUCED IN THE CITY

पालीपाली<sup>1</sup> वतासक्तष्टङ्क<sup>2</sup> टङ्कित भोजनः ।  
चिराच्चिरासादरतः कोऽपि कोऽपि हतोऽभवत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

Some accustomed to eat food in plates like gourmets accustomed to a prescribed menu, and a particular taste and flavour, now living on (a ration of) four *māsās*, did starve to death.

##### Notes

1. The author has played upon the word पाली in one context denoting the plates or the utensils in which food is cooked.

In the other it means of those who would take food to their fill verging on gluttony.

2. टङ्क connotes a weight of four *māsās* or 1/3 of a तोला. Although it is possible to infer that there was rationing in the valley, but it is hardly conceivable that anybody could possibly live on 4 *māsās* a day ie, hardly 4 grams. Therefore it appears the poet is only referring to extremely small measures of rice used by the people.

3. Some starvation deaths did take place.

## VERSE 20: VILLAGERS EAT VEGETABLE ROOTS

क्षीणा<sup>1</sup> ग्रामेषु<sup>2</sup> वास्तव्या केचिदन्नामृताप्तये<sup>3</sup> ।

शाकमूलफलाहारा व्रतनिष्ठा इवाभवन्<sup>4</sup> ॥ २० ॥

Some amongst the famished village-folk in search of food, (as scarce as) the nectar, subsisted on vegetable roots, aping those anchorites who subsist only on fruits in observance of religious vows.

## Notes

1. Have-nots; lean and thin on account of unsatiated hunger. It has been laid down in the *Pañcatantra* that such have-nots can be callous at times, but probably in Kashmir the people were definitely callous to their own self and not to the haves. They did not indulge in lootings or killings.

2. In the rural areas, it seems that food was rationed in the city only. Village folks were asked to find food for themselves independent of government machinery.

3. Food was as scarce as the nectar, or, it would give them life, just like nectar.

4. The villagers resembled these anchorites who denied solid food to themselves and subsisted on fruits only. In Hindu tradition it is usual to eat only fruits and vegetables on certain days or at the end of a fast. Such a food is called फलाहार.

## VERSE 21: BOILED VEGETABLES WITH A LITTLE OF RICE TAKEN AS FOOD

विराष्टङ्कान्तरे<sup>1</sup> क्षिप्त्वा<sup>2</sup> शाकं किमपि तण्डुलम् ।

पक्त्वाऽन्ये केऽपि तद्भोगादकुर्वन् प्राणधारणम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ २१ ॥

Some others after many days mixed the small quantity of rationed rice with vegetables, and after boiling these together ate them for conserving their life.

## Notes

1. V.I. विराष्टङ्कान्तरे. This should mean that the measure of rationing was eight टङ्क or 8×4 grams or about 32 grams and not just 4 grams.

2. Having thrown into, having mixed together. The small quantity of rationed rice was boiled together with the vegetables. This kind of food would be slightly more nourishing than pure vegetables. It was a sort of vegetable *pulav* so to say.

3. To preserve their strength. Being famished, their vitality and vigour was ebbing away. They tried to retrieve it by this improvised food.

## VERSE 22: SCARCITY OF RICE MAKES OTHER COMMODITIES ALSO DEAR

मर्पिलवणतैलानां तण्डुलेन<sup>1</sup> महार्घता<sup>2</sup> ।

इता नीचेन साधूनामिव सर्वोपयोगिनाम् ॥ २२ ॥

Scarcity of rice affected adversely the price of ghee, salt and oils



also, just as an ill-bred person belittles the altruistic traits of the virtuous.

#### Notes

1. Literally rice was the cause. The non-availability of rice affected the price of other essentials of life viz ghee, salt and oil. Actually the price of rice has always regulated the price of other commodities in Kashmir. It appears that their price had gone up also.

2. Very high price, exorbitant exchange value, etc.

#### VERSE 23: KASHMIR NO LONGER A GRANERY

बहुधान्यकथानिष्टो<sup>1</sup> योऽभूत् पूर्व पुरात्तरे ।

बहुधान्यकथानिष्टस्तत्काले<sup>2</sup> स व्यलोक्यत ॥ २३ ॥

Whatever flattering stories were there current in the city (Srinagar) about (Kashmir) having yielded surplus produce of paddy in former times, in this (grim hour of famine) it had been reduced to mere (fairy) tales mentioning (the so-called) glut of food.

#### Notes

1. Such persons had faith, or were fully convinced about the prevailing stories eulogising the surplus produce of paddy in Kashmir.

2. At the grim hour of famine or scarcity, i.e. at this time, nobody believed those stories.

#### VERSE 24: SUN-FLOWERS TAKEN AS FOOD

बन्धुजीव<sup>1</sup> 'स्तथा कन्दो<sup>2</sup> बन्धुजीव<sup>3</sup> इवाभवत् ।

मन्दान्<sup>4</sup> संधारयामास क्षुधान् बन्धुजीव<sup>5</sup> योऽन्धसा<sup>5</sup> विना ॥ २४ ॥

Sun-flowers and bulbous roots acted as the sympathising kinsmen in actual parlance, which, in the absence of food, maintained those blinded by hunger.

#### Notes

1. Herein Śrīvārā has placed pun on the word बन्धुजीव—meaning a sun-flower as also a relation and kinsman, a sympathizer, etc.

2. Actually called *kandamūla*. The bulbous roots—a subterranean bud with swollen leaf-bases in which reserve materials are stored. Botanical term used for it is *amorphophallus companulatus*.

3. Refer (1) above.

4. The fools; the weak, whose digestive power is not normal. Skt—मन्दग्नि. This word could have been the shortened form of मन्दबुद्धि.

5. अन्धस् ordinarily means darkness but also stands for food. Cf. MW, 44 also V. S. Apte: 50.

VERSE 25 PRICE OF PADDY SHOOTS UP TO FIFTEEN HUNDRED  
DINNĀRS PER KHARWĀR

धान्यखारेः<sup>१</sup> क्रयः पूर्व<sup>२</sup> दीनाराणं<sup>३</sup> शतत्रयम् ।  
दुर्भिक्षतस्तदा सार्धं सहस्रेणापि नापि सा ॥ २५ ॥

Earlier a *kharwār* of paddy would be sold at three hundred *dinnārs*, but during this famine it was not available even for fifteen hundred *dinnārs*.

Notes

1. खारि — Kashmiri खिरवार The present day खिरवार is equal to sixteen तराक. One तराक is usually equal to five seers and three *Chataks*. One खारि would thus be equal to 83 seers. Cereals in Kashmir are sold and bought according to this measure even now. But it does not necessary follow that the measure was the same in the days of the Sultāns also. In ancient Sanskrit and Pāli literature *khāri* as a weight is commonly referred to. Sir Monier Williams (*Dic.*, 339) comes to the conclusion that one *khāri* was equal to 18 *dronas*. Dr A. L. Basham in his famous work *The Wonder That was India*, (p 1503) suggests that one *drona* was equal to 9666.56 grammes or 9.66 kg, and therefore one *khāri* would be nearly 174 kg which may be a very high price considering the economic conditions of those days.

2. In normal times.

3. दीनार is a coin mentioned in early Sanskrit tradition also. Apparently it was introduced in India by the foreign tribes which were responsible for the downfall of the Mauryas. It was probably a gold coin in the days of the Śungas, when it is first heard of, but it must have been made of bronze or copper by the times of Kalhana. He asserts that during the famine following the death of Jayāpīda, the unhusked paddy sold at 1050 *dinnārs* per *khāri*. Apparently the *dinnārs* in the days of Kalhana and Śrīvara were made of the same metal. If this be so, the price rise in the days of Śrīvara was not too much.

Dr Stein suggests that the Kashmiri word *dyār* (money), has descended from *dinnār*, and was actually the lowest denomination of Kashmiri currency (*SIRT*, vol ii, p 322). Transactions in *dinnār* were supposed to those which were made in cash and this continued even during the Dogra rule (cf. *Valley of Kashmir* by Lawrence, p 243).

VERSE 26 EVEN SCUM OF BOILED RICE NOT AVAILABLE  
TO THE FAMISHED

किमन्यत् कुत्रचिद् राष्ट्रे धात्रा निष्किञ्चनो<sup>१</sup> जनः ।  
अभवन्मण्डकण्डस्य<sup>२</sup> काञ्चिकेनापि<sup>३</sup> वञ्चितः ॥ २६ ॥

What more? At some places in the country the creator had denied to the poor the gruel from the pits meant for pouring the scum of the boiled grain or rice.

Notes

1. Such people who have nothing, penniless, paupers.

2. The circular pits to which the scum of the cooked rice or grain was drained

out from the household.

3. मण्ड is the gruel or scum or what is left in the water in which the rice or grain has been boiled. Often it is thrown away. It appears that in areas where rice was the staple food-grain, there were pits (कुण्ड) for pouring this scum into. It appears that poor persons could beg for it. But now no such gruel was available as hardly anyone could indulge in this luxury, or because little rice was cooked.

#### VERSE 27: CURSE VISITING PEOPLE

यत् पूर्वमकरोद्वेला<sup>1</sup> रसवद्ब्रीहि<sup>2</sup> शालिषु ।  
मन्ये तेनैव शापेन<sup>3</sup> भयमापत् प्रजेदृशम् ॥ २७ ॥

Whatsoever scoffing was hurled previously at the juicy and flavoured rice husked out of *shāli*, I think that very curse (un-becoming attitude), recoiled on the people coming as they did face to face with such a scourge.

##### Notes

1. Previously during normal times when paddy production had been abundant, the people although eating good quality rice, often at the same time belittled the grain. Even very good qualities were denuded by the people.

2. ब्रीहिः = The husked rice.

3. This unbecoming attitude of disdaining food amounted to a sin which recoiled on the people in the shape of famine when hardly any rice could be had. It was nature's curse so to say, in reply to the attitude of the people.

#### VERSE 28: THE SULTĀN FEEDS PEOPLE ON HIS OWN STOCK OF GRAIN

करुणाकुलितो<sup>1</sup> राजा स्वधान्यैः<sup>2</sup> पुत्रवत् प्रजाः ।  
पोषयामास मासेषु केषुचिद् यावदाकुलाः ॥ २८ ॥

Torn with grief, the Sultān fed his distracted subjects like his own progeny on his personal royal reserves of paddy for many months.

##### Notes

1. Literally it means compassion; pity born out of grief and love.

2. Royal stocks. The reserves meant for the consumption of royal family. Actually as most of the land revenue was accepted in kind, by the Sultān from the land holders, it usually formed his own reserves of food.

#### VERSE 29: SULTĀN OFFERS HIS RESERVE PADDY FOR BEING SOWN

तावदस्यैव माहात्म्यात्<sup>1</sup> शस्य<sup>2</sup> संपद्व्य<sup>3</sup> जृम्भत ।  
सज्यन्नतानां भूपानां क्वावकाशश्चिरं शुचाम् ॥ २९ ॥

Only through this greatness, the subsequent year's bumper harvest could display itself. With the kings of truthful demeanour and pious conduct, such misfortunes become a fleeting affair.

#### Notes

1. This excellence of character sharing his food with his subjects.
2. V.I. सस्य (VVRJ).
3. Śrīvara likes to suggest that a part of the reserves of paddy was made over to the landholders for being used as seed for the next year's crop. The intentions of the Sultān were very sincere, hence the subsequent year witnessed a bumper crop of paddy. This handful of seeds from the hands of the pious Sultān resulted in an abundant harvest.

#### VERSE 30: A TEST FOR THE BENEVOLENCE OF THE SULTĀN

मध्येऽथवा<sup>1</sup> विधिर्भूपकारुण्यप्रथनेच्छया<sup>2</sup> ।  
दौर्षिक्षदौस्थ्याद् भूलोकं सशोकमकरोत्<sup>3</sup> तदा ॥ ३० ॥

Or may be during this interval the destiny wishing to magnify the compassionate attitude of the Sultān, overwhelmed the country with grief, through the discomfiture of a famine.

#### Notes

1. In between the former days of good crops and the subsequent glut of food. The period for which famine persisted ie, about one year
2. Destiny wanted to test the bonafides of the Sultān, as to how would he size up to ameliorate the sufferings of the people and react.
3. Full of grief, in terms of scarcity of food.

#### VERSE 31: BLACK MARKET TRENDS IN THE GRAIN MARKET

पार्थिवोपप्लवे<sup>1</sup> चौरा अन्धकारेऽभिसारिकाः<sup>2</sup> ।  
दुर्षिक्षे चैव तुष्यन्ति धान्यविक्रयिणो<sup>3</sup> जनाः ॥ ३१ ॥

During disturbances the thieves, during darkness the love-lorn ladies and during famines the paddy-sellers feel very much pleased.

#### Notes

1. At the time of disturbances, when the ruling authority is not very effective. During the confusion, the thieves, robbers etc. are very active as the law and order machinery breaks down for reasons obvious. It might also connote two neighbouring rulers fighting with each other.
2. अभिसारिका is a lady in love going to a rendezvous to meet her lover. Cover of darkness is most suited for this affair.
3. The grain dealers demand exorbitant price for their food grain and are very happy during the famines.

## VERSE 32: THE FAMISHED GIVEN RELIEF FROM DEBT

अतः क्षुधा महार्घा<sup>1</sup> ये पदार्था धान्यविक्रयात् ।  
गृहीतास्तेऽन्यदा<sup>2</sup> पूर्व मूल्येन<sup>3</sup> प्रापयन्पः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ३२ ॥

Whatever precious articles had been taken (by the grain dealers) in exchange for selling paddy, were got back from them by the Sultān and were returned to the famished at their previous price.

## Notes

1. Very precious, costly etc. articles made of gold, silver etc. Because of high prices, the people had to give away their valuables to buy food grains during the famine days.

2. V.I. ऐषु तन for तेऽन्यदा. See VVR1 edition, p 31.

3. The prevalent price of these articles in the open market is referred to here. The grain dealers exploiting the need of the buyers, must have exploited the situation to their advantage. The Sultān, therefore, ordered them to keep the prices low and forced them to return these articles to the needy buyers.

4. V.I. अदापयत् for प्रापयत्. See VVR1 edition, p 31. The verse is not very clear. Apparently, the Sultān learnt later on that the people had been forced to part with their valuables for buying food stuff costing a higher price. Reacting sharply he forced the grain dealers to return the valuables they had acquired through people's misery. A part of the confusion is created by v.I.

## VERSE 33: THE SULTĀN PROVIDES WORK FOR THE PEOPLE

दुर्भिक्षमक्षिताक्षोट<sup>1</sup> लोकदक्षः क्षितीश्वरः ।  
धिया<sup>2</sup> सरल<sup>3</sup> वृक्षेभ्यस्तैलाकर्षणमादिशत् ॥ ३३ ॥

The Sultān was always interested in the well-being of his subjects. He realised through his intelligence that the people had used the walnuts for food during the famine. So he ordered that oil be extracted from the pine-trees.

## Notes

1. Walnut oil is also used by Kashmiris for cooking or lighting purpose. The crop of walnuts had dwindled to a large extent because the people were consuming them as food during famine. Hence scarcity of oil was felt.

2. Yoking his intelligence. The Sultān in order to forestall this kind of impending scarcity, got the oil extracted from the pine-wood.

3. Extraction of oil from pines served double purposes—it provided work for the people and replenished the stock of oil also. Apparently it was turpentine oil, which could be used for lighting.

## VERSE 34: MORATORIUM ON LENDING AND BORROWING

तस्मिन्<sup>1</sup> संवत्सरे राज्ञा कारुण्याद् धूर्जगामिनी<sup>2</sup> ।  
उत्तमर्णाधमर्णानां<sup>3</sup> व्यवस्था विनिवारिता ॥ ३४ ॥

In that very year, the Sultān moved by compassion imposed a moratorium on the system of lending and borrowing done on birch-leaf documents.

#### Notes

1 That very year in the thirty-sixth year of Saptarsi calendar (consult verse 7 supra).

2 The lending and borrowing deed inscribed on birch-leaf. Birch leaf had been a commonly used material for writing upon from very ancient times in almost all parts of India.

3 The *seths*, the money lenders, and those borrowers who were at the lowest level in the society, i.e. petty cultivators, or other petty borrowers.

#### VERSE 35: EVERY ACTIVITY OF LIFE AT STAND STILL

चतुष्ष्टिः कलाः<sup>1</sup> शिल्पं<sup>2</sup> विद्या<sup>3</sup> सौभाग्यमेव<sup>4</sup> च ।  
दुर्भिक्षोपप्लवे सर्वं तदाभून्निष्प्रयोजनम्<sup>5</sup> ॥ ३५ ॥

During that scourage of the famine, the sixty-four arts, handicrafts, learned pursuits as also the aesthetic values, one and all, became purposeless.

#### Notes

1 Arts have been numbered as sixty-four by the ancient Indians which included painting, music, dancing and what not. It is a very comprehensive list available in most books on training of women.

2 Handicraft and other similar pursuits. During those inauspicious times of famine none could afford the luxury of building a house or indulge in other such luxuries.

3 Learning, knowledge. Being always pre-occupied with fending for their belly in those hard times, literary pursuits had no meaning at all.

4. Literally *सौभाग्य* means, good-luck, opulence etc. It also denotes pleasure aesthetic as well as carnal.

5 The times not being propitious, such pursuits were totally neglected.

#### VERSE 36: A HUNGRY MAN NEGLECTS ALL KINDS OF PLEASURES

पदवाक्यतर्कनवकाव्यकथा<sup>1</sup>  
बहुगीतवाद्यरस<sup>2</sup> नृत्यकलाः ।  
सुरतप्रपञ्चचतुरा वनिताः  
क्षुधितस्य नैव रचयन्ति सुखम् ॥ ३६ ॥

To the one haunted by hunger, the details regarding (the use of) a syllable, a sentence, dialectics and new trends in literature, the **symphony of vocal and instrumental music, the rhythm employed**

in dancing, as also the maidens deft in enticing (men) for sensual pleasures afford no pleasure at all.

*Notes*

1. New trends influencing Sanskrit literature. May be the poet was referring to the influence of Persian literature which must have been discernible.

2. रस means aesthetic pleasure also.

A hungry person obsessed only with getting something to eat has no time or inclination for such intellectual or mental luxuries.

इति जैनराजतरङ्गिण्यां पण्डित श्रीवर विरचितायां ।  
षट्त्रिंशद्वर्षे दुर्भिक्षवर्णनं नाम द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥

This is the end of the second canto named "The Description of the Famine in the Thirty-sixth Year" of the *Zaina Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, composed by Pandit Śrīvara.

## WAVE I, CANTO III

### VERSE 1: THE KING EQUATED WITH THE CREATOR

तुष्टः<sup>1</sup> प्रसादमतुलं कुरुते क्षणाद्यः  
क्रुद्धः<sup>2</sup> प्रजासु कुरुते<sup>3</sup> भयमप्रतर्क्यम् ।  
उन्मत्त<sup>4</sup> पार्थिवपतेरिव हन्त<sup>5</sup> धातो-  
लीला स्वतन्त्र<sup>6</sup> चरितं भुवि बुध्यते कैः ॥ १ ॥

Being exceedingly gratified, immense favours are showered instantly, being angry, untold misery is heaped upon the people, an unpredictable ruler surprisingly enough like the creator, has a self-willed mission to unfold on this earth, through this sportive dissimulation. Who can divine the destiny?

#### Notes

1. Being pleased, favourably inclined, satisfied etc.
2. Unfavourably disposed, angry, cross etc.
3. V.I. तनुते VVRI, p 33.
4. Literally mad drunk, tipsy etc. Here this word has been used in the sense of unpredictable, capricious, the actions for which no explanation is apparently available.
5. An exclamation used for grief and joy alike. Alas! Happily! surprisingly etc.
6. Independent, not under the dictates of any one, self-contained or self-willed.

### VERSE 2: DEVASTATION OF 1460 AD

REPEATED IN 1462 AD

षट्त्रिंशद्वर्षं दुर्भिक्षदुःखविस्मरणं<sup>1</sup> जनः ।  
न यावदकरोत् तावदष्टात्रिंशदपि<sup>2</sup> वत्सरे ॥ २ ॥

Hardly had the people been able to wipe off from their memory the spectre of famine of the thirty-sixth year, when in the thirty-eighth year also...

#### Notes

1. The thirty-sixth year of *Saptarsi* calendar corresponding to 1460 AD. During this fateful year the devastation wrought by famine has been fully described by *Śrīvara* in the earlier pages.
2. The thirty-eighth year of the *Saptarsi* era i.e. in 1462 AD.



## VERSE 3: FLOODS RAVAGE THE VALLEY

वृष्ट्या सह रजोवर्षमपतद् गगनाद् भुवि ।  
उदीप<sup>1</sup> क्षतशाल्युत्थभाविदुर्भिक्ष<sup>2</sup> सूचकम् ॥ ३ ॥

Showers of dust accompanied by rain dropped on the valley, damaging the standing crop of paddy with floods, an advance signal for impending famine.

## Notes

1 The word उदीप connotes inundation in Sanskrit. In Kashmiri it is pronounced as "Yup"—presumably a corrupted form of this very word.

2 The paddy—staple food of Kashmiris—being buried under the water was a sure sign of the famine in the offing.

The Persian chroniclers have not mentioned this flood in the wake of earlier famine. Authority of Śrīvara in this behalf cannot be doubted as he appears to be an eye-witness to this unprecedented flood.

## VERSE 4 THUNDERING CLOUDS SEND A SHIVER INTO THE BONES OF THE PEOPLE

अथाचिरेण<sup>1</sup> गर्जन्तो धृतचापा<sup>2</sup> घना घनाः ।  
जनानुद्वेजयामासुः<sup>3</sup> शरासारैरिवारयः ॥ ४ ॥

Just close on its heels, the rainbow-hued dense clouds began to thunder agitating (the minds of) the people like the showers of arrows from an enemy holding a bow.

## Notes

1. Without losing any time, instantly, at once etc.

2. Holding a bow. The phrase can be used with clouds signifying a rainbow, as also with the enemy handling a bow. This use agrees with the context befittingly. Actually in Sanskrit literature it is common to compare a shower of arrows with a heavy downpour of rain.

3 उद्वेजयामासुः = agitated the minds (of the people)

## VERSE 5: NON-STOP RAIN

वृष्ट्युपद्रव संनद्धाः फलर्द्धिहरणाकुलाः<sup>1</sup> ।  
उत्थिता बुद्बुदव्याजाद् दुष्टा नागफणा इव<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५ ॥

Squarely alert for spelling distress caused by the rain, eagerly impatient to wreck the wealth of fruits, the bubbles appeared with their head erect (on the surface of rain-water) having semblance with the raised hood of vile serpents.

## Notes

1 The wealth of fruit—the fruit crop for which Kashmir has been famous. It

might have been autumn when the fruit—mostly apple—is ready. Devastating floods have often visited this land during autumn. But it could be earlier also when almonds, oval nuts, apricot, pears and other fruits are available.

2. Appearing with their heads erect in the context of bubbles, raised hoods in the context of serpents.

3. Under the pretext of, having outward likeness to, under the guise of.

#### VERSE 6: CONDITIONS PRESAGING DISASTER

उत्पन्नध्वंसिनो भवान्<sup>1</sup> करिष्याम्यहमञ्जसा ।

इति ज्ञापयितुं मेघो बुद्बुदानसृजद्<sup>2</sup> ध्रुवम् ॥ ६ ॥

“Surely I shall in a jiffy unleash conditions spelling disaster.” Announced thus the cloud, while giving birth to the bubbles.

##### Notes

1. The word means ‘state’, condition, physical as well as mental attitudes.

2. It is a belief in Kashmir that if rain produce bubbles in abundance, the rains would be a long drawn affair and these would continue to pour for many days. May be Śrīvara was referring to this very belief.

#### VERSE 7: NATURE MOROSE ON ACCOUNT OF IMPENDING CALAMITY

वृक्षाः सर्वत्रपत्रान्तः पतद्वृष्टिस्वनच्छलात्<sup>1</sup> ।

अश्रुबिन्दूनिवामुञ्चन् रुदन्तो जनचिन्तया<sup>2</sup> ॥ ७ ॥

It appears as if the trees while thinking about the impending misery of the people were crying and feigning to shed tears from their leaves in the form of the drops of rain, which had fallen on them with a clatter.

##### Notes

1. Rain drops making a sound while dropping on leaves and subsequently falling to the ground.

2. Anxiety for the people. The floods would make them very uncomfortable.

#### VERSE 8: VILLAGES SUBMERGED BY SWOLLEN RIVERS

वितस्ता<sup>1</sup>लेदरी<sup>2</sup>सिन्धु<sup>3</sup>क्षितिकाद्या<sup>4</sup>स्तदापगाः ।

अन्योन्यस्पर्द्धयेवोग्रा ग्रामांस्तीरिष्वमजयन्<sup>5</sup> ॥ ८ ॥

Thereafter, the Jhelum, the Ledari, the Sindh and the Kutkol and other rivers, vying with each other in terms of ferocity, inundated the hamlets situated on their respective banks.

## Notes

1 It is the Jhelum of present day, also called "Vyeth" in Kashmiri. It is referred to as Vitastā in early literature.

2 Ledari rivulet flowing from the Sheshnag Lake (on way to Amar Nath cave), and flowing through Pahalgam, Mattan etc, joins the Jhelum at Sangam on Srinagar-Anantnag Road. It is called the Lidder rivulet today and flows by Pahalgam.

3 The Sindh river coming down from Gangabal Lake joins the Jhelum at Shadipur (Prayāg).

4 An arm of the Jhelum taken out of it to the left at the place where the Old Secretariat stands now in Srinagar. It joins the Jhelum again at Bahu Khateshwara Bhairava Shrine just close to the seventh bridge in Srinagar.

5 Towns have always been founded, in ancient times, on the banks of rivers in Kashmir for water supply and transport reasons.

VERSE 9: WATER COMING DOWN WITH A ROAR  
FROM HEIGHTS

सविभ्रमा<sup>1</sup> धृतावर्ता<sup>2</sup> बाहिन्युत्था<sup>3</sup> सहेषिताः<sup>4</sup>।

जवा<sup>5</sup>दधावन्तुत्तुङ्गास्तत्तुङ्गा<sup>6</sup> तुरङ्गमाः<sup>7</sup>॥९॥

(N.B. The words used in this verse have a pun which has been explained by giving its two relevant renderings.)

A) The lofty waves were rushing down with force from the inundated heights with coquettish demeanour (proceeding forwards, also returning backwards) and multiplying whirlpools with deafening noise.

B) The war-steeds with gracefully adorned manes neighing loudly were coming out of the (main) army with a forceful leap and at a brisk gallop.

## Notes

1 In the context of waves moving up and down and in the case of horses, moving out.

2 In the context of waves, the whirlpools. In the context of horses, the mane, the locks of hair on their necks.

3 An artificial lake, swollen river (in the context of waves), lit. created by river. An army, in the context of horses.

4 With deafening roar, noise (in the context of waves).

Accompanied by the loud neighing (in the context of horses).

5 जवा<sup>5</sup>दधावन्तु<sup>5</sup> moving fast, running with great speed.

6 Waves (in the context of waves).

Brisk (in the context of horses).

7 Rushing with speed (in the context of waves).

Horses (in the context of horses).

VERSE 10: FLOOD ACTS LEVELLERS OF  
HIGH AND LOW LAND

अत्युच्चापात<sup>1</sup> कृन्नीचोन्नतिदं<sup>2</sup> च निरङ्कुशम्<sup>3</sup> ।  
आसीदपथगं<sup>4</sup> सत्यं तदा जलविजृम्भितम् ॥ १० ॥

At that time the unbridled flow of water derailed from the right path (working in the reverse gear), was surely transforming viable heights (noble) into low-lands (mean) as also raising the stature of low lying areas (mean) to towering elevation (noble).

Notes

1. Making the high look as low, noble as mean. V I उच्चापात for उच्चापात cf. VVRI, p 34.
2. Its vice-versa, presenting the low as high, mean as noble.
3. Uncontrolled, without restraint.
4. Not taking the correct path, having lost its way. The river waters were converting the high lying areas into low-lying one (by eroding them), and converting the low-lying ones into higher areas (by depositing that very silt). It was the derailment of the long established values.

VERSE 11: ROCKS AND TREES UPROOTED

मृदोर्जलस्य<sup>1</sup> तत्कालेऽद्रिवृक्षविटपालिषु ।  
केनोपदिष्टं तत्काले<sup>2</sup> मूलोत्पाटनं<sup>3</sup> पाटवम् ॥ ११ ॥

At whose command at that time had the placid waters which nourish the trees and bushes been changed into the ones that were destroying and uprooting the rocks, trees and bushes?

Notes

1. This word means soft, noble, placid. The rivers, not in fury, always maintain a rhythmic flow.
2. Repetition of this adverb may be considered as a blemish in poetry here, but it may also be considered as a poetic license.
3. The skill or dexterity in uprooting.

VERSE 12: FLOODS SWALLOW EVERY THING  
COMING IN THEIR WAY

अग्राग्रं<sup>1</sup> पशुगोप्राणि गृह धान्यादि हारकः ।  
भयदोऽभूजलापूरः स स्लेच्छोत्पिञ्जमनिभः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १२ ॥

These floods as horrifying as the pressure mounted by the unclean non-Aryans (Mlechchas), swallowed the cattle, the kine, the human-beings, the residential quarters and the grain, one and all, within their reach.

## Notes

1. Literally in front, quite close etc.

2. *Mlechcha* has been a term used for a foreigner, the one who does not subscribe to Hindu faith, unclean as also the one who cannot speak Sanskrit, a non-Aryan, and so a demitic or untouchable. This expression is usually used by Sanskrit chroniclers of Kashmir for a Muslim.

Here the reference is to Sultān Sikandar's rule wherein Hindus were subjected to untold misery (*JRRT*, verses, 599-613 etc.).

## VERSE 13

तदा मण्डवराज्यस्था<sup>1</sup> विशोका<sup>2</sup> शोकदा नदी ।  
प्रदक्षिणेच्छयेवान्तर्विवेश<sup>3</sup> विजयेश्वरम् ॥ १३ ॥

That time, the Viśoka (Veshav) river, situated in 'Maras', the harbinger of misery, with a desire to circumambulate, made a dent into the interior of Vijayeśvara (Bijebehara).

## Notes

1. For 'Maḍava' consult I, 1, 40 earlier.

2. It is the Veshav river. Kaunsar Nag is acknowledged to be its source. It joins the Jhelum at Sangam on Srinagar-Anantnag route. It flows through Bijebehara towards left, about a mile or so away.

3. Going round from left to right. Usually the Hindus, the Buddhists and the Jains in order to show extreme regard for the shrine and the deity inside or an individual, go round it or circumambulate it. The aim is to keep the venerated on one's right side. The use of the word is very apt here. Actually Veshava had to move from left to right to engulf Bijebehara as is the practice while circumambulating a shrine.

4. It is Bijebehara of today. It was a famous place of pilgrimage in ancient times and a University was located here like the Shāradā now under Pakistan occupation (*KLRT*, I, 38, 105 etc.).

VERSE 14: RESIDENTIAL QUARTERS UNDER THE  
WATER OF THE VESHAV

स्नानात् पापहरी<sup>1</sup> पूर्वप्रवाहोपगता<sup>2</sup> नदी ।  
इतीव तज्जले तूर्णं ममजुर्गृहपङ्क्तयः ॥ १४ ॥

(Viśoka) stream (has been acclaimed) as the dispeller of sins, as it flows towards the east. A dip is taken into it. Hence the rows of houses, submerged into its waters at the first opportunity.

## Notes

1. *Nilamata Purāṇa*, verse 271, treats this river as destroyer of pain as also purifier of the valley. Since pain results from sins, hence this stream can squarely be called as the dispeller of sins.

2. Attaining easterly flow. Actually Bijebhera is to the east of the Veshava which explains fairly the phrase given here. Any part of a river flowing in the opposite direction from the one in which it usually flows, is considered very sacred and hence the destroyer of sin (पापहरी). In Kashmir all the rivers flow from the east to the west and when any part of a river flows from the west to the east, it is considered very sacred. It is the same elsewhere also. The Ganga flows from the north to the south. But at the Banaras Ghats it flows from the south to the north and this portion is known as *Utara Vāhinī* and hence very sacred.

#### VERSE 15: VESHAV A STREAM BECKONING GRIEF

पुराणेषु<sup>1</sup> प्रसिद्धा या विशोका शोकनाशिनी ।  
तदाभूद् विपरीतार्था<sup>2</sup> प्रजाभाग्यविपर्ययात् ॥ १५ ॥

In the ancient texts Viśoka river is eulogised as the destroyer of grief. (But) due to the adverse luck of the people it reversed its role.

##### Notes

1. Reference to the *Nilamata Purāṇa* and relevant Māhātmyas is made here, hence the use of plural number (consult verse 14 also). It has been equated with the goddess of opulence, good fortune—*Lakṣmī*—in *Nilamata Purāṇa* (verse 239)

*Purāṇa* literally means an ancient text.

2. Having the opposite meaning, viz. the producer of grief

#### VERSE 16: THE RISING WATERS SUBMERGE EVEN THE TALL BUILDINGS OF THE TOWNSHIP

येभ्यः प्रतिष्ठा<sup>1</sup> प्राप्ता तान् दुःस्थान्<sup>2</sup> द्रष्टुमसाम्प्रतम् ।  
इतीव तोये तत्कालं ममज्जुर्नगरे गृहाः ॥ १६ ॥

It is unbecoming to see those having attained a high stature fall on bad days. With this (idea in view) the towering residential quarters in the town even drowned themselves (in the surging waters) during those days (of flood).

##### Notes

1. Respect, honour, image, stature etc. It can mean people as well as the buildings of the Bijebhera township.

2. In strait jacket, placed adversely, lying in shambles. Śrivarā would like to convey that the level of the water rose so much that very tall buildings in the township of Bijebhera were submerged.

#### VERSE 17

शिलादारुमयी मग्नस्तम्भी<sup>1</sup> भूतचतुर्गृहा ।  
चतुष्पादिव<sup>2</sup>धर्मो या लोकोत्तरणकृद्<sup>3</sup>बभौ ॥ १७ ॥

The four pillared columns made of stone and wood (enclosing) the rectangular buildings (in the shrine of Vijeśwara) which had gained reputation of ferrying people across this transitory world like the four steps of piety, were (also) submerged.

#### Notes

1. The pillars or the towers built on four sides of the buildings in the compound of the shrine. According to Kalhana the township of Bijebhara surrounding the shrine was founded by King Vijaya (*KLRT*, II, 62). Many architectural improvements were made in the structure built around this shrine by Aśoka (*KLRT*, VII, 524) but was rebuilt by his successor Kalaśa. Sultān Sikandar razed this shrine to ground during his reign (1389-1413 AD).

Persian historians have asserted that these four pillars were built by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn (*TAHS*, p 199).

2. *Dharma* (piety), *Artha* (economic security), *Kāma* (desire to live) and *Mokṣa* (final emancipation) are the four pillars of Hindu way of life.

3. For making the people cross this illusory and transitory world and attain final peace.

#### VERSE 18: THE SULTĀN SEES THE DEVASTATION FOR HIMSELF

तारदाग्राम<sup>1</sup> पंकत्याश्च<sup>2</sup> दर्शनाय विशांपते: ।

यात्रागतस्य रामस्य सेतुबन्ध<sup>3</sup> इवामवत् ॥ १८ ॥

The Sultān boarded a barge for seeing personally (the devastation wrought) in the rows of villages (on the bank of Veshava) like Lord Rāma crossing over with the help of a bridge, (while on a campaign against Śrī Lankā).

#### Notes

1. Literally an improvised contrivance for crossing over to the other bank of river. In Kashmir such large boats are known as *taraṇava*. A barge is always used for this purpose because it can accommodate many people at a time. The Sultān must have had quite a big staff with him and so a barge was used. The barge being also weighty minimised the fear of capsizing in the surging waters (v.l. तदाग्राम, *VVRI*, 35).

2. The rows (lines) of the villages thus inundated. Obviously these must have been on the bank thus comparatively vulnerable and the first target of the flood (v.l. पंकत्यश्चदशकाय, *VVRI*, 35).

3. *Setu* means a bridge as well as a bund.

The allusion is to Lord Rāma's building a bridge across the sea to Lankā which he invaded (v.l. *RMN*). A link of flattery and sycophancy is discernible in this verse, when he compares the Sultān with Lord Rāma.

#### VERSE 19: THE BARGE SUBMERGED AT ZAINĀKADAL

वितस्तायां कृता जैनकदलिः<sup>1</sup> सा गृहोज्ज्वला<sup>2</sup> ।

जलावेशात्<sup>3</sup> तटे मग्ना भग्नाद्या<sup>4</sup> नगरान्तरे<sup>5</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

At Zainākadal on the Vitastā, in the interior of the city, (Srinagar) beautified by rows of houses (on both sides), that very (barge) was wrecked by the rushing waters.

#### Notes

1. Zainākadal as the name obviously suggests was a permanent bridge constructed by the Sultān. "Zaina" is an abbreviation of Zain-ul-'Ābidin. Several other land marks were also associated with the name of Zain-ul-'Ābidin eg. Zainagair and Zainlanka. Śrīvara tells that this bridge was constructed by the Sultān (vide I, 3, 83). Hassan writes that this bridge was constructed by the Sultān in 831 Hijri which works at 1411 AD (THAS, vol I, p 312).

2. Houses built on the both sides of the Vitastā river, as is the case even now.

3. Forceful gush of water. Below the bridge the current of water usually becomes very violent and the barge was wrecked as it might have collided with the piers.

4. V.I. घना या (see VVRI, p 35).

5. In the middle or interior of the city. It appears that the Sultān was on the last leg of his reconnaissance. After covering the Maraz region in a barge, he probably wanted to disembark at Zainākadal which commanded the shortest route to his capital Nowshera via Nowhatta. The barge might have given way after colliding with the banks or piers.

#### VERSE 20: MIRACULOUS ESCAPE OF SULTĀN

पादद्वयावशेषाणि<sup>1</sup> स्थापिताग्रेभविष्यताम् ।

पादद्वयं<sup>2</sup> पूरयितुं समस्येव महीभुजाम् ॥ २० ॥

Floating only with two frontal compartments intact, this (barge) became a veritable puzzle for the future Sultāns, like the first two lines (of a stanza) given (to some one else) for being completed.

#### Notes

1. Usually a barge has four compartments, including the space reserved for rowing. The royal barge was broken at Zainākadal (verse 19) half of its back portion ie. last two compartments were submerged and the first two floated as usual on the Jhelum. The Sultān may have been in any of these frontal compartments.

2. In Indian poetic tradition it is quite common to give one or two ending lines of a stanza and expect other poets to complete the stanza in such a manner that the last two lines would fit in appropriately. In Hindi and Urdu poetic symposiums this practice is quite common. Mahārājā Bhoja of Dhārā is reputed to have initiated it. It was known as *samasyāpūrti*. Herein Śrīvara probably liked to convey that the Sultān of Kashmir possessed supernatural powers which made him dismount safely from a dismembered barge (vide verses 52, 53, I, 10) floating intact on water.

#### VERSE 21: KAMRAZ IS ALSO INVADED BY THE FLOODS

क्रमराज्ये<sup>1</sup> तदा<sup>2</sup> कुर्वन् कल्लोलैराकुलं जनम् ।

महान<sup>3</sup> प्सरोवेगादगाददुर्ग<sup>4</sup> पुनन्तस्म<sup>5</sup> ॥ २१ ॥



Concurrently with it, the hefty waves vexing the people of Kramarājya (Kamraz), entered into the interior of Durgapur, with violently gushing expanse of water.

#### Notes

1. It is Kamraza, one of the two administrative divisions of Kashmir, the other being Maraz (Madvarājya). According to the generally prevailing notion Kamraz comprises the parganas on both sides of the Vitastā below Srinagar and Maraz those above (STRT, II, 15).

2. That time concurrently with the floods in Maraz.

3. V I महापद्मसरो (VVRI, p 36). A large lake full of lotuses.

4. In the context of the subsequent verse it may be concluded that this town was situated in the vicinity of Wular Lake. Presently no town with this name is found there.

It has also been suggested that this town was the same as Drogmūla village of today Bāndipore is on the banks of Wular lake and is linked with Drogmūla. It seems that the waters of many mountain streams had joined hands, submerging Drogmūla though on a higher elevation and rushed down to the Wular via Bāndipore. *Durgā* has with times changed into *Drog* (difficult to obtain) in Kashmir while *Mūla* is appended with many names of Kashmiri villages denoting *Pura* in Sanskrit, eg, *Boḍamūla* or *Tulāmūl* etc.

5. पुर and not पुर (VVRI, p 36).

#### VERSE 22: FLOOD WATERS COME UPTO WULAR

अन्यः सरोवरः कोऽपि पद्मनागसरोत्तिकम् ।

प्रीत्या किमागतो दूराद् यं दृष्ट्वा विशशङ्किरे ॥ २२ ॥

Having observed this (the phenomenon of vast expanse of water), one could not understand as to how was another lake, drawn by fraternal feelings, able to cover a long distance, and came to the precincts of the Padmanāga lake?

#### Notes

1. It is the Wular lake of our times. At times it has been called Mahā Padma Nāga also.

2. From the distance. The reference being to its coming down from afar, i.e., the distance from Drogmūla to Wular lake is a long one.

#### VERSE 23: HOUSES SUBMERGED ENROUTE TO THE WULAR

स्वयमुत्पाटयत्यस्मान् वृक्षवत् सहसागतः<sup>२</sup> ।

इतीव तत्रवेश्मानि<sup>३</sup> चिक्षिपुः स्वं जलान्तरे ॥ २३ ॥

“(With this vast expanse of rushing waters) having come all of a sudden, the trees uprooted themselves on their own”, and with this the houses situated enroute, drowned themselves (on their

own) in this rising tide (without waiting for the waters to do so).

*Notes*

1. On its own without giving any prior notice.
2. It must have been sudden cloud burst which engulfed the regions extending from Drogmūla to Bāndipore.
3. **सर्वे गृहाणि** : The houses there— or the houses enroute.

**VERSE 24: THE JHELUM TAKES TO REVERSE COURSE**

दूरे समुद्रो मन्दर्ता<sup>१</sup> कोऽयं मे समुपागतः<sup>२</sup> ।  
इत्थं वितस्ता व्रस्तेव<sup>३</sup> प्रतीपमगमत् तदा ॥ २४ ॥

“Who has approached me (for making love) when my Lord the ocean is far away”? So there and then the Vitastā, as if frightened, bolted off to flow in reverse direction.

*Notes*

1. In Sanskrit literature there is a convention that ocean is the lord of all rivers. He is supposed to husband them.
2. He comes very close as if to touch the body. **स्म** and **उप**, both these adverbial prefixes point to the emphasis contained therein.
3. The Jhelum like a virtuous wife could not put up with this sacrilege and was consequently frightened.
4. In order to preserve her chastity the Jhelum fled from this intruder, taking a reverse course.

Actually this poetic fancy alludes to the heavy gush of water coming down from the Sindhu and its tributaries meeting Vitastā at Shadipur (Prayāg). The violent rush of these waters retarded the flow of the Jhelum going downward as usual, so had to take up to reverse course. The velocity of the waters of the Sindhu acted as a barrage for the Vitastā forcing it to flow upwards.

**VERSE 25: COUNTRY UNDER THE SPELL OF KALI-AGE**

सीमोन्मिता<sup>१</sup> चलभार्गा<sup>२</sup> पङ्कतसूकलिङ्कृता<sup>३</sup> ।  
स्थितिः कलियुगस्येव<sup>४</sup> भूरभूजलपूरिता ॥ २५ ॥

Forsaking the regard for flowing in between two banks (derailed from its right course), the direction of the flow being wavering (attitude towards Dharma being vascillating) besmeared with mud and morass (tarnished with the vice of impurity), the condition of the country completely submerged under the waters resembled that of the Kali-age.

*Notes*

1. The words given at (1) (2) (3) above have double-meaning—one in the context of the water submerged country and the second in context of the *Kali-yuga*.

Meanings given in the parenthesis pertain to the Kali-yuga. The cumulative effect of all these portents is the advent of Kali-age.

4. *Kali-yuga*: "Name of the last and the worst of the four Yugas or ages; the present age, age of vice" (Monier Williams, p 201). Similarly the *Garuda-Purāna*, chapter XXII, says "When untruth, indolence, strife, violence, grief, fear, delusion and frustration reign supreme, it is called Kali-Dharma, the characteristics of this age of Kali."

#### VERSE 26: THE SULTĀN TOURS FLOOD RAVAGED KAMRAZ

तस्मिन्नवसरे<sup>1</sup> धारासारं वर्षति वासवे<sup>2</sup> ।  
नौकामारुह्य भूपालो निरगाजनचित्तया<sup>3</sup> ॥ २६ ॥

On that occasion when Lord Indra was sending down rain in torrents, the Sultān (goaded) with anxiety for his people boarded a boat and went out (to inspect the ravages wrought by the flood).

##### Notes

1. In that torrential downpour, when there was every fear of boats capsizing in the surging waters, Śrīvara would like us to believe that the Sultān did not care for his own safety when the lives of the people were in danger.

2. Lord Indra—the rain-god.

3. Went out of his capital, i.e. went away from the royal seat at Srinagar probably in order to inspect the havoc wrought by floods as also to supervise relief given to the sufferers.

#### VERSE 27: THE SULTĀN TRAVERSED THE DRY LAND ON FOOT

पश्यञ्जलान्तरे मग्नां कृषि<sup>1</sup> कृशतरः<sup>2</sup> शुचा ।  
जनकारुण्यपुण्यात्मा विचचार<sup>3</sup> पतिः स्थलम्<sup>4</sup> ॥ २७ ॥

The virtuous Lord on account of compassion for his subjects covered the dry land (untouched by flood) on foot and saw the crops submerged under water and very much emaciated due to sorrow.

##### Notes

1. The agricultural land where crops are sown.

2. Very much emaciated, lean and thin.

3. Roamed around, went around.

4. The land where floods had not reached, presumably of higher reaches.

#### VERSE 28: THE SULTĀN GOES TO INACCESSIBLE VILLAGES ALSO

दृष्टानि यानि घोषेषु<sup>1</sup> गहनत्वान्न जातुचित्<sup>2</sup> ।  
स्थानानि तानि भूपालो नौकारूढोव्यलोकयत् ॥ २८ ॥

The inaccessible hamlets within the habitations of the herdsmen,

never seen before, were duly surveyed by the Sultān seated in a boat.

#### Notes

1. It means a habitation of such village-folk who rear cattle, especially cows. It might also convey the idea of milk-colonies—the centres from which milk would come to the city of Srinagar.

2. Very difficult to reach, uncommunicable.

#### VERSE 29: FLOODS RECEDE INTO THE BASIN AT "SONAWARI"

प्रताप<sup>1</sup> शिखिनेवाथ शेषितोऽगान्मिदैर्दिनेः ।

शान्तिं कूरो जलापूरः सन्निवारे<sup>2</sup> समागतः ॥ २९ ॥

Thereafter, dried up within some days by the firey glory of the Sun, the heavy floods continued to remain at Sanniwāri (Sonawāri).

#### Notes

1. This word means fire, heat as also glory, splendour etc.

2. Sonawari, near Sumbal, on the outskirts of the Wular, being a low-lying area, has always been treated as a flood basin. However, after 1947 AD the popular government over there raised the height of the bunds enclosing it and converted it into an agricultural block under the Community Project Scheme.

Here in Kashmir such flood-basins were earmarked for diverting the waters into it and saving the towns and the city. Till recently, Kandizal, (above Pampore to the left) bund was also dismantled so that the floods would rush down to Kursu-Nowgan area and thus provide relief to the city.

#### VERSE 30: A GOOD CROP OF PADDY THAT YEAR

अथाचिरेण<sup>1</sup> तद्वर्षे दानोत्कर्षादिव<sup>2</sup> प्रभोः<sup>3</sup> ।

हर्षमन्वभवन् सर्वे पक्कया शालिसंपदा<sup>4</sup> ॥ ३० ॥

Then, without any (further) loss of time, due to exemplary generosity of the God, all felt happy with the bumper crop of paddy ready to be harvested.

#### Notes

1. Just after the floods subsided, sowing of Śāli was taken up in right earnest.

2. "The grandeur, brilliance of charitable disposition" can be the literal rendering.

Śrīvara perhaps would like to convey that the Sultān gave away Śāli seeds from his royal stores to the cultivators for being sown. Probably the previous seedlings had been washed away by the violent current (verse 27).

The use of the word *dāna*—to give as a free gift without expecting anything in return, can only be explained thus.

3. प्रभुः means a ruler or God. In the context of God the word दान would mean

"His greatness is coming handy to the needy". While otherwise it could mean that the God favoured Kashmir with a good paddy crop.

4 Paddy crop might have been bumper one due to the top soil deposited in the fields by the flood. Moreover, the excess water absorbed by the field, also might have given more yield. It is also a curious phenomenon of the Indian floods, that while they cause so much devastation, they also enable the peasantry to obtain the subsequent harvest, a bumper one.

#### VERSE 31: KASHMIR BECOMES SELF SUFFICIENT

प्रजाचन्द्रकलावृद्धयै<sup>1</sup> कश्मिरिन्द्रपयोनिधिः<sup>2</sup> ।

तूर्णं पूर्णात्मतां<sup>3</sup> प्राप दयापीयूषभूषणः ॥ ३१ ॥

In order to ensure affluence to his subjects, just like the waxing of the moon, the Sultān of Kashmir, as if an ocean and the jewel of nectarine sympathy, attained complete self sufficiency instantly.

#### Notes

1. Herein reference has been made to the waxing of the moon day by day upto the 15th—the full-moon day. The Sultān in the same way made his subjects comfortable and also improved their lot gradually.

2. पयोनिधि ordinarily means an ocean, which is also the abode of all the treasures. Here it refers to the Sultān, who was supposed to be the repository of all the wealth. The moon is also supposed to have come out of the ocean. It might also refer to the Sultān's fatherly disposition towards his progeny—the subjects (*prajā*).

3. The one having his soul fully developed. It might also mean the full moon. It might also connote complete self-reliance, self-dependence, self-sufficient.

The bumper crop alluded to in the previous verse made Kashmir self-sufficient. There was no shortage now. Since the price of grain also determined the price level of other articles, it was certainly a boon for the Sultān as well as for his subjects.

4. Reference to nectar also having come out of the ocean can also be gleaned from it

#### VERSE 32

आत्मेव<sup>1</sup> कश्चित् सुकृती<sup>2</sup> सितीशः

प्रजा प्रियास्यप्रकृतिर्यथैव<sup>3</sup> ।

तत्सौख्यवृद्धया सुखिता यदास्ते

तदीय दुःखेन च दुःखयुक्तः ॥ ३२ ॥

Some virtuous King holds his subjects as dear to him as the transcendence does its cosmic expression. He derives pleasure from their ever increasing happiness and also feels hurt by their distress.

#### Notes

1. Like the soul, the self, the subtlety possible propeller of body and universe. It also means the essence, the content etc. transcendental, spiritual, the supreme being.

2 One who does good deeds, whose actions plough back virtue to him.

3 This is a comprehensive term. It means nature, natural state of things, constitution, origin, source, the matter made up of five primary elements, earth, water, heat, air and ether. In Sāṅkhya philosophy it is taken to be a conglomeration of three essential qualities, the **transparence**, the mobility and inertia (cf. *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, 3-6). The Śaivas have added three more constituents to the five given above—those are mind, discrimination and ego. Thus to them the matter is eight fold (*Vijñāna Bhairava*).

Since Śrīvara was a Śaiva, hence his use of the terms *Ātmā* and *Prakṛti* can be construed as the *Śiva* and His *Śakti*, the transcendence and its cosmic form. Being independent they are enamoured of each other just like a pious king of his subjects.

#### VERSE 33: THE SULTĀN FOUNDS A TOWNSHIP NEAR JAYĀPĪDAPURA

वितस्तोच्चतटे भूपस्तदुपद्रव' शङ्कया ।  
पुरं चिकीर्षुर्बभ्राम जयापीडपुरान्तिके<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३३ ॥

The Sultān in order to guard against the devastating (recurrence of) floods scanned the high banks of Vitastā, wishing to build a township in the vicinity of Jayāpīdapura.

##### Notes

1. "With the misgivings regarding that devastation" is the literal translation. It definitely refers to the havoc wrought by floods as narrated earlier by the chronicler. The location of this town due to a higher level could enhance its military importance. It commanded a vantage point.

2. This town once a capital of Kashmir was founded by king Jayāpīḍa in the first half of 8th century (*KLRT*, IV, 506). It was called "Abhyantara Kotta"—the "Inner castle" also (*Ibid*, verse 511).

It is still known by the name of **Anderkot**, its Kashmiri equivalent.

This town is situated on a island between the Sambal-marsh and a canal from Manasabal known as "Nor". The first Sultān of Kashmir Shāhmeer made this very town as his capital after getting rid of Kota Eanī—the last Hindu sovereign of Kashmir (*JRRT*, verse 305, etc., cf. also *RSP's Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, iv, verse, 506-11 + nn., where the name used is Jāyapura and not Jayāpīdapura).

#### VERSE 34: THE SULTĀN FOUNDS THE TOWNSHIP "ZAINA TILAKA"

अकरोत् तिलकं<sup>1</sup> भूमेरलका<sup>2</sup> दर्पहत्युरम् ।  
स जैनतिलकं<sup>3</sup> नाम नदीतीरेनत<sup>4</sup> स्थले ॥ ३४ ॥

He (the Sultān) built a township Zaina Tilaka by name on the higher reaches of the river bank, verily an embellishing ornament of the country (a standing challenge) to humble the vanity of Alkā.

## Notes

1. Ordinarily it means a mark on the forehead. Various religious sects of the Hindus have prescribed marks of various size and colour for this purpose. It also connotes an ornament, embellishment, a beautification.

2. Alkā is the name of the capital of Kubera, the god of wealth and lord of Yakṣas. This city is said to be fabulously ornamented (cf. Kālidāsa, *Meghadūtam*).

3. This township is again mentioned by the author (1, 3, 40): where he writes that Jayasimha was anointed as the ruler of Rajouri by the Sultān in this very town. This town does not exist at present at the location indicated either in name or in ruins. May be it was destroyed by floods. In this regard Dr Mohibul Hussan says: "Zain-ūl-'Ābidīn had founded a city on the higher elevations of the river Jhelum quite close to "Ānderkot" in 1462 AD which was later on submerged by the floods" (*The Sultāns of Kashmir*, p 76).

4. The Jhelum is obviously meant here.

## VERSE 35

राज्ञो दिदृक्षयेवात्र राजधानी<sup>1</sup> रुचिच्छलात् ।  
सौधभित्तिगता<sup>2</sup> नूनं चन्द्रिकास्ते सुधासिता<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३५ ॥

For catching the eye of the Sultān under the pretext of taking it (Zaina Tilaka) as the king's seat in respect of its resplendence, the moonlight as white as the nectar, verily got glued to the supporting columns of the palace there.

## Notes

1. Actually Zaina Tilaka was not capital of the king's seat. This honour was bestowed upon Zaina Nagari, but this new township vied with the capital in terms of its beauty etc.

2. The word literally means the apartments of the whole palace, presumably the palace built at "Zaina Tilaka" was plastered white.

3. Nectar is taken to be white and poison as black in colour according to the established conventions in Sanskrit poetry.

## VERSE 36: WHITE BUILDING ALL ROUND THERE

मूलोत्पाटे<sup>1</sup> दशास्योऽरिममेशेन विवर्धितः ।  
इत्येव खिन्नः कैलासः<sup>2</sup> सौधव्याजादिवागतः ॥ ३६ ॥

"Rāvaṇa my enemy was fondled by Lord Śiva to uproot me," thus Mount Kailāśa out of despite had appropriated this (Zaina Tilaka) in the shape of white silvery mansions.

## Notes

1. Reference here is to Rāvaṇa's uprooting The Mount Kailāśa—the abode of Śiva—out of avarice. The mountain began to tremble. Seeing this Lord Śiva made it secure by using his big toe (cf. *Śiva Mahimastotram* by Puṣpadatta).

2. Name of a peak of the Himalayas supposed to be the abode of Lord Śiva and Pārvatī his consort (cf. Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtām*, 1, 58). Since snow stays on it perpetually, it is considered to be white in colour. Probably the new city was white in colour and the poet in his imagery compares it to Kailāsa.

#### VERSE 37: 'JAYĀPIḌAPURA' IN THE RUINS AT THAT TIME

सुघासितगृहं यत्र सन्नागरवसुंधरम्<sup>1</sup> ।

जयापीडपुरं<sup>2</sup> जीर्णं<sup>3</sup> हसन्तीव<sup>4</sup> रुचिच्छलात् ॥ ३७ ॥

Where (in Zaina Tilaka) the houses, wearing a nectarine-white hue, under the pretext of their (white) splendour, were jeering at the dillapidated Jyāpiḍapura having sunken chambers and plinth.

#### Notes

1. This verbal formation 'सन्' is derived from 'सद्', to sit, i.e. occupy a position etc. It also means to sink, to go down deep into the earth, to be in ruins. That is the very meaning which agrees with the context here.

2. See notes on verse 33 supra.

3. Grown very old, dillapidated, with no strength left.

4. 'हस'—a laugh—is taken to be white by the convention by the Sanskrit poets.

#### VERSE 38: BELOW THE SURFACE PASSAGE TO THE PALACE

तलद्धारोत्सुकस्यास्य<sup>1</sup> राज्ञः प्रत्यक्षतां<sup>2</sup> गतम् ।

मयामुर<sup>3</sup> पुरं किंवा यद् दृष्ट्वेत्यवदन्बुधाः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ३८ ॥

The Sultān eager to improvise a new subterranean entrance (to his palace) supervised (its construction) by himself, seeing which the top-engineers proclaimed "Is this township designed by the demon Maya?"

#### Notes

1. The passage or the entrance below the surface, the subterranean tunnels. With a view to safety and having escape routes, the palaces and forts were equipped with such tunnels, screened from the eyes of the people. During a siege such passages were very useful for a king or his family. In Kashmir many such internal passages now in ruins are treated as sacred caves by the people, e.g. below Hari Parbat where government poultry farm stands now and at many other places in the valley.

2. Literally it would mean in his presence, being in view before his very eyes. It would suggest that as he was very eager to provide his palace with a secret route thereby providing safety to himself.

3. This word can be explained by way of two contexts:

(a) *Maya* through magical powers, *Surapura*—the abode of the gods. It is suggested here that this "Zaina-Tilaka" was a replica of the heaven, constructed through magical devices.



(b) Mayāsura was the name of an *asura*. He was an ace-architect, who built the three cities (Tripura) for them, which were later on burnt down by the wrath of Lord Śiva. He is also reputed to have built the premises in which Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pāṇdavas performed the *Rajasuya Yajña*. It was so designed and embellished by him that water would look like land and vice-versa. Duryodhana—the eldest of the Kauravas was even taken in by his supercraftsmanship and became a butt of ridicule there (*MHB*, VIII, 1406-1407). Because of this tradition, the word *māyā* has come to mean falsehood, cheating etc. And this was the aim in the subterranean passage.

4. Literally means the wise, learned, proficient. Herein the art of engineering it would mean top engineers etc.

#### VERSE 39. THE TOWN POSSESSED WHITE SPLENDOUR

यद् वारिकान्तं<sup>1</sup> संक्रान्तं परितः सरितस्तटात्<sup>2</sup> ।

द्वारिको<sup>3</sup> हसतीवास्य वारि कान्त्या सुधासितम्<sup>4</sup> ॥ ३९ ॥

The shimer of the main gates erected around the banks of the river plastered with white mortar being reflected in the placid waters jeered at the (socalled excellence) of Dwārikā.

#### Notes

1. The lovely waters, the water maintaining a rhythmic flow, placid etc.
2. From the banks. The entrances were built near the banks of the river Jhelum and the sambal marsh surrounded the township, "Zaina Tilaka". The only approach was obviously through the water, hence entrances to the township stood there at the banks to regulate the coming and going of the people.
3. Abode of Lord Kṛṣṇa. This city was built by Viśva Karman, the celestial architect. It was surrounded by ditches on all the four sides. The city had fifty main-gates. According to modern view, Dwārikā was situated in the sea, to the west of Gujarat (Vettam Mani, *Purāṇic Encyclopedia*, p 266).
4. This word means nectar, lime, white mortar etc. The last meaning fits the context here.

#### VERSE 40: JAYA SIMHA MADE THE RULER OF RAJOURI

तत्र रजपुरीयाय<sup>1</sup> जयसिंहाय<sup>2</sup> भूपतिः ।

प्रददौ रज्यतिलकं<sup>3</sup> निजजन्मदिनोत्सवे<sup>4</sup> ॥ ४० ॥

There (in this very town) the Sultān on his birth-day anointed Jaya Simha as the ruler of Rājāpurī (Rajouri).

#### Notes

1. For Rājāpurī see notes verses I, 1, 91.
2. Jona Rāja in his *Rāja Tarangini* verse 831 has referred to Rājā Rānā Suha of Rajouri whom Zain-ul-Ābidin vanquished. May be Budshāh made Jaya Simha the ruler of Rajouri in his place. *Suha* is the Kashmiri form of Simha.
3. This Hīṇḍu rite for anointing the kings continued under the Sultāns also. Jona Rāja has mentioned this several times.

4. Budshāh celebrated his birthday like the Hindus. This was a kind gesture, towards the Hindu subjects, oppressed earlier. By owning this Hindu custom, he made the Hindu tradition safe. It will be interesting to note that the Mughal emperors also followed this tradition. Apparently this was an instance of composite culture developed in India.

VERSE 41: JAYA SĪMHA GIVEN ADDITIONAL DUTY OF  
SAFEGUARDING THE RIGHTS OF  
BRĀHMAṆAS

तत्रोपविष्टः<sup>1</sup> संतुष्टः सेवयास्य<sup>2</sup> महीपतिः ।

भट्टतन्त्राधिकारं<sup>3</sup> च प्रददौ ब्राह्मणप्रियः ॥४१॥

Seated there, gratified by the services rendered by him, the Sultān beloved of Brāhmaṇas also conferred on him (Jaya Sīmha) the office of looking after the Brāhmaṇas.

Notes

1. Being seated on his throne during the anointing ceremony of Jaya Sīmha.
2. Service, devotion, loyalty etc, v.l. सेवया ये, VVRI, p 38.
3. Bhaṭṭa usually taken to be a learned Brāhmaṇa, a scholar. A generic name of Kashmiri Hindus—*Baṭa* (Kashmiri).

तन्त्र connotes rule, conduct, discipline etc. Śrīvara by using the adjectival phrase "beloved of Brāhmaṇas" supplies the correct key to unlock the meaning contained in *Bhaṭṭa-Tantra Adhikāra*, which obviously conveys that he was made incharge for looking after the Brāhmaṇas, safeguarding their rights; "Jaya Sīmha" was appointed by the Sultān to advise him on the rights etc., to be enjoyed by the Hindu minority as also supervising the actual application.

VERSE 42: THE SULTĀN RAINS GOLD ON THE SINGERS

काश्मीरकाश्यदेशीय<sup>1</sup> सर्वगीतङ्कितान्ने<sup>2</sup> ।

तस्मिन् संवत्सरे<sup>3</sup> राज्ञा चक्रे कनक वर्षणम् ॥४२॥

That very year the Sultān showered gold in the court-yard (of the palace) which was resounding with all the local melodies in vogue in Kashmir, the progeny of Sage Kaśyapa.

Notes

1. Here reference is made to Sage Kaśyapa who reclaimed the land underneath water called Satisara which ultimately came to be known as the Kashmir Valley (NLMT), v.l., काश्यदेशः VVRI, p 38.

2. Literally means to move in a curve, stamped, marked. Apparently various singers had come from all parts of Kashmir. The use of the verb अङ्क suggests that the songs were sung while moving in curves. The "Roḥ" Kashmiri chorus is also done by the ladies in an arc like curve even today. It might have been that very form of group music conducted before the Sultān celebrating the founding of "Zaina-Tilaka".

3. That very year can be posterior to 1462 AD, when the floods subsided.

4. 'Shower of Gold' is the literal meaning. It might suggest that gold coins were showered over the musicians, or it may connote also that gold-ornaments adorning the body of the Sultān were taken out by him and offered to the talented artists for being pleased with their performance. This practice of honouring the artists in this manner, still persists there.

#### VERSE 43: ROUNDING OF HILĀLPUR

तत्रोपकण्ठे भूपालः स्मृत्यै कण्ठीरव<sup>1</sup> द्विषः ।  
हेलाल नाम्नो दासस्य<sup>2</sup> हेलालपुरकं<sup>3</sup> व्यधात् ॥४३॥

Just in its (Zaina Tilaka's) vicinity, the Sultān consecrated a town Helālpur in memory of his attendant Helāl killed by an elephant in rut.

#### Notes

1. This compound can be explained in two ways:

i) The one who is ill-disposed towards an elephant run amuck.

ii) To whom the elephant in rut is hostile, inimical. This meaning will agree with the context because a memorial, definitely after being killed by the elephant, was raised in his name (v.l. कण्ठीरव द्विषः).

2. The suggestive import of a 'slave' can also be gleaned from it. The institution of slavery has been always patronized by Muslim kings.

3. It is the Arabic word *hilāl*—the crescent. This name of the town has not survived. The location of this town must have been contiguous to Jayāpīḍapura and Zaina Tilaka. Helāl is Sanskritised form.

#### VERSE 44: REPAIRS TO ANDERKOT UNDERTAKEN

शीलपीठे<sup>1</sup> विधायोच्चैर्जयापीठपुण्त्तरे<sup>2</sup> ।  
सरस्तीये<sup>3</sup> मनोहारि राजवासं स्क्कं<sup>4</sup> व्यधात् ॥४४॥

In the interior precincts of Jayāpīḍapura (Anderkot), he (the Sultān) erected a towering couch made of rocks and on the stairs leading to the pond, a delightful royal retreat for himself.

#### Notes

1. A couch to rest upon, a seat etc. It was made of stone and commanded a height for looking all around.

2. It is the present village Anderkot.

3. The stairs, the bank etc. of the pond improvised for growing lotuses as Saras means that also (v.l. सरस्ती, VVRI, p 39).

4. A royal residence, an harbour, a retreat etc. Presumably repairs were made to the old capital of Kashmir, Anderkot and the Sultān made it a summer resort for himself.

5. V.l. नव, new.

## VERSE 45: ROYAL APARTMENTS RESTORED THERE

उदीपब्रुडितं जीर्णं निर्लुण्ठ्योपसरोवरम्<sup>1</sup> ।

महाप्रज्ञो<sup>2</sup> नृपश्चक्रे तद्वद् राजगृह्यवलिम्<sup>3</sup> ॥४५॥

The Sultān having unparalleled understanding restored the rows of royal apartments (at Anderkot) as these stood previously, after dismantling these for having become dillapidated and eroded by the floods.

## Notes

1. Eroded, robbed of its glory. Water being very near to it caused this erosion. The buildings having become rickety were dismantled first and then rebuilt according to the previous plan.

2. Having unequalled intelligence, wisdom. By repairing the old Hindu capital, the Sultān could inculcate a sense of security amongst the Hindus—the minority at that time—as also buy their loyalty. Hence Śrivarā uses the word “very astute”.

3. Just like the old line of royal apartments i.e., as they had stood in the olden days.

## VERSE 46: THE SULTĀN PARTICIPATES IN THE KASHMIRI INSTITUTION OF PUN

नागयात्रादिने<sup>1</sup> यत्र प्रत्यब्दं दिनपञ्चकम् ।

गणचक्रोत्सवे<sup>2</sup> रजा योगिनो भोगिनो<sup>3</sup> व्यधात् ॥४६॥

Where (in that Zaina Tilaka) on the occasion of pilgrimage to Nāgas when also the festival of “Gaṇacakra” was celebrated, the Sultān provided all the worldly comforts to the recluses for five days every year.

## Notes

1. Nāga-Yātrā—literally pilgrimage of the Nāgas. According to Sir Ausel Stein the Nāgas are the “Spring-deities”. The popular conception of the Nāgas as current now represents them in the form of snakes living in the water of springs or lakes and protected by them (STRT, note I, 29).

The *Nilamata Purāṇa* unambiguously informs us that Kashmir valley was occupied by the Nāgas in ancient times. About Nāgas Dr Ved Kumari has suggested the following:

“The most plausible suggestion, therefore, is that the Nāgas were aborigines inhabiting Kashmir and other parts of North India before the advent of Vedic Aryans (The *Nilamata Purāṇa: A Cultural and Literary Study*, vol I, p 58).

Hence, this Nāga worship might suggest ancestor-worship by the Kashmiris. These Nāgas having assumed the form of snakes infest the springs; “Nāgas” means a serpent also in Sanskrit. The Hindu festival of Nāga-Pañcamī (Śrāvaṇa, *Kṛṣṇa Pañcamī*) probably has nothing to do with it, Nāga-Yātrā must have been a local festival here to pay homage to the Nāgas.

However, another important fact should not be missed either. The *nāgas*, as

serpentine deities had had a long association with Gautama Buddha and Buddhism. One king serpent Mucalinda by name, spread his hood over the meditating Buddha, while the latter was still sitting under the Bodhi Tree after his Enlightenment (*Vinaya Pitaka*, PTS edition, London, vol. I, p. 23, vol. IV, p. 108). Besides this there are several other references about them in the Early Pali literature. May be, ever since, the spread of Buddhism in Kashmir in pre-Christian era, there was some festival connected with them, still being celebrated.

But more important than this is that *nāga* also means 'an elephant' in Sanskrit (MW, p. 533; Apte, *Sanskrit-Hindi Kosa*, Delhi, 1966, p. 515). Therefore, *Nāga-Yātrā* could be a procession of the elephants, with some Hindu religious overtures or may be taken out as a part of military display on a certain day every year.

2. This festival corresponds to *Pun* in Kashmiri language. From the fourth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada month, the Kashmiri pandits prepare cakes of wheat and candy for distribution amongst their relatives and neighbours. It is also called *Vināyaka Chaturthi*, गण is Ganapati, Gaṇeśa is called Vināyaka also. These cakes (Kashmiri *Roth*) are circular in shape, generally, hence the use of word *cakra* (circle), round etc. As a matter of fact this whole bright fortnight is reserved for *Pun*.

3. This word means relishers of worldly comforts including the food etc. They were given these round cakes (Kashmiri *Roth*) to eat. It can be easily suggested that the *Nāga-Yātrā* commenced from *ekādaśī* (eleventh day of bright half of Bhādrapada) with *Gautama-Nāga Yātrā*. On the *travodaśī* (13th) *Veri-Nāga Yātrā* took place as also the birthday of the Vitastā was celebrated, on the 14th *Ananta Nāga Yātrā* was undertaken. Hence these *Yātrās* continued for five days from eleventh to fifteenth (*Pūrṇamāsī*) as alluded to here.

On the thirteenth and the fourteenth day of this very bright half "Pun Ceremony" is also undertaken.

#### VERSE 47: PROPITIATION OF LOTUS-PONDS

यत्र कादम्बरी<sup>1</sup> क्षीरव्यञ्जनादिप्रपूरिताः<sup>2</sup>।

कृत्वा पुष्करिणीः<sup>3</sup> सर्वान् स यथेच्छमभोजयत्<sup>4</sup> ॥ ४७ ॥

Wherein (Zaina Tilaka), He (the Sultān) having filled the lotus-ponds upto the top with wine, milk, condiments and other unguents would feed all to their fill.

Notes

1. Wine.

2. Allusion to the mode of offerings and worship as obtaining in each caste is clear here. To the warrior-class (Kṣatriya) he offers wine, to the Brahmins milk and other two castes the Vaisyas and Sūdras, other substances dear to them.

1) It appears that Hindu society in the time of Zain-ūl-'Ābidin, had all the four castes intact. Subsequently, it shrunk to only one caste, that of Brahmins.

*Vyanjana* meaning a sauce, is still used in this very sense by the Pandits of Kashmir.

3. A lotus-pond or a pool in general. In Kashmiri rendering this word is pronounced as *Pokhir*, a corrupt form from *pokkharani* (Pāli) or *puskarmi* (Skt.).

4. To their liking or choice. Food of various types was prepared to cater to the taste of each caste (refer verse 49 also in this context).

## VERSE 48

यत्र योगि<sup>1</sup> सहस्रोत्थ<sup>2</sup> नृजनादासकुचकुलेः<sup>2</sup> ।

जाने मानस<sup>3</sup> नागोऽपि न्यामीलन्निजचक्षुषी<sup>4</sup> ॥४८॥

There (in Zaina Tilaka) the horns continuously blown by the thousands of ascetics produced such a (deafening) sound, that the Mānasabal (lake) even had to close its eyes as it were.

## Notes

1. Reference to Yogis—perhaps subscribing to Nātha sect is referred to here. These Yogis blow horns usually when proceeding to or reaching a place of pilgrimage. Such tumultuous scene is often witnessed when the *Chhari* proceeds to Bhri Amar Nath Cave from Srinagar.

2. The noise produced by blowing of the horns. The horns of the deer, or Kashmiri stag (*handul*) are generally used for this purpose.

3. Reference to Mānasabal lake is evident here. It is in the suburbs of Zaina Tilaka. In Kashmir every lake or spring is named after its presiding deity, eg, Anantanāga, Vāsuki Nāga, Karkoṭa Nāga etc.

4. Serpents are supposed to hear through their eyes (चक्षुःश्रवस्) (cf. MW, 382). For this very reason Mānas-Nāga had to close its eyes in place of ears.

## VERSE 49

न तदन्नं न तन् मांसं न तच्च-शस्यं<sup>1</sup> न तत्फलम् ।

न ते भोगा न ये राज्ञा भोजिता भोजनक्षणे ॥४९॥

Every kind of grain, flesh, corn, fruit and delicacies were made to be served by the King (the Sultān) at the appointed hour (reserved) for eating.

## Note

1. V.I. सस्यं (VVRI, 39). It is presumed that these articles were to be served to the Yogis at a fixed hour.

VERSE 50: AN ACCOMMODATING  
SULTĀN

योगिनां त्रिविधाश्लीलं<sup>1</sup> मद्यमत्ततयोदितम्<sup>2</sup> ।

असहिष्ट<sup>3</sup> नृपो भक्त्या यदसह्यं जनैरपि ॥५०॥

The three vulgarities having sprung from their addiction to narcotics and intoxicants by the Yogis, made them lose their head, even though unbearable to the common-folk, were overlooked by the Sultān, out of reverence (for them).

## Notes

1. The three vulgarities usually enumerated are these of thinking, speaking and action ie. मन, कथन and कर्म. It is very interesting to note that the Sanyasis had degenerated by this period of Indian history and indulged in vulgar activities under the influence of intoxicants.

2. Narcotics and intoxicants—*charas* and liquor etc. Yogis called *joogi* in Kashmir generally relish the drugs and spirituous drinks. But at the same time their activities rob them of their self-control and their thinking, language and action—all turn to bad.

3. The Sultān showed forbearance towards these tipsy and vulgar Yogis, since he had respect for them.

VERSE 51: TITLE OF MĪR CONFERRED ON  
THE HEAD OF YOGIS

महार्घ्यपरिधानोद्यद्दानमानादि लाञ्छनैः<sup>१</sup> ।

तेषामधिपति यत्र मेरु<sup>२</sup> स्व सदृश<sup>३</sup> व्यधात् ॥ ५१ ॥

(The Sultān) conferred the title of Mīr on the patriarch (of this group of Yogis) as also overwhelmed him with every precious apparel, charity, honour and other distinguished decorations bringing him at par with his own self.

## Notes

1. This word means a characteristic mark, a distinguished sign, a decoration, a medal, a royal *firman*, a *Khil'at*, a *Dastār* etc. According to the custom in vogue with the Muslims, the head of the Yogis was honoured by *Dastār bandi* and was also awarded a *Khil'at*.

*Dastār Bandi*: (Persian) meaning 'to tie a turban' in recognition of eminence. *Khil'at*: (Persian) a costly cloak given as a gift from the ruler. Śrīvara wants to convey this very fact here.

2. He was conferred the title of Mīr (Persian) meaning a chief, a leader. It is also used as an honorific expression for a Sayyid the descendants of Prophet Mohammed; official recognition to his rank was accorded so to say. We have such phrases in Persian as *Mir-i-Kārwan*, the Caravan leader, or *Mir-i-Mushāirā*—the chief conductor of a poetic symposium. This head of the Yogis might have been made *Mir-i-Jogiān*—the chief of the Yogis, or his status equated with that of a "Sayyid". This institution of Yogis (*Joogi*) in Kashmiri seems to have thrived in *Yogi-Landā* (*Joogi Lankar*) presumably an island in Raināwārī-Rajankavāṭikā—of the Hindu times. This nomenclature for a certain locality in Raināwārī still persists today. Quite close to it, the outer reaches of the Dal Lake are known as *Mir-i-Bāhri*, at present a designation signifying the Lordship of outskirts of the Dal Lake on which vegetables are grown profusely. Such titles seem to have been awarded by the Sultāns of Kashmir.

3. The suggestive import being that the Yogi—chief was made a Sultān of his clan of Yogis, just as Budshāh himself was the Sultān of his people. The Sultān brought him at par with himself thus. Actually he made the chief of Yogis, a Sayyid, as he himself was.

## VERSE 52: YOGIS FLOODED WITH PRESENTS

सत्कन्या किन्नरा मुद्रा दण्डाद्यैर्द्वादशीं दिने ।

भारिकान् योगिनः कृत्वा प्रत्यमुञ्चत् ततो बहिः ॥ ५२ ॥

On the twelfth (of the bright half of Bhādrapada) durable wallets, single stringed lutes, royal currency, staves and others (presents made to them), the Yogis were given a send off only when they had been turned into porters (by the Sultān).

## Notes

1. The word सत् would connote 'of durable cloth' which could withstand the vagaries of weather as these Yogis would roam from one place to another in season or out of season.

2. A kind of lute The Yogis of this class play on a single stringed lute (*iktārā*) while reciting hymns etc. from door to door.

3. The coins authenticated with royal seal—the legal tender money.

4. A Yogi is ordained to carry a staff also. A Yogi could be easily distinguished with such a paraphernalia.

5. The twelfth of Bhādrapada bright fortnight. The *Nilamata Purāṇa* has mentioned it as "Mahā Dvadasi on which day a bath at the Sindhu-Vitastā Sangama (Shādipore), giving charity and performing other rites towards the manes are ordained (verses, 767-75; also refer to notes on verse 46).

6. As if they were load-carriers. They had been lavishly treated by the Sultān with a large consignment of presents which they had to carry on their shoulders. Jona Rāja has also referred to the benevolence of the Sultān towards these Yogis (*JRRT*, verses 897-899).

7. Out of Zaina Tilaka is meant here.

## VERSE 53: BIRTHDAY OF VYETH CELEBRATED

वितस्ताजन्मपूजार्थं त्रयोदश्यां ततो नृपः ।

दीपमालादिदृक्षुः स नौकारूढोऽभ्यगात् पुनः ॥ ५३ ॥

Thereafter, the Sultān showing veneration towards the birthday of the Vitastā, the thirteenth (of bright fortnight of Bhādrapada) would return to the capital (Srinagar) to witness the illuminations while seated in a boat.

## Notes

1. The birth of the Vitastā were described by *Nilamata Purāṇa* and *Kalhaṇa* both. It is called *Vitastotsava* (*NLMT*, verses 762-766, *KLRT*).

2. The birthday was to be celebrated on the 13th of bright half of Bhādrapada every year.

3. Even though the mention of illuminations or the rows of lighted lamps is not made in *Nilamata*, yet it seems that by the time of Sultans this feature of offering lights to the river had become a custom. The Sultān actively participated in it. This illumination was made either on the houses on the both bank of Vitastā or burning lamps would be offered to the river to float on its surface (also see verse 55 later).



4. The Sultān returned to the capital for this very purpose. This inference cannot be now ruled out that Zaina-Tilaka was a summer resort of his.

## VERSE 54

सुभाषितानि<sup>1</sup> संशृण्वन् संगीतानि<sup>2</sup> जलान्तरे ।  
समारोहावरोहाम्यां<sup>3</sup> स पौरशिषमग्रहीत् ॥ ५४ ॥

While floating on the waters in a boat up and down he (the Sultān) would lend ear to wise sayings, listen to music and also acknowledge the blessings of the city-dwellers.

## Notes

1. These wise and pithy sayings might connote *Vākha* of Lalleśwari and the *Sruks* of Nanda Rishi. सुभाषित also means 'witty or pithy sayings'. Thousands of such verses have been collected by Dr Ludwik Sternbach in a multi-volumed publication being brought out by the VVRI, Hoshiarpur. These verses are beautiful both for their context and poetic composition. Probably the poet was referring to such verses.

2. It might mean Kashmiri melodies also.

3. This phrase can be rendered in two ways:

a) The boat going down the current, but at places the force of surging waves compelling it to revert back thus going up.

b) Down-stream and also up-stream. The Sultān went down the river to the last limit of the city and then turned back up-stream.

4. The city-folk gathered on both the banks of the river. They cheered and waved to the king and gave out full throated slogans wishing him long life and prosperity.

## VERSE 55: ROWS OF BURNING LAMPS FLOAT ON THE VYETH

पूजार्थं प्रस्फुरत्पौरैर्दत्तदीपावलिच्छलात्<sup>2</sup> ।  
वितस्तान्तरमायाता तीर्थकोटिरिवाद्युतत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५५ ॥

Under the pretence of the rows of lamps offered as a votive offering (पूजा) by the city folk, which were shimmering, it appeared as if the holy spots beyond any count had appropriated the innermost (sanctuary) of the Vitastā with their (captivating) dazzle.

## Notes

1. Shining with tremor ie shimmering. The flame of a lamp is never stationery and its reflection in the waves of the river made the light shimmer and created a beautiful effect.

2. The city people offered burning lamps to the river in rows, by floating these of its surface as an offering to the river.

3. A holy place can be identified from a distance either by a burning lamp fed with ghee, placed before the deity (*rainadipa*) or by a glow of the sacrificial fire alive night and day (*dhoont*). तीर्थ can mean a 'holy place' or 'a place of pilgrimage', a 'ford'.

## VERSE 56: THE BANKS LITTERED WITH GOLDEN FLOWERS

पारावार<sup>1</sup> तट प्रप्ता दीपमालास्तदा दधुः ।  
अर्चनाप्त सुरोन्मुक्त<sup>2</sup>सुवर्णकुसुमत्रियम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५६ ॥

At that time, the rows of burning lamps, placed on either banks (of the river) outshone the brilliance of the golden flowers left behind by the gods after being propitiated.

## Notes

1. The distant bank, as well as the bank from which people see the other bank. Both the banks.
2. Having released, having made use of, left over or left behind.
3. The golden flowers resembling the golden flame of the lamps.

## VERSE 57: BEAUTY OF KASHMIRI WOMEN PAR-EXCELLENCE

वितस्तावलिपूजाप्त नागरीमुख<sup>1</sup> निर्जितः ।  
लज्जयाकम्पतेवेन्दुः<sup>2</sup> सेवाप्तः प्रतिमाच्छलात्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५७ ॥

The faces of the city-women having approached the Vitastā with offerings, did cut to size the moon, eager for receiving attention as an image of a deity, who had to shiver for being sighted.

## Notes

1. The faces of the women living in the city. Śrīvara would like to convey that the beauty owned by these faces dwarfed the brilliance of the moon even.
2. This word means shams, bashfulness, modesty, humiliation etc. Moon's image shimmers in the running waters. Śrīvara in his poetic fancy would like to suggest that even moon was not a match for the beauty of the Kashmiri women.
3. An idol, an image of deity. The Moon had expected that it would be propitiated as a deity—an object of worship.

## VERSE 58: THE SULTĀN FOND OF MUSIC AND DANCE

गर्वखर्वीकृतारातिः सुपर्ण<sup>1</sup> इव लीलया<sup>2</sup> ।  
सर्वा रात्रीं स गान्धर्व<sup>3</sup> चर्वणैरनयत् सुखम् ॥ ५८ ॥

Like the bird Garuḍa, He (the Sultān) humbled the arrogance of his foes with sporting ease, and spent the whole night relishing songs and music with utmost comfort.

## Notes

1. सुपर्ण is a supernatural bird often identified with Garuḍa, who is a natural enemy of the serpents. It kills the serpents easily and they are scared of it. The point the poet wants to make is that the Sultān was, to his enemies, just as the Garuḍa bird

is to the snakes, killing and destroying them easily and in sport.

2. This word literally means a sport, amusement, pastime, diversion, with ease.

3. "Gandharvas"—a clan of demi-gods are supposed to be fond of music and dance. (*Yājñavalkya*, 1, 71). These are so often referred to in the early Buddhist literature (cf. T. W. Rhys Davids: *Pali-English Dictionary*, sub-vice).

#### VERSE 59: THE FIRST TWO SONS

वन्द्योऽसौ गुणिबान्धवो दिनपतिर्यस्योदयानुग्रहाद्  
दृष्टा कुत्र<sup>1</sup> न सर्वदर्शनसुखात् सच्चक्रहर्षस्थितिः<sup>2</sup> ।  
निन्द्यौ तस्य सुतौ<sup>3</sup> पितुर्विसदृशौ लोकव्यथोत्पादकौ  
यौ कालोऽयमिति प्रथामुपगतौ क्रूरग्रहौ<sup>4</sup> निश्चितौ ॥ ५९ ॥

Obeisance to the Sun—the friend of the meritorious, through the favour of whose ascent (on the horizon) the wicked and the vile take to heels, by the pleasure derived from surveying everything all around who attains the stature of the wheel (of piety) in perennial motion. (However) his two sons, the tormentors of the people, deserve condemnation, who unlike their father are notorious for being the god of death in person and represent the inauspicious planets forboding misfortune.

#### Notes

In this verse Śrīvara has alluded to the first two sons (Ādam and Hāji) of the Sultān in an euphemistic manner, not directly deriding their unworthy nature and behaviour. He has been very cautious in heaping disapprobation over them because any one of the two could have been the next Sultān and Śrīvara could not afford to give them offence. It would have landed him in trouble.

1. Night, the cover of darkness, is a safe perch for robbers, thieves, evil-doers and sinful people. When the day breaks, all such people hide themselves, do not come out in the open.

2. The undecaying wheel of *Dharma*, so to say.

3. Śani (The Saturn) and 'Bhauma' or māṅgala (the Mars) are supposed to be sons of Sun.

4. Hindu astrology treats these two planets as inauspicious and destructive (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, v, 60).

#### VERSE 60: ĀDAM KHĀN INVADES

##### KASHMIR

अत्रान्तरेऽनुजद्वेष<sup>1</sup> वशात् कलुषिताशयः ।  
आदमखानो निःशेषं देशमाक्रमयद्धठात्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ६० ॥

In the meanwhile, Ādam Khān possessing evil intentions, seized by jealousy towards his younger brother, suddenly invaded the whole of the country.

## Notes

1. Due to his inimical attitude towards his younger brother Hāji Khān (cf. I, 1, 83).
2. All of a sudden. It seems that the Sultān was taken unaware by this attack from Ādam Khān who had been made Governor of Kamraz by him earlier.

## VERSE 61: ĀDAM KHĀN DECLARES INDEPENDENCE

यत्राश्मेवातिकठिनास्तन्त्रतन्त्रितयन्त्रिणः<sup>1</sup> ।

दुर्मन्त्रिणोऽभजन् राज्ञि तस्मिन् सोऽपिस्वतन्त्रताम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ६१ ॥

At that time the Sultān depended upon the services of bad counsellors, who were as hard as the stone (unrelenting), initiating checks on him (his royal prerogative) for ruling the country. He (Ādam Khān) also became independent.

## Notes

1. तन्त्र, among other meanings also connotes rule, texture. यन्त्र also means a check, a restraint.
2. Ādam Khān exploited this bad state of affairs at the centre, to his advantage and declared the territory of Kamraza, of which he was the governor, as independent.

## VERSE 62: ĀDAM KHĀN FOND OF HUNTING ONLY

स्फूर्तिं प्रीतिं न कामास्त्रे शस्त्रे न रसिकोऽभवत् ।

केवलं मृगयासक्तश्चमत्कारं श्वभिव्यर्थात् ॥ ६२ ॥

Undaunted in taking risks, relishing lustful pleasure but not the (message of) scriptures, having undivided and overall infatuation for hunting, He (Ādam Khān) had trained his hounds to indulge in exercise evoking admiration.

## VERSE 63: ĀDAM KHĀN A NIGHT BIRD

सरसामन्तरेऽरण्ये<sup>1</sup> यत्रकुत्रापि तिष्ठतः ।

मृगयारसिकस्यास्य रात्रिर्दिनमिवाभवत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ६३ ॥

Whether in the lakes or in the forests, wherever that addicted to hunting encamped, the night was a day for him.

## Notes

1. For water-bird-shooting Ādam Khān would visit lakes; and for big game he had to wade through the jungles.
2. This pastime of hunting would go on for days and nights together without any break whatsoever, hence for Ādam Khān, night also was a day.

## VERSE 64: CORRUPT SERVANTS OF ĀDAM KHĀN

किमुच्यतेऽन्यनीचत्वं<sup>1</sup> यद् भृत्यैर्व्यवहारिवत्<sup>2</sup> ।  
 श्येन<sup>3</sup>संहृतपक्षयोषविक्रयो नगरे<sup>4</sup> कृतः ॥ ६४ ॥

Other kinds of corrupt practices indulged in by his (Ādam Khān's) servants need not be described, when they like petty traders would collect a good number of birds (killed) by the eagles and sell these in the city (Srinagar).

## Notes

1. Lowliness of character, levity, smallness of mind and conduct, meanness etc
2. A petty retailer, a pavement seller, who are so common in big cities
3. It seems that Ādam Khān and his hangers on had trained hawks at their disposal. Such eagles killed the birds and brought these to their masters. This kind of hobby was popular with the upper strata of society during medieval ages.
4. These servants would act like poachers, steal away these dead birds from the stocks and sell these in the city for getting a good price. Even now shot down water-fowls and other aquatic birds are sold in the city especially in the winter.

## VERSE 65: ĀDAM KHĀN VISITS KRAMARĀJYA

अथैकदा विभज्यासौ यौवराज्यं<sup>1</sup> मदोद्धतः ।  
 क्रमराज्यं नृपत्याज्यं<sup>2</sup> ययौ प्राज्यपरिच्छदः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ६५ ॥

Once puffed up with the vanity of being the successor to throne, he (Ādam Khān) along with a sizable retinue, paid a visit to Kramarājya, which had been made over to him by the Sultān.

## Notes

1. Refer notes verses 1, 2, 5, supra.
2. Which was no longer under the central rule of Sultān. Governors of Maraz and Kamraz were the administrative heads there.
3. It might also mean with great pomp and show, fanfare etc

## VERSE 66: ĀDAM KHĀN A VITAL SCOURAGE

यत्र यत्रोपविष्टिः स पापनिष्ठोऽत्यनिष्टवत्<sup>1</sup> ।  
 अभवन् पीडितग्रामीणाक्रन्दमुखरा दिशः ॥ ६६ ॥

Wherever he (Ādam Khān) of sinful demeanour stayed, it was like a scourage visiting the village folk and all the quarters resounded with their wailings.

## Notes

1. Inauspicious, foreboding trouble Hassan has referred to this vandalistic trait

of Ādam Khān in the following words:

“After sometime Ādam Khān revolted and indulged in killing and looting the inhabitants of Kramarāja” (*THSN*, p 184).

#### VERSE 67

प्रसादमतुलोदग्रं<sup>1</sup> प्रतिग्रहदृढं<sup>2</sup> क्षितिम्<sup>3</sup> ।

उपग्रह<sup>4</sup> इवात्युग्रः संजहार पदे पदे ॥ ६७ ॥

He (Ādam Khān) exceedingly fierce (by nature) stripped the territory (of Kamraz) of its bounties at every step, perpetuated by unflinching labour (of the people) and peerless favours of the Sultān, like an inauspicious sub-planet.

#### Notes

1. Favours from the Sultān like irrigation facilities etc. (refer *JRRT*, verse 872). “Zaina Giri” (Kashmiri Zainagair) canal system was specifically introduced by the Sultān for this very purpose in view.
2. To take in return, labour, working on the land and feeding it with their sweat and blood.
3. The territory of Kamraz is referred to here.
4. Sub-planet or small planets like Ketu and Rāhu, which are always considered to be ominous.

#### VERSE 68: ĀDAM KHĀN ACCUMULATES WEALTH BY ANY MEANS WHATSOEVER

क्वचिद्रीत्या<sup>1</sup> क्वचिद्भीत्या<sup>2</sup> क्वचिन्नीत्या विलोभयन्<sup>3</sup> ।

लोभग्रस्तो बलात्कारान्<sup>4</sup> न केषामहरद्धनम् ॥ ६८ ॥

Possessed with greed, He (Ādam Khān) at one place through tactfulness, at the other through intimidation and at yet another through diplomacy and temptation taking in (the people) robbed them of their wealth under duress.

#### Notes

1. Through tactfulness.
2. Through intimidation.
3. Through temptation.
4. Literally it means violence, employing force etc.

#### VERSE 69: ĀDAM KHĀN ROBS LAVANYAS AND OTHER PRESTIGIOUS CLANS

स प्रकृत्<sup>1</sup> इव व्याजमैत्रीं कुर्वन् गृहागतः<sup>2</sup> ।

लोभादन्याल्लव<sup>3</sup> न्यास्तानन्यान् वितैरवञ्चयत् ॥ ६९ ॥

Out of avarice, he (Ādam Khān) like an ordinary person called at the houses of the Lavanyas fomenting false friendship and cheating them along others (prestigious clans) of their riches.

#### Notes

1. Ādam Khān enticed Lavanyas by his unassuming conduct. As an ordinary man, though being the prince, he himself called at their houses overwhelming them by his humility.

2. He could have as the chief administrator of this province as also the heir to the royal throne called Lavanya chiefs to his residence. Instead of it, he elected to go to them himself pretending to be very friendly. This trick did pay him as these clans of Lavanyas and others were taken in by his seemingly modest gesture.

3. Lavanyas as a powerful Kashmiri clan have been mentioned by Kalhaṇa, Jona Rājā and Śrīvara alike. They have always been an eye-sore to the central authority of Kashmir.

The Lavanyas play a great part in the internal troubles related in books VII and VIII. They must have formed at that time an important tribal section of the rural population of Kashmir (*STRT*, VII, p 1171 notes).

The clan survives as Lone even today in Kashmir. They were originally Hindus and were later converted to Islam. At times Kalhāna has used Lavanya as a substitute for Dāmaras. With regard to this Stein has remarked "From the way in which Kalhāna employed the name in the passages referred to and from numerous others in which Lavanyas are mentioned, it must be inferred that the mass of Dāmaras was recruited from this tribal section" (*STRT*, vol II, p 306). Kalhāna refers to them as "Lavanyas of Lohara" (*KRT*, VII, p 1171). The Lohara fort is mentioned several times in his VII and VIII *tarang*, which means that the Lavanyas were a very important people.

4. "By others" may be meant the Tantrins or the present-day Tantrays. This clan is mostly found in Handwārā district to-day which is a part of Kamraz even now. Kalhāna mentions them as an important military caste (cf. *KRT Tarang*, V, VI, VII and VIII).

#### VERSE 70: DEPRAVED SERVANTS OF ĀDAM KHĀN

नीता जारकृताद्<sup>1</sup> युक्त्या<sup>2</sup> सभया<sup>3</sup>स्ताडयन् क्षियः ।

तदुक्त्यादण्डयद्<sup>4</sup> यस्य ग्रामीणान् सेवकव्रजः ॥७०॥

With clever scheming, the bashful ladies were taken away for being enjoyed, whose village-folks were punished after beating at his (Ādam Khān's) bidding by the host of his servants.

#### Notes

1. जार connotes a paramour. Any person having illicit relations with a married woman is called a जार. The exact purport of this word used here may be that these women were taken away for running brothels.

2. With well planned scheme. The slaves would first force the ladies under duress to accompany them and be available for being enjoyed by persons other than their husbands. The suggestive import here being that these slaves acted as pimps or

panderers and made money out of it, or even satisfied their own lust. Secondly that they might have got their husbands involved in false cases and had them punished.

3. With a tremor, scars, fear, bashfulness. The unwilling bashful ladies were subjected to third degree methods for agreeing to go with them.

4. Imposed punishment in terms of money exactions because he was a very greedy person as narrated earlier.

#### VERSE 71: ĀDAM KHĀN AN UNTAMED WARRIOR

तत्तद्विनिग्रहस्थान<sup>1</sup> सावधानमतिस्तदा ।

स तार्किक<sup>2</sup> इवात्युयो राष्ट्रियैर्दुर्जयोऽभवत् ॥७१॥

At that time, with an alert mind he (Ādam Khān) could identify (the weakest) spot for a hold-up, and like a powerful logician, he could not be vanquished by the denizens of the land.

##### Notes

1. *Vinagraha* means restraining, curbing, seizing, holding etc. The prince was politically very wide awake and could very well identify the places from which he could reap highest dividends in terms of looting the people or putting them in prison.

2. One who indulges in well reasoned augmentation, a logician.

#### VERSE 72: LICENTIOUS SERVANTS OF ĀDAM KHĀN

जायास्तुषा दुहित्राद्या भव्या<sup>1</sup> या अभवन् गृहे ।

बलात् प्रविश्य संभुक्ता निर्लज्जेस्तस्य सेवकैः ॥७२॥

His brazen faced servants (Ādam Khān's) would forcibly break into any house harbouring a presentable lady, a daughter-in-law or a daughter etc. and would molest her.

##### Note

1. Pretty, beautiful, presentable, etc.

#### VERSE 73

समण्ड<sup>1</sup> मत्स्यं कुण्डैस्ते पीत्वा शुण्डान्तरे मधु ।

भाण्डा<sup>2</sup> इव मदोच्चण्डाः श्वासैर्भाण्डमवादयन् ॥७३॥

They (the servants of Ādam Khān) having gulped down liquor in cups along with rice-scum and (fried) fish in a tavern, becoming irretrievably tipsy would hum the tunes of the mimic-like clowns.

##### Notes

1. The scum of the boiled rice was used as an additional drink, or the fried fish was mixed with it to add more taste.



2. The institution of *bhānds* is still alive in Kashmir. Today they are concentrated in village Wahthor in Badgam tehsil. In partitioned Punjab the *bhānds* were an essential feature of the village life. They would mimic any character from the contemporary life and make people laugh.

VERSE 74: EXTORTION BY THE SERVANTS OF  
ĀDAM KHÂN

तण्डुलाश्च कुसुलेभ्यः<sup>1</sup> शालाभ्यः पीनबर्कराः ।  
वीटिकाभ्यः<sup>2</sup> स्वयं मद्यं भुक्तं तैर्बलकारिभिः ॥ ७४ ॥

These extortionists (grabbed) rice from the store-houses, fat sheep from the pens, liquor from the breweries, eating (all this) by themselves.

Notes

1. Means a mini-granary (Kashmiri कुच्छ) in which grain is stored even today in Kashmir.
2. The breweries where liquor was being prepared.

VERSE 75

सेवकानौचिती<sup>1</sup> तस्य कियती वर्ण्यते मया ।  
ये श्वमूर्धनि<sup>2</sup> वास्तव्यान् घृताभ्यङ्गमकारयत् ॥ ७५ ॥

How far can one narrate the improprieties (perpetrated on the people)? (Suffice to say) that those servants of his (Ādam Khān's) made the inhabitants of these localities massage the heads of their hounds with greasy unguents.

Notes

1. Indiscreet behaviour of the servants of Ādam Khān is meant here
2. The heads of the hounds reared by Ādam Khān for hunting (cf. verse 62 earlier), out of fear.
3. Massage with *ghee* or butter.

VERSE 76: KANGRIES FED WITH OIL USED AS LAMPS

हसन्तीरिव ज्वालाभिस्तैलपूर्णा हसन्तिकाः<sup>1</sup> ।  
तान् कारयित्वा ते दीपान् निशास्वज्वलयञ्छठाः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ७६ ॥

These rogues, feeding the laughing and leaping flames of a fire-pot with profuse oil, improvised lamps for illumining the nights.

Notes

1. This is the Kashmiri *Kāngri*, a portable fire-pot. An oil lamp is smaller in size

while the हस्तिका, a portable fire-pot is larger in size. Probably the poet wants to say that they made lamps out of these fire-pots. See also *MW*, s.v.

2. V.l. यञ्जठा (*VVRI*, p 43), where it is asserted that यञ्जठा is more accurate—यच्छठा: is incorrect.

#### VERSE 77

इत्यादि कुत्सिताचारं भारते<sup>1</sup> इव भूपतिः ।  
विज्ञाप्योद्वेजितो लौकैर्निर्गन्तुं नाशकद् गृहात् ॥ ७७ ॥

This heinous conduct as also other (inequities) came to the knowledge of the Sultān, who felt very much exercised. As if overburdened by that load, he could not come out of his palace to face the people.

#### Notes

1. Afflicted, pained, mortified by this heavy burden, the Sultān's heart felt as if some heavy load had come over it. It might mean diffidence standing between the Sultān and his people. Actually, the Sultān feeling very small before the people for the fault of his son Ādam Khān, could not out of shame, come out of his palace to lend ear to the grievance of the inhabitants of Kamraz. In this context Hassan has recorded that people waited upon the Sultān to apprise him of the terror unleashed by Ādam Khān (*TAHS*, p 184).

2. The people who had presumably come to the King to submit their complaint to him.

#### VERSE 78: SLAVES OF ĀDAM KHĀN IGNORE THE ORDERS OF THE SULTĀN

पीडां मा कुरुतेत्यादि राजदूते<sup>1</sup> ब्रुवत्यमी ।  
अवोचन्निति तद्भृत्या राजा क्रन्दतु<sup>2</sup> पीडितः ॥ ७८ ॥

“Desist from oppressing (the people)”, while this (exhortation of Sultān) was being delivered by the royal emissary, his (Ādam Khān's) servants retorted “Let the mortified Sultān wail and whine”.

#### Notes

1. The Sultān in order to arrest this kind of oppression on the inhabitants of Kamraz, sent a courier to Ādam Khān immediately, asking him to desist from heaping such atrocities on the innocent people. The Sultān tried to tame Ādam Khān through messengers.

2. The slaves of Ādam Khān were very insolent towards the Sultān. Persian historians have unanimously recorded that Ādam Khān persisted in flouting the orders of the Sultān (cf. *TABA*, pp 443, 666; *Firishta*, pp 472 etc.).

## VERSE 79

वैरं यो गुरुभिः<sup>1</sup> करोति सततं पुष्पात्यलं दुर्जनैर्ल-  
 लोभात् संचयमातनोत्यनुदिनं तद्दानभोगोज्झितः<sup>2</sup> ।  
 दीनान् ग्राम्यजनांश्च पीडयति यो निर्हेतुमत्याक्षिपे<sup>3</sup>  
 स्तस्यासन्न विनाशिनः<sup>4</sup> स्वविभवस्तापाय शापाय वा<sup>5</sup> ॥ ७९ ॥

He, who is cross with those who deserve respect, is always indulgent to the wicked, out of greed amasses wealth day after day without giving it in charity or enjoying it himself, harasses the poor villagers and innocents, without any rhyme or reason, and inflicts pain on them, the personal prowess of such an individual whose end seems imminent is either an affliction or a curse.

## Notes

1. With the elderly people, quite beyond him in years, knowledge etc
2. The wealth not spent in giving alms to the needy or for personal comforts
3. Without any cause, reason, without any offence being given justifying such an action. The Sanskrit phrase निष्कर्णं वैरं, an enemy at his own will, is meant here
4. He who works for imminent self-annihilation by his deeds
5. If such a person attains power, he will use it in oppressing the people. The venom of a serpent does increase by a milk feed.

## VERSE 80: ĀDAM KHÂN ATTACKS SULTÂN

कुर्वन् स्वसैन्यसामग्रीं कुहदेन<sup>1</sup> पुरे स्थितः ।  
 एकदा जैनगरे<sup>2</sup> भूपालं सबलोऽभ्यगात् ॥ ८० ॥

Camping at Qutub-ud-din-purā (in Srinagar) he (Ādam Khān) collecting an armament for his forces, once proceeded towards Zaina-Nagar with his army to confront the Sultān.

## Notes

1. This city was founded by Sultān Qutub-ud-din (1373-1389 AD) according to Jona Rāja (*JRRT*, verse 527). Dr Stein has identified this place as the Mohalla Langar Hatta near Ziarat of Haji Muhammad Sahib towards the south-west of Jama-Masjid (*STRT*, II, p. 447). Later historians like Dr Mohibul Hassan, Dr Parmu and others have agreed with him (Parmu, *A History of Sultan Rule in Kashmir*, p. 99, n. 44).

In this context Bamzai has said: "The Qutub-ud-din-purā quarter of Srinagar still retains his name, having been founded by this Sultān. It is situated between the Zaina Kadal and Ali Kadal bridges on the left bank of Vitastā" (*A History of Kashmir*, p. 318). I am inclined to agree with this assertion on the following grounds:

- a) Jona Rāja unambiguously states that Qutub-ud-din-purā was founded on the bank of the Vitastā (*JRRT*, verse 527).
- b) This locality still retains the same name and within it towards Mohalla Dabtal where a spacious grave yard is located.

c) Śrīvara tells us that Ādam Khān after collecting his army for confronting the Sultān had to cross Zaina-Kadal (ZRRT, I, 3, 83).

2. Zaina-Nagari or Zaina-Nagar was founded by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, extending right from Hari Parbat to Ambarher (JRRT, verse 869). It included the whole of the tract of land extending from the west of Hari Parbat to Soura (Nowshera) or Vichārnag—precise location of the capital existed within these boundaries.

#### VERSE 81: THE SULTĀN PREPARES FOR COUNTER OFFENSIVE

तद्दिने शङ्कितस्तस्मात्<sup>1</sup> पूर्णकर्णो<sup>2</sup> दुरुक्तिभिः ।

स्वसैन्यसंग्रहे राजा राजधान्यां<sup>3</sup> गतोऽकरोत् ॥८१॥

That very day, the Sultān having lent attentive ear to the offensive language (used by the servants of Ādam Khān) grew suspicious and repaired to his capital to collect his army.

##### Notes

1. The Sultān presumably grew suspicious about his own safety.
2. The Sultān could very well infer that the insolence of the slaves of Ādam Khān was a signal for the offensive to be launched by them (verse 78 earlier). This filthy language used by them might have had the tacit concurrence of Ādam Khān for reasons quite obvious.
3. Nowshera, is meant here.

#### VERSE 82: FOUNDATION OF ZAINA KADAL LAID

वितस्तान्तर्वसद्दारुशैल<sup>1</sup> पूर्णचतुर्गृहम्<sup>2</sup> ।

तरदायामपङ्क्त्यश्चदशकं<sup>3</sup> नगरान्तरे ॥८२॥

In the midst of the city (Srinagar) with four piers made of pine wood and stones struck deep down into the depths of the Vitastā, having a span covering rows of ten horses walking abreast for crossing over to the other side.

##### Notes

1. दारु is Deva Dāru or Pine tree wood—meant here. This wood after being seasoned properly is believed to be very durable and can withstand the wear and tear wrought by rushing waters even.
2. The four piers supporting the bridge.
3. The span of the bridge was as wide as the ten horses walking abreast in a row.

Ādam Khān could have used Ali Kadal (built by his uncle Ali Shāh) also, for crossing over to the other side. It seems that wider span of Zaina Kadal induced Ādam Khān to ferry his troops across the river more comfortably over this very bridge.

VERSE 83: THE SULTÂN RUES THE CONSTRUCTION  
OF ZAINA KADAL

सेतुबन्धं<sup>1</sup> व्यधाजैनकदलाख्यमयं नृपः ।  
स्वकृतं तं तदाज्ञासीत् स्वविघ्नमिव<sup>2</sup> भीतिदम् ॥ ८३ ॥

This Sultân had constructed a bridge named Zaina Kadal. This act of his at this seemed just like a threatening danger to him.

Notes

1. Literally construction of a bridge, a causeway with two sides fixed with two banks of a river over which it is built.
2. A difficulty, a hardship. It connotes also an impediment, an obstacle etc. The Sultân rued the construction of this spacious bridge on which Ādam Khān's troops could now go across easily posing threat to him.

VERSE 84: ĀDAM KHĀN IS SENT AWAY FROM SRINAGAR

नगरोपप्लवाशङ्की<sup>1</sup> संव्रस्तो यत्नमास्थितः ।  
पुरानिष्कासयामास<sup>2</sup> तं सुतं मन्त्रयुक्तिभिः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ८४ ॥

(The Sultân) apprehending trouble in the city, and (thus) feeling scared made efforts through diplomatic channels to send his son away from the city.

Notes

1. Confrontation between the father and his son within the city of Srinagar would have been disastrous for city-dwellers, their life and property, is actually meant here.
2. The Sultân tried to send his son Ādam Khān away from Srinagar to Kamraza (cf. verse 86 later). Hassan has recorded this in this context: "The Sultân felt very much vexed and prevailed upon his son to proceed to Kamraza" (TKHS, p 184).
3. Literally meaning well thought-out scheme, plan. It can also suggest through diplomatic expedients. The Sultân might have employed certain high-ups who could influence Ādam Khān to leave the city or he might have bought peace from him overwhelming him with favours which did the trick.

VERSE 85

सन्तापप्रदमुत्तरायणं<sup>1</sup> मिहालो<sup>2</sup> च्यापिरय्यैर्गुणैः<sup>3</sup>  
यो वाञ्छत्यथ दक्षिणायनममुं<sup>4</sup> ज्ञात्वा हिममार्तिप्रदम् ।  
लोकानामसुखक्षयार्थमुभयोराद्यं पुनर्यो भज—  
त्यथयैव परोपकारनिरतः सूर्याय तस्मै नमः ॥ ८५ ॥

He, who on perceiving that the summer solistice months are very hot, through his elemental quality (of rotation) opts to convert these into pleasing winter months and then observing its icy-sting (again reverts to summer), whose

both these movements—the first and the subsequent, are devoted to removing the discomfort caused to the people, obeisance to Him—the Sun unhaltingly occupied with doing good to others.

#### Notes

1. उत्तरायण = अयन, means going and coming, course, rather sun's course from one solistice to the other. It can connote half-year also. उत्तरायण is that period of the year when the Sun is to the north of the equator, ie, from March 21 to September 23, ie, the summer solistice.

2. V.I. मिहिरच्छापि (VVRI, p 44).

3. The winter months, winter-solistice, southernly course of the Sun.

4. दक्षिणायण = It is winter-solistice or the period when the Sun is to the south of the equator, ie, 23 September to 21 March.

#### VERSE 86: THE SULTĀN SUMMONS HĀJĪ KHĀN

क्रमराज्यान्तरं प्राप्ते तस्मिन् देशज्यैरक्षितः ।

स्वाक्षरैर्हज्यखानं<sup>2</sup> स प्राहेपीत् पत्रमित्यदः ॥ ८६ ॥

On his (Ādam Khān's) reaching Kamraza he (the Sultān) in order to forestall the double rule, addressed a personal letter with this content to Hājī Khān, under his own signatures.

#### Notes

1. Literally rule of two. This phrase can be explained in two ways:

a) Ādam Khān presumably had declared independence of Kamraz. The writ of Sultān the highest authority did not run there. In a sense Kamraz had two rulers—defacto—Ādam Khān and de-jure, the Sultān.

b) The two princes Ādam and Hājī as we know already were sworn enemies to each other. Both would try their best to grab the sultanship after the death of their father with the result that the State might get divided between these two and both independent of each other might assume rulership of their respective segment. The Sultān would not like that the integrity and solidarity of the state should be in peril, hence summoned Hājī Khān so that they both together might succeed in holding back the intransigence of Ādam Khān.

The Sultān doubtlessly wanted to make throne safe for Hājī Khān.

2. The Sultān affixed his own signatures to this personal letter and did not commission any envoy to convey this message orally, on his behalf. Hassan has remarked this in this context:

"The Sultān sent a secret message to Hājī Khān to return along with his forces" (TAKHS, p 184).

#### VERSE 87

पुत्र मेऽवसरो दुष्टस्तादृक् प्राप्तो दुरुत्तरः<sup>1</sup> ।

यत्र मत्प्राणसन्देहे गतिर्नान्या त्वया विना<sup>2</sup> ॥ ८७ ॥

"O my son", I have been confronted with inauspicious times and in tune with this I have received the most discouraging reply (from Ādam Khān) whereby my life seems to be in danger. (Hence) no other course is left to me, except to summon you.

*Notes*

1. The Sultān had obviously failed to bring Ādam Khān round. It seems that latter might have threatened him with taking his life even. The Sultān perforce had now to fall back upon Hājī Khān and write off Ādam Khān for good.

2. Under these adverse conditions for the Sultān when his eldest son was after his life, Hājī Khān the next son was the natural choice for being nominated as the successor and saviour. The Sultān was presumably very anxious to preserve the line of succession after him, so also in his own life-time wanted to settle it once for all. Perhaps, he had premonitions that Hājī Khān presently under the influence of factions supporting him might be ignored by them later on, and the throne might pass on to some one other than his direct descendant. Hājī was in self-exile for seven years (cf, verses I, 1, 94).

VERSE 88

मत्पत्रावेक्षणे युक्तं<sup>1</sup> शयितस्य तवासनम् ।  
आसीनस्य समुत्थानमुत्थितस्य च धावनम्<sup>2</sup> ॥८८॥

On seeing my letter, it would be in your interests to get up even if relaxing on a bed, to stand straight if being seated (cross-legged) and to run if standing.

*Notes*

1. Literally means proper, observing etiquette, etc. It also connotes to be of use, convenience or interest. Ordinarily on getting the summons from a father a son should do all that is conveyed here. But probably Hājī Khān did not have that much sentimental attachment for his father, as he was licking the wounds of the defeat inflicted on him by the Sultān. Hence the Sultān like a sagacious ruler asked him to return in his own interests and not for the reverence he would show to his father.

2. The Sultān wanted to convey to him the urgency and hence told him to return to the capital immediately, without delay or loss of time, otherwise he would miss the bus. It was an urgent call from the Sultān to Hājī Khān.

VERSE 89

किमन्यत् सत्यमेवोक्तं<sup>1</sup> त्यक्वापिश्रुत यन्त्रणाम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
यथागच्छसि तत् तूणं पूर्णं<sup>3</sup> प्राप्स्यसि वाञ्छितम् ॥८९॥

I have spelt out nothing but the truth; banish all that has ever pained your ears (wrong reports), if you return instantly, then only you will obtain in full what you wish for.

## Notes

1. Lest Hāji Khān might read any other meaning into this letter, the Sultān says that the precise truth has been conveyed to him. It was neither a diplomatic trick nor a ruse to take him in.

2. Literally that which might have pained him (Hāji's) ears. Forget all that ever pained your ears. Or what the people might have carried to him, about the tales regarding the punitive measures the Sultān might be taking against him after his defeat at Malla Śilā (verses I, 1, 117).

3. Undivided, full, intact etc. In this context note to 86 earlier deserves attention.

## VERSE 90

अतितूणी न चेत् प्राप्तो मयि जीवति<sup>1</sup> विह्वले ।  
गतेमयि<sup>2</sup> मदध्यणी पुनरागमनेन किम् ॥ ९० ॥

If you do not come poste-haste while I am still alive (though) distracted, your returning to me, when I am no more, will be of no avail.

## Notes

1. This word विह्वल can be construed in two ways:

a) Earnestness, anxiety to see his son before his death.  
b) Distraction, despondency etc. The life punctuated with distraction and grief due to the extremely bad-conduct of Ādam Khān.

2. After the death of the Sultān, Ādam Khān who was stationed within the state would become the Sultān and would not permit Hāji to enter Kashmir or would conspire to kill him.

## VERSE 91: ĀDAM KHĀN ATTACKS SŪYAPURA (SOPORE)

तावत् सूयपुरं<sup>1</sup> प्राप्तः सोऽभूत्तीर्णो<sup>2</sup> नृपात्सजः<sup>3</sup> ।  
रजानीकैः<sup>4</sup> समं युद्धमुद्धतं सबलो व्यधात् ॥ ९१ ॥

As soon as the prince (Ādam Khān) crossed the bridge along with his army on reaching Sūyapura (Sopore) than he engaged himself in a heavy fight with the royal guards.

## Notes

1. Presently called Sopore—a town on both banks of the Jhelum below the Wular lake. It was built by an engineer Suyya by name during the reign of King Avanti Varman (*KLRT*, V, 118).

Joṇa Rāja has recorded that a bridge over the river at Sopore was built by Sultān Jamshed in 1342-1344 AD (*JRRT*, verse 340). He again tells us that Sultān Budshāh constructed a bridge linking the two wings of Sopore on the either banks of the Jhelum (*JRRT*, verse 868). Obviously the earlier bridge built by Sultān Jamshed must have been washed away by the strong current of the stream which joined Jhelum just near the bridge then or in one of the flash floods. Reference to diverting



the flow of Phoru rivulet has also been made by Jona Rāja (*Ibid.*, verse 868) Sultān Jamshed might have built a boat bridge there as was the tradition during the Hindu period. Budshāh later on built a permanent bridge on that very site

2. Having crossed over to the other side Ādam Khān came down from the heights of Kamraz crossed the bridge at Sopore and gave a tough fight to the royal guards, presumably trying to thwart his advance towards the capital. This fight must have taken place somewhere between Sopore and Hayagam (cf. verse I, 3, 95 notes).

3. The prince, the king's son.

4. The forces of the Sultān, or the royal guards on duty over this strategic bridge.

#### VERSE 92

एष्टाधिकारिणं<sup>१</sup> तत्र नत्य<sup>२</sup> भट्टं भटैः सह ।  
हत्वा कृत्वा च कदनं देशोत्पिज्जं क्रुधा व्यधात् ॥ ९२ ॥

There (at Sūyapura) he (Ādam Khān) put Natha Bhatta, the officer representing the central authority to sword, along with his soldiers. And out of spite, he ordered a general massacre of the besieged town (Sūyapura).

#### Notes

1. The representative or the officer stationed at Sūyapura by the Sultān, the Crown or the central authority; since Sūyapura was enroute to "Kamraz" on which Zainagari (Zainagair) was also situated. A royal force stationed at the only link—the bridge—was strategically a very sound step.

2. The officer was apparently a Hindu. Śrīvara has also mentioned one Nottha Somā the author of *Jainacarita*, who was a Brahmin (I, 4, 37).

#### VERSE 93

अथोदतिष्ठत् तुमुलस्तत्कालं सैन्ययोर्द्वयोः ।  
उन्नद्धखान<sup>२</sup> सन्नद्ध युद्धेक्षण सुदुःसहः ॥ ९३ ॥

At that time, in consequence of the loud noise of war-cries made by the forces of Ādam Khān during that fight between the two armies, a (deafening) tumult arose, which was dreadful to the eyes.

#### Notes

1. The two armies belonging to the Sultān and Ādam Khān respectively

2. Loud-noise presumably pertaining to war-cries and the clashing of armaments and horses.

#### VERSE 94: FIGHT BETWEEN ĀDAM KHĀN AND THE SULTĀN TAKES PLACE IN 1459 AD

अष्टाविंशाब्दवदस्मिन्<sup>१</sup> पञ्चत्रिंशोऽपि वत्सरे<sup>२</sup> ।  
वै नीत्वा पितापुत्रौ पिशुनैः करितो वधः<sup>३</sup> ॥ ९४ ॥

Like the twenty-eighth year, in this thirty-fifth year also the mischievous tale bearers caused the father and the son to confront each other resulting in general massacre.

#### Notes

1 The year twenty-eighth of the local Kashmiri calendar called *Saptarsi Samvat* also. According to this reckoning it was 4528. It works out to 1452 AD. The reference is to Haji Khan's fight with the Sultan (verse I, 86) which took place then.

2 Thirty-fifth year of the *Saptarsi* calendar will be 1459 AD. This fight between Ādam Khān and the Sultan took place after an interval of seven years only.

3. Causing loss of life, death etc.

#### VERSE 95

तत्रत्या दरदा वान्ये<sup>1</sup> परितः सरितो<sup>2</sup> जले ।

ममज्जुस्तद्भयाद् येन शवपूर्णमभूत् सरः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ९५ ॥

The Dardas or others camping there were drowned in the surrounding waters of the streams out of fear and the lake was choked to the capacity by (their) corpses.

#### Notes

1 The inhabitants of *Darda* country—Baltistān in which the territories of Gilgit, Hunza etc. are included. These places are now under the occupation of Pakistan.

Their seats which do not seem to have changed since the times of Herodotus, extends from Chitral and Yasin across the Indus regions of Gilgit, Chilas and Bunji to the Kishan Ganga Valley in the immediate north of Kashmir. The tribes inhabiting the latter valley are meant in most of the passages in which the chronicle mentions Dardas or Dards (*STRT*, I, 312 note).

These *Dardas* must have been on way to Srinagar for trading purposes or may be they were camping there due to some reason. There were two routes connecting the valley with Baltistan—one via Bandipore and the other via the upper ridge of Kishan Ganga Valley. These *Dardas* might have taken this very route and had halted at Sopore. At present Pakistan has built a road connecting Kishan Ganga Valley (Muzaffarabad) with Gilgit.

2. It can also be possible that these Dardas and other tribes as mentioned here might have camped on an island surrounded by rivulets for easy access to water.

3 The use of the word सरः—'a lake' seems intriguing here. It may be the Hayagam Sar (Kashmiri) formed by the back waters of the Wular. It is a preserve for duck-shooting now-a-days.

#### VERSE 96

हत्वा मृत्युरिवात्यग्रस्तद्दिने<sup>1</sup> नृशतत्रयोम् ।

नौसेतु<sup>2</sup>बन्ध मुच्छिद्य नदी पारं<sup>3</sup> समासदत् ॥ ९६ ॥

As fierce as the death, he (Ādam Khān) killed three hundred people that day and after negotiating to the other side of the river, dismantled the boat-bridge.

#### Notes

1. V.I. प्रस्तुति, *VVRI*, 46.

2. Śrīvara unambiguously states here that the bridge was improvised by barges or boats. This link of boats from one bank of the Vitastā to the other, as also the town itself must have been built earlier by Sultān Jamshed as referred to by Jona Rāja (*JRRT*, verse 340).

The permanent bridge built by the Sultān Budshāh must be of later date when he founded Zainagiri [Zainagair (Kashmiri)] in Kamraz (*JRRT*, verses 868, 872 etc.), linking Srinagar permanently with it.

3. Obviously enroute to Kamraz.

#### VERSE 97

धिक् तं यः पैतृके देशे रक्षणीयेऽपि<sup>1</sup> निष्कृपः ।  
परदेश जयं<sup>2</sup> त्यक्त्वा तादृङ् निघ्नं<sup>3</sup> समाचरत् ॥ ९७ ॥

Fie on him who instead of protecting his ancestral land is unkind to it: (He) all the more earns such a condemnation as giving up conquering other lands; he acts in this manner.

#### Notes

1. The mother-land or the country consecrated by the ancestors deserves to be protected against any threat from inside or outside.

2. The ancestral country is to be extended in area etc. by annexing other territories with it by conquest etc.

3. Ādam Khān instead of this was cruel to his own country, his father and his people. He deserved condemnation.

#### VERSE 98: NEO-CONVERTS ACT AS DOUBLE AGENTS

पापास्ते शिखजादाद्याः<sup>1</sup> गृहीत्वोभयवेतनम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
भूपमुद्देजयामासुः फलं यैरनुभूयते ॥ ९८ ॥

The wretched scions of the Sheikhs drawing wages from both (sides) worked up the Sultān, the aftermath of which they are (now) experiencing.

#### Notes

1. *Śikha* as used here can be explained in more than one way

a) It might be corrupt-pronunciation of Sheikh—literally meaning an Arab-chief, has also been used to connote a Hindu convert to Islam. It might mean "Neo-converts" here.

b) It might have been used in place of *śikhā* the tuft of the hair grown at the

crown or crest of head. It connotes the topmost, the most superior etc. also. The most superior clan amongst Muslims is that of Sayeds. Hence, *śikha* might have been used to denote that dimension also. It will thus mean offspring of Sayeds. Though connected with the royal family by way of matrimony, even then these Sayeds did not behave properly and had to be externed from Kashmir (ZRT, III, 169). *Jādā* is Persian *Zādāh*—ie the son, scion, offspring etc.

2. These double faced neo-converts or Sayeds were in the pay of the Sultān as also of his son Ādam Khān. They were double agents sō to say.

#### VERSE 99

उच्चः सफलदो यथायमहमप्येतादृगेतावता  
स्पर्धा<sup>1</sup> या कदियेष हन्त जनकेनैकेन मन्दः<sup>2</sup> सुतः ।  
भास्वानभ्युदितः स तावदतुलः सर्वं प्रकाशोद्यतो  
यन्माहात्म्यं वशेन वक्रगतयो<sup>3</sup> ध्वस्ता भवन्ति स्वयम् ॥ ९९ ॥

Alas! I also do feel dejected (to observe) that an idiotic son should have put in such vain efforts for confronting his father of towering stature, benevolent to the upright, like the peerless rising Sun (when) intent on diffusing limitless light all over, the crooks on their own accord get destroyed due to his (sun's) eminent splendour.

#### Notes

1. Literally it means competition, emulation, envy, confrontation etc. Ādam Khān would not become a Sultān of his father's stature.

2. मन्दः सुतः = He was a fool or an idiot, slow in understanding, hence did not employ the correct methods to gain that stature. He should have earned the pleasure of the Sultān and not given him offence by his extra-ordinary behaviour.

3. Ādam Khān tried to hit below the belt, he was not straight. Hence had to eat the humble pie like those addicted to vice under the cover of darkness during the night cannot escape detection when the Sun is up and are consequently punished for their bad actions.

It suggests that the sunlight is a restraint on the crooks and the Sun as a planet is a restraint on the crooked planets like Saturn and Mars. Therefore the poet was probably alluding to astrological forces also.

In a nutshell, Ādam Khān squarely deserved what he got from his father.

4. V.l. स्फुटम् = V.l. VVR1, 46.

#### VERSE 100: THE VILE COLLABORATORS BETRAY ĀDAM KHĀN

तद्देशकष्टदेर्दुष्टैः<sup>1</sup> प्रजानां<sup>2</sup> नाशहेतुना ।  
आदमखानो वित्राणो<sup>3</sup> लक्ष्म्याभायैश्च तत्यजे<sup>4</sup> ॥ १०० ॥

The rogues spelling disaster for the country, betrayed Ādam Khān on account of afflicting misery on the people, who was robbed of fortune and status, left forlorn.

## Notes

1. V.I. तजैष कष्टनिच्योऽपि (VVR1, p 46).
2. Of the people, Kashmiris so to say.
3. Without any armour, help, safety etc.
4. Left him, jilted, betrayed him.

## VERSE 101

ईत्या'तङ्कादिभिर्दुःखैर्वरं देशेऽत्र जीव्यते ।  
सर्वनाशकरी'मास्तु भूपर्तुर्वहपत्यता<sup>3</sup> ॥ १०१ ॥

It is better to live in this land shaking hands with calamities and terror, but not under a king who has a host of progeny heralding total disaster.

## Notes

1. This word ईति has multidimensional purport. It means catastrophies in terms of excess of rain, draught, foreign aggression, internal anarchy etc. The *Amarakośa* has equated it with a revolution, change of government also (III, 3, 68).

2. Heralding total disaster With a desire to grab the throne, the princes bring disaster to the country using tactics of every kind to steal a march over other contenders for throne.

3. More than one inheritor to the throne especially amongst Muslim kings has often posed a danger to the ruler as well as the country. The war of succession has been very common amongst the Muslim kings. The main cause of this common calamity has not only been the absence of a law of primogeniture amongst the Muslim rulers, but also the practice of equality, that would encourage one and all to try their luck. The whole of Mughal history in India is full of these examples.

## VERSE 102

सा चेत् तेषां स्वभेदो<sup>1</sup> मा भूयाद् वैरात् परस्परम् ।  
मा जायेताथ वा दुष्टः सुतः<sup>2</sup> कस्यापि दुःखदः ॥ १०२ ॥

Even if a king has more than one son they should not fall apart on account of mutual enmosity. No such son (even if one) be born (to the king) who is vile and heaps suffering on the parent and the people.

## Notes

1. भेद. means disunity, dissension, falling apart from each other. This pertains to more than one son.

2. The one and the only son should be straight and soft, otherwise he might also bring discredit to his parent.

## VERSE 103

प्रजान्तकारिणौ क्रूरौ राजपुत्रावुभावपि ।  
सूर्यस्येव महोभर्तुः पङ्गु'कालाविवोदितौ<sup>2</sup> ॥ १०३ ॥

Both these princes of the Sultān were a scourge for the people and callous, like the two sons of the Sun, Saturn and Yama, incarnate.

#### Notes

1. It is an epithet used for Saturn also. He is supposed to be the son of the Sun and lame.
2. During Vedic times even, Yama—the god of Death—was considered to be the son of the Sun (*Rgveda*, I, 165, 4).

#### VERSE 104

अपकर्तृन् विपन्मग्नान् दयमानः परमपि ।  
क्षमी दाता गुणग्राही स्वामीदृग् लक्ष्यते कथम् ॥ १०४ ॥

How can such a king, who is forbearing, benevolent and appreciator of talent be found who is all compassion for even those who wish him ill, who are in deep waters and who are his enemies?

#### VERSE 105: THE SULTĀN MARCHES HIS TROOPS TO SOPORE

व्यथितो यत् सुतैर्दृष्टैः सोऽस्मद्भाग्यविपर्ययः<sup>1</sup>  
शृण्वन् स रुदिताक्रन्दमिति पौरगिरः पथि ।  
पाददाह व्यथार्तेऽपि नगरान्निर्गन्तुः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १०५ ॥

"It is due to our adverse fate that he (the Sultān) has been troubled by his roguish sons", lending ear to this wailing and weeping of the city-dwellers, (gathered) on the streets, the Sultān though nursing a foot-sore, marched (along with his forces) out of the city (Srinagar).

#### Notes

1. Destiny having turned hostile is the literal translation. The sons being at loggerheads with the Sultan would ultimately affect the people adversely, since the Sultan's time would be mostly consumed in bringing round his erring sons. Thus the Sultan's attention towards his subjects would be neglected and they would not get the fair deal they deserve.

Jona Raja has also alluded to this *adverse fate* in the context of Sultān Sikānder having conveniently forgotten as to what he owed to his subjects and instead engaging himself night and day in breaking the idols of Hindu gods (*JRRT*, verse 597).

2. The king came out of the city. In this context Hassan has recorded

"Next day the Sultān accompanied by an army marched towards Sopore" (*TAKH*, p 2047).

## VERSE 106

पुत्रोत्पत्तिमवेक्ष्य तुष्यति नृपो वोढा धुरः<sup>1</sup> स्यादिति  
 स्नेहात् संपदमस्य यच्छति निजामुल्लङ्घ्य नीति<sup>2</sup> क्रमम् ।  
 ज्ञात्वा तं बलवन्तमात्मसदृशं तादृग् भिया शङ्कते  
 येनोत्सन्न सुखो न जातुलभते निद्रां सचिन्ता<sup>3</sup> ज्वरः ॥ १०६ ॥

A monarch on learning about the birth of a son feels highly gratified in as much as he (the son) would size up to shoulder the yoke (for ruling) justly; (even) going out of way, he (the king) prompted by affection, passes on all belongings to him. (But) discerning that he (the son) is becoming as powerful as he himself, he is suspicious due to fear. This lurking scar can never afford him a wink of sleep; though being in full command of affluence, is (plagued) by the fever of apprehensions.

## Notes

1 This word literally means a yoke, or that part of the yoke which rests on the shoulder. Responsibility, duty, the highest place or the top-most status are its other shades also. Onerous duties of a monarch are meant here.

2 Whatever the monarch has amassed through fair or foul means disregarding even the tenets of morality, ethics, good conduct etc. he would like to pass on to his son. That is the human nature governing the attitude of a father towards his son.

3 The king perceiving his son becoming too big for his boots is possessed by a fear that the son in order to grab the authority might do something untoward, hence loses his repose, contentment and sleep. Hâji and Adam both tried to wrest power from the Sultân, consequently making their father uneasy.

## VERSE 107

बद्ध्वा मल्लिकजस्त्रयेन<sup>1</sup> स यदा राजालि शाहिर्हतो<sup>2</sup>  
 भ्रातृद्वेषवशाद् बभूव कदने<sup>3</sup> काश्मीरिकाणां महत् ।  
 तद्वज्रैर्न मही भुजोऽस्य तनयद्वेषात् किमालोक्यते  
 तन्मा भूद्बहुसन्ततिर्नृपगृहे देशे विनाशप्रदः ॥ १०७ ॥

(For this very reason) Sultân 'Alī Shāh was captured by Malik Jassaratha and killed. Kashmiris had to suffer untold miseries due to the bad blood between the (two) brothers. The same (degree of plight) has visited Sultan Zain-ul-'Ābidin (also) due to the ill-will between his two sons. So a monarch should not have a host of sons which would otherwise presage doom for the country.

## Notes

1. The chief of Khokhar tribe Jassaratha is meant here. On embracing Islam he prefixed Malik and suffixed Khān with his name (*Zaina Rājatarangini*). These Khokhars may have been originally Khasās which has changed to Khokhin

(Kashmiri). Their terror was proverbial all over the valley, even now the mothers frighten their little ones and make them restrain their weeping by administering a threat 'Khokh is coming' which is this tribe actually.

2. The father of Jasaratha.
3. Destruction (*MW*, 247).

#### VERSE 108

इति मार्गे कथाः शृण्वन् ग्राम्याणां जैनभूपतिः ।  
वञ्जत् कुलनयं निन्दन् प्राप सुयपुण्यन्तरम् ॥ १०८ ॥

Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn lent his ear to such tales (related) by the village-folk (gathered) enroute, and condemning his erring son reached the interior of Sūyapura for putting him to death.

#### Note

1. The town built by Suyya during the reign of King Avantī Varman (*KLRT*, V, 118).

#### VERSE 109

तीरद्वये<sup>1</sup> वितस्तायाः पितापुत्रबलद्वयम् ।  
न्यवीविशत् समासन्नं परस्परं जयोद्यतम् ॥ १०९ ॥

Taking up positions on either banks of the Vitastā the legions of the father and the son faced each other quite ready to win a victory.

#### Note

1. Ādam Khān's forces were obviously on the other side of the river leading to Kamraz. The Sultān's forces were on this side of the river. The bridge connecting the two banks had been dismantled by Ādam Khān. Therefore the royal forces could not cross over to the other bank (*ZRRT*, 3, 96).

#### VERSE 110: HĀJĪ KHĀN ARRIVES FROM POONCH

अत्रान्तरे हान्यखानः पर्णोत्सात्<sup>1</sup> तूर्णमागतः ।  
सुपर्ण<sup>2</sup> इव सद्गर्णो<sup>3</sup> देशाध्यक्षी समासदत् ॥ ११० ॥

In the meantime, Hāji Khān of noble descent arriving in hot haste from Poonch like *Garuḍa* (the king of birds), reached the outskirts of the kingdom of Kashmir.

#### Notes

1. After being defeated by the Sultān at Mallasīlā (Shopian) Hāji Khān had sought asylum with the rulers of Rajouri, Lorin and Poonch (*ZRRT*, verse I, 1, 169).



2 It connotes *Garuda*—the vehicle of Lord Visnu, also considered to be the king of birds. It flies exceedingly fast. Its wings are beautiful and hence the name *suparna*.

3 वर्ण has many shades of meaning in Sanskrit. It means case, decent, colour, etc. Here it may convey Hâji Khân's noble descent in coming to the succour of his father.

VERSE 111 BEHRÂM KHÂN RECEIVES HÂJĪ KHÂN  
AT BARAMULLA

श्रुत्वा वराहमूलान्ते<sup>1</sup> पुत्रं प्राप्तं बलान्वितम् ।

अग्रे बहामखाने तं सत्कर्तुं व्यसृजन्पुः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १११ ॥

The Sultân having been told that his son (Hâji Khân) along with his troops had camped at the outskirts of Varâhamûla (Baramulla) sent Behrâm Khân (another son of his) to receive him (Hâji Khân) with full honours.

Notes

1 At present the town of Baramulla—the western entrance to the valley (*KLRT*, VIII, 452).

2 Sent Behrâm Khân in order to welcome Hâji Khân and bring him and his forces lest Ādam Khân is able to persuade the erring prince to join him and settle the old scores with the Sultân.

VERSE 112

कालापेक्षी<sup>1</sup> हाज्यखानः प्रेम्णाश्लिष्य कृतादरः ।

प्रीतिनिष्ठं कनिष्ठं तं भ्रातरं स्वममानयत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ११२ ॥

Biding his time (at Baramulla) Hâji Khân embraced his loving younger brother (Behrâm Khân) giving him all respect and treating him as his own.

Notes

1. Waiting for the summons from the Sultân Hâji Khân wanted to learn about the orders of the Sultân as to where he should send the forces. So, he did not enter the valley directly. The exact position of Ādam Khân's and the Sultân's army was conveyed to him by Behrâm Khân. Hassan has also written that Hâji Khân was received by his brother Behrâm Khân at the outskirts of Baramulla under the orders of the Sultân (*TAKHS*, p 204).

2 Honoured Behrâm Khân as his own brother. Change of heart in Hâji Khân is alluded to here. Previously there was no love lost between the two.

VERSE 113

अन्येद्युर्मानितं दृष्ट्वा जनकेन निजानुजम् ।

आदमखानो वित्राणः<sup>1</sup> संरस्तोऽगाददिगन्तरम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ११३ ॥

On the next day, noticing that the father (the Sultān) had given all respect to his younger brother, Ādam Khān became frightened and without any guard fled to a kingdom other than Kashmir.

#### Notes

1. He might have deserted his army, and left along with his trusted lieutenants and a pick of bodyguards.

2. The places not under the suzerainty of Sultān. Hāji Khān had also done the same earlier (ZRRT, I, 1, 169).

The sole motive of Ādam Khān for this turning of his tail, was that Sultān's arm would not reach him there.

#### VERSE 114: ĀDAM KHĀN SEEKS ASYLUM WITH THE RULER OF GILGIT

शाहिभङ्गयथा<sup>1</sup> सिन्धुं समुत्तीर्य बलान्वितः ।

प्राप सिन्धुपतेर्देशं<sup>2</sup> कष्टक्लिष्टपरिच्छदः ॥ ११४ ॥

Having crossed the Indus through the route Sāhi Bhanga, he (Ādam Khān) sought asylum with the ruler of Sindhu (where Indus flows) along with his bodyguard and retinue shattered and tattered.

#### Notes

1. Before an attempt is made to spell out precisely as to what is conveyed by the epithet Sāhi Bhanga; it would be better to give its meaning literally.

Sāhi obviously a Persian word means royal, regal, pertaining to sovereign etc.

Bhanga in Sanskrit means division, separation, dispersion etc. Taken together this epithet would mean the place from where the royal jurisdiction got divided, or the Sultān's suzerainty ceased. In other words, Ādam Khān crossed the frontier so that the Sultān would not do him any harm. Hāji Khān had also done the same thing so that the Sultān's arms could not reach him (ZRRT, I, 1, 169).

This epithet has been used in the context of a foreigner by Śuka—the author of the fourth chronicle (SHRRT, verse 1, 129). It seems probable that Ādam Khān had to march through Minimarg and did cross the Indus to reach there. By no stretch of imagination it can be construed to mean that Ādam Khān went over to the Sindh province now under Pakistan occupation as has been recorded by several Persian-historians. Based on the map given in geography of Jammu and Kashmir State by Pandit Anand Kaul, Shri Bamzai has correctly deciphered this place to be Gilgit (History of Kashmir, p 333).

2. सिन्धुपति can mean the Lord who had a control over the Indus, the commander of the watch station or the warden of the marches or mountain passes leading into Kashmir. It may also connote the ruler in whose jurisdiction the Indus fell.

#### VERSE 115: THE SULTĀN RETURNS TO SRINAGAR ALONG WITH HĀJĪ KHĀN

इत्थं त्रिशतमे<sup>1</sup> वर्षे ज्येष्ठे निष्कास्य युक्तितः<sup>2</sup> ।

सज्जयानान्वितस्तुष्टो नगरं प्राप यूपतिः ॥ ११५ ॥

In this manner having sent his eldest son (Ādam Khān) into self exile with sagacious tact in the thirty-third year (local calender) the Sultān quite gratified reached back to the city (Srinagar) in the company of Hājī Khān.

*Notes*

1. The thirty-third year of Local or Saptarsi calender i.e. 4533 corresponding to 1457 AD.

2. Through his sagacity, tact or diplomatic acumen. The Sultān called his son Hājī Khān only to frighten Ādam Khān into fleeing and not fighting. This move of his paid the desired dividends in as much as Ādam Khān took to his heels without giving a proper fight to the Sultān.

VERSE 116

शिशिरसमये योऽभूत् क्लिष्टश्चिरं हतपक्षति-  
 धरणिक्ुहरेष्वन्तः कालं निनाय शुचाकुलः ।  
 कुसुमसमये प्राप्योद्यानं विकसिलतोज्ज्वलं  
 किसलयरतः सोऽयं भृङ्गः सुखं रमते पुनः ॥ ११६ ॥

That very humble-bee, shorn off its plumes feels hurt for long in the winter months, passes his time in the inner most niches of fissures in the earth; during the season of flowers romps into gardens in luscious bloom infatuated with (the juice of) tender sprouts, which he again relishes with joyful comfort

*Note*

This verse has reference to Hājī Khān who after experiencing various vicissitudes of life, is restored to full glory.

VERSE 117: HĀJĪ KHĀN BECOMES HEIR APPARENT

अस्मिन्नवसरे तुष्टाद्वाज्यखानो<sup>१</sup> धृतं चिरात् ।  
 यौवराज्यपदं प्रापज्जनकाज्जनकोपमात् ॥ ११७ ॥

Concurrently (with their return to the capital) Hājī Khān was restored to the heir apparent-ship held by him for a considerable time earlier from his pleased father (Sultān), who resembled Janaka.

*Notes*

1. Hājī Khān had been made heir apparent by the Sultān earlier also.

2. Like King Janaka of Mithilā who ruled his country for the good of the people and not for personal gratification (*Vālmiki Rāmāyana*, I, 13, 21).

## VERSE 118: HĀJĪ KHĀN BEHAVES PROPERLY THEREAFTER

पितुः प्रेममणिं प्राप्य स्वच्छं भक्तिपरायणः ।

हृदयान्नात्यज्जातु श्रीमाञ्च साङ्गिकौस्तुभम्<sup>1</sup> ॥ ११८ ॥

Having acquired the jewel of paternal love the devoted son (Hājī Khān) did never renounce it from his heart just as Lord Viṣṇu does the *Kaustubha* jewel.

## Note

1. Name of a celebrated gem obtained with thirteen other jewels at the churning of the milk ocean and suspended by Lord Viṣṇu on his breast (*Mahābhārata*, Ādi Parva, XVIII, 37) and which he never parts with. The representation of sārngī—in Nagari is difficult in modern printing.

## VERSE 119

विनयक्षिप्तदेवाग्रे जानूसंकुचिताकृतिः ।

हकार<sup>1</sup> इव सद्गुणः<sup>2</sup> सोष्मा<sup>3</sup> सर्वाधिर्बभौ ॥ ११९ ॥

He (Hājī Khān) with a polite demeanour of mind, punctuated with respectful humility followed in the footsteps of gods and elders achieving resplendence in every respect like the moon (projecting) enrapturing hue with mellow warmth.

## Notes

1. The letter हः it also represents Lord Śiva, and the moon.
2. The undying letter since this letter can be used independently or with any letter of the alphabet to show emphasis, urgency etc.
3. It belongs to the group of consonants known as sibilants in Sanskrit grammar like श्चस् etc.

"The second line of this verse can be rendered into English in another form also. Achieved prominence from every angle like the undying letter हः belonging to the group of sibilants." A more literal translation "Prostrating with humility before gods, with face contracted upto thigh, he shone ever in future, like the spirant good letter h (cf, *Sāradā* script).

## VERSE 120

न ततोर्थे न सा यात्रा न सा लीला<sup>1</sup> न चोत्सवः ।

तदाभून्नैव यत्रागाद्वाज्यखानान्वितो<sup>2</sup> नृपः ॥ १२० ॥

The consequence of this, there was no shrine, no pilgrimage, no entertainment or a festival, which the Sultān did not attend in company of Hājī Khān.

## Notes

1. लीला means a pastime, amusement, diversion. With the prefix Rāsa it can mean

a group-dance also. *Leelas* connected with Śrī Rāma or Śrī Kṛṣṇa are often enacted on a stage. It might connote that kind of entertainment, seeing a play also.

2. The Sultān reposed utmost confidence in his son Hājī Khān and also thought himself to be very safe in his company. Moreover, he wanted to groom him for the Sultānship after his death.

## VERSE 121

यो नित्यं परितो वृतो गण<sup>1</sup> शतैरत्यर्थं भक्त्युज्ज्वलैः  
 पुत्राभ्यां<sup>2</sup> सहितो हितस्त्रिजगतां नानाविलासान् भजन्  
 कालो गच्छति यस्य लास्य<sup>3</sup> ललितं<sup>4</sup> गीतं च यच्छृण्वतः<sup>5</sup> ।  
 शस्यः कस्य न तन्ममस्यविभवः कैलासवासो भवः ॥ १२१ ॥

Who does not adore the Venerable, all powerful Lord with his abode at mount Kailāśa, surrounded all over by hundreds of his attendants with unblemished devotion, possessing multi-dimensional elegance in company with his two sons for doing good to the three worlds, who passes his time in lending ear to dance, drama and song.

## Notes

1. *Ganas* are the attendants of Lord Śiva, the chief of these is Nandin.
2. Gaṇeśa and Kumāra (Skanda).
3. The dance accompanied with singing and instrumental music.
4. Actually, Lalit Kalā, fine arts of which drama is one form (cf. *ZRRT*, I, 4, 4).
5. V.l. संश्रृण्वतः *VVRI*, p 49.

An attempt is made here to compare the Sultān with Lord Śiva. Śiva has two sons and so had the Sultān. Śiva was fond of dance and music and so was the Sultān. A typical example of sycophancy, which poets are so fond of.

इति जैन राजतरङ्गिण्यामादमखान निर्वासनं  
 हाज्यखान संयोगवर्णनं नाम तृतीयः सर्गः ।

This is the end of the third canto named, 'Description of the Exile of Ādam Khān and the Union of Hājī Khān' of the *Zaina Rājataranginī* composed by Pandit Śrīvara.

## WAVE I, CANTO IV

### VERSE 1: ALMOND BLOSSOM IN KASHMIR

अत्रान्तरे मदनबन्धुरयाद्<sup>1</sup> वसन्तः  
 चक्ररसारकुमुदाकररोहिणीशः<sup>2</sup> ।  
 मन्मथस्वर<sup>3</sup> विनिवारणं धनुर्मूर्तिः  
 स्फूर्जल्लतालिललना नव<sup>4</sup>यौवनश्रीः ॥ १ ॥

In the meanwhile, Cupid's associate, the spring season arrived, (heralding) the quintessence of the prowess of white lotuses; the moon, the veritable image of the sun, for dispelling the darkness of conceit; the graceful splendour relevant to early youth displayed through the coquettish movements of the rows of creepers and women.

#### Notes

1. The multi-coloured riot of flowers provides a veritable background for the lovers. Hence Cupid is always associated with the spring season (cf. Kālidās's *Kumārasambhava*, canto III).
2. The Lord of Rohiṇī—the fourth Lunar mansion containing five stars. She was one of the several daughters of Dakṣa and is regarded as the most favourite consort of the moon (*Śabda Kalpadruma*, p 189).
3. Reference is made to the darkness of the conceit displayed by the young ladies for their beauty, grace and gait.
4. Early youth in the case of the creepers and women when the former shine with their captivating blossoms and the latter with their enticing coquetry. It is during this season that the creepers put forth their crop of blossoms and the women move out of their houses after long months of noxious winter, to relish the spring. These months of March-April—early spring are referred to here, when almonds blossom in full bloom in Kashmir and people take off to celebrate this welcome change in weather.

### VERSE 2: THE FESTIVAL OF CAITRA (NOWREH)

ततश्चैत्रोत्सवे<sup>1</sup> राजा पुष्पलीला<sup>2</sup> चिकीर्षया ।  
 ययौ मङ्गराज्योर्वी<sup>3</sup> नौकारूढः<sup>4</sup> सुतान्वितः ॥ २ ॥

So, on the festival of Caitra with a desire to (feed his eyes) on the feast of blossoms, the Sultān along with his son boarding a boat ferried towards the precincts of Maḍava (Maraz).

## Notes

1 Herein *Caitrotsava* might correspond to the first day of the local or Saptarṣi calender, celebrated as *Navareh*—the *navarātri*'s—by the Hindus. It falls on the first day of the bright half of *Caitra*, March-April. Along with the almond blossoms, the narcissus and *Bedamushk* are in full bloom. People throng the gardens on this very day for celebrating this festival as well as enjoying the blossoms.

On perusal of the *Nilamata Purāna* it is quite evident that right from the first day of the bright half of *Caitra* this whole fortnight is punctuated with one festival or the other. Apart from *Navsarnvatsara* (Navreh), *Śrī Pañcamī* (5th day), *Caitra Sashṭhi* (6th day), *Caitra Navamī* (9th day), *Vāstupūjā* (14th day), *Caitra Dvādaśī* (12th day), *Madan-trayodaśī* (13th day) and *Pisāca-prāyāna* (15th day) are mentioned therein. Therefore, it seems that the Sultān in order to participate in all these festivals as also relishing the almond blossoms chose to go to Maraz.

2. The sport, elegance or the ravishing effect of the blossoms.

3. Almond grows in abundance on the Karewas in Maraz, hence the Sultān in order to relish its blossom to the full, chose Maraz for his picnic.

4. The boat was obviously going upstream from Srinagar to Maraz, and the Karewas with their profuse crop of almond-blossoms commanding a good height in comparison to the river was visible to the Sultān easily. He would thus feed his eyes on it as a whole without visiting each and every Karewa personally.

## VERSE 3

तरण्डमण्डली राज्ञो वितस्तान्तरगा बभौ ।

शक्र<sup>1</sup> स्येव विमानाली छाया<sup>2</sup> पटविभूषिता<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

The Sultān's caravan of boats wading through the Vitastā, shone like the fascinating cavalcade of Indra's aeroplane, zooming on the milky way.

## Notes

1. Indra—the Lord of gods.

2. It has double meaning:

a) It may connote the milky way, the galaxy or the luminous band<sup>1</sup> of stars stretching across the heavens.

b) The cotton curtains screening away the sun and providing shade. Kashmiri shikaras are often decked with such curtains.

3. This can also be the rendering of the verse in light of double meaning contained in (2) above. The royal procession of boats decked with curtains providing shade plied over the Vitastā like Indra's aerial vehicles forming a line.

## VERSE 4: THE SULTĀN ATTENDS DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES

स्वकीयराजवासस्थो<sup>1</sup> राजावन्तिपुराद्<sup>2</sup> गतः ।

विजयेशादिदेशेषु<sup>3</sup> नाट्यं<sup>4</sup> द्रष्टुमुपाविशत्<sup>5</sup> ॥ ४ ॥

The Sultān occupying the royal rest-houses (earmarked) for his

personal use, proceeded to Vijayeśa (Bijebehara) and other places from Avantipura breaking the journey (enroute) to see the plays being enacted.

#### Notes

1. Royal lodges or rest houses only for the Sultān's use wherein every kind of facility would be available to him.

2. Avantipura town on the right side of the Vitastā on the national highway. Some twenty four kms from Srinagar. It was founded by king Avanti Varman 855 AD to 863 AD (KLRT, V, 44). Ruins of spacious temples on the road side can be seen there even now. It has retained its name till now. Kashmiri pronunciation 'Vuintpor'.

3. "Vijayeśa or Vijayeśvar" is presently called Bijebehara town on the right side of the Vitastā on the national highway connecting Jammu with Srinagar. This town was founded by king Vijaya around the shrine of Vijayeshvara, Lord Śiva (KLRT, II, 62). Kashmiri pronunciation is 'Vijbror'.

4. Dramatic performances enacted at that time of the year seem to be based on *Rāmāyana*—Lord Rama's birth day is celebrated on the ninth of this fortnight as referred to earlier. This practice of representing scenes from the *Rāmāyana* or the *Mahabharata* is still in vogue there.

5. Halted, stayed, or broke the journey onwards.

#### VERSE 5: INSTITUTION OF COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

हरांश<sup>1</sup> भूभुजं जेतुं यत्र राजसभानिष्ठात्<sup>2</sup> ।

मवाशक्तोऽभवत्कुत्वा<sup>3</sup> बहुधा स्वमनोभवः ॥ ५ ॥

Where (in Kashmir) the mind-born Cupid assuming many forms: under the pretext of the council of ministers would indulge in undoing what the Sultān, the scion of Lord Śiva, would do, but could only repeat the frustration he (Cupid) had in subjugating Lord Śiva.

#### Notes

1. *Nilamata* (verse 246), *Kalhana* (KLRT, I, 72) and *Ksemendra* (*Lokaprakāśa* p 61) have unequivocally asserted that the ruler of Kashmir is essentially *A Portion of Śiva*. Jona Rāja has also repeated this age old belief (*JRI* verse 134) since Kashmir has been treated as *Umā* or *Pārvatī*, hence the one Lord over it can be only Śiva. (v.l. शिवारो, *VVRI*, 50).

2. Under the pretext of council of ministers. The point made out by Śrīvara herein seems to be that the ministers at times would not see eye to eye with the Sultān and would employ many means to get his decisions reversed, but the opinion of the Sultān would ultimately prevail despite their argumentations, protest and dissent etc.

3. Cupid tried to evoke love in Lord Śiva for *Pārvatī*. Lord Śiva was unmoved in his meditation. Finally the mind-born Cupid was reduced to ashes by the wrath of Lord Śiva for his transgression. As the Cupid was helpless before Lord Śiva so were the ministers before the Sultān (*Kumārasambhava* canto III).



## VERSE 6

सालङ्कार<sup>1</sup> प्रबन्धज्ञाः सिद्धान्तश्रुतविश्रुताः<sup>2</sup> ।  
यत्रान्तःकरणयुक्ता द्रष्टारो<sup>3</sup> गायना<sup>4</sup> अपि ॥ ६ ॥

Where (in Kashmir) there are scholars of poetry which is full of rhetorics, there are those who are masters of great work, which expound great theories and there are those great musicologists who sing from innermost urges (rather than from ulterior motives).

## Notes

1. Herein reference has been made to poetic rhetorics (अलङ्कार) forming a part of good poetry. These embellishments have been classified into three categories—excellence of form, excellence of content or both (Mammāṭa's *Kāyaparakāśa*, chapter I, *Sāhitya Darpana* of Kavirāja Viśvanātha, chapter etc.).

*Prabandha* is a poetic composition (or ensuring continuity. It contains an episode treated chapter-wise to highlight the thread of the narrative opening up gradually.

2. Literally a doctrine established by refuting counter arguments, the true logical conclusion, settled fact, etc.

3. The master-minds to whom musicology was revealed, or who could perceive it correctly.

Literally: Where there are those who know embellished poetic composition, who are known and well-known theorists, seers and even musicians having conscience.

4. The science of music, composing music etc.

VERSE 7: MAIDENS PROFICIENT IN VOCALS  
AND INSTRUMENTAL  
MUSIC

नानाग्राम<sup>1</sup> गताश्चारुस्वरगमनोहराः ।  
यत्र गीता रसस्फीता बभूवुर्वतयोऽपि<sup>2</sup> च ॥ ७ ॥

This verse also has a double entendre, one pertaining to the songs (गीत) and the other to young ladies (युवति). In the case of songs it means:

Where (in Kashmir), the sweet, heart-touching songs, containing agreeable gamut in respect of voice and tune, full of aesthetic pleasure and sung by young ladies have become famous.

In respect of young ladies it will mean:

Where, the young beautiful village bells, with charming voice and full of passion, and whose songs are full of *rasa* (taste), have become famous.

## Notes

1. ग्राम is a scale or gamut of music also.

2. The young ladies who sing these songs.

## VERSE 8: PEOPLE POSSESS TASTE FOR THE 'STAGE'

कलाकलाप<sup>1</sup> 'केतासीन्मानमानस'<sup>2</sup>सौख्यभृत् ।

रङ्गरङ्गदुर्चिर्लोके<sup>3</sup> विद्याविद्यातसंशयः<sup>4</sup> ॥८॥

The people possessed knowledge of various categories of fine arts, took pride in their feeling mentally satisfied, displayed colourful taste for the stage, mastered high learning and having (high degree) of confidence (in their own selves).

## Notes

1. Sixty-four arts have been enumerated by our lawgivers Manu etc, such as dancing, music, painting etc.
2. Feeling mentally satisfied, with no mental frustration or perturbation whatsoever.
3. Fondly devoted to seeing dramatic performances on the stage.
4. Having no doubts, misgivings, apprehensions etc.

## VERSE 9: ACTORS WELL VERSED IN MUSIC

प्रतितालैकतालादि<sup>1</sup> बहुतालविभूषितम् ।

तत्र ताराचनाराच<sup>2</sup> संज्ञानं विदधुर्नटाः ॥९॥

There (on the stage) the actors would display their full mastery over vocal and instrumental music in tune with each beat of time clapping the hands singly or collectively.

## Notes

1. *Tāla* connotes clapping of hands, a musical instrument made of bell-metal or beating time. All these connotations are related to music.
2. Actually these words are connected with prosody, composing of metres with words, their signs and *Mātrās*, the time taken in pronouncing these, a syllabic instant.

## VERSE 10

उत्सवा<sup>1</sup> नाम कामास्त्रं<sup>2</sup> गायनी नयनोत्सवा<sup>3</sup> ।

लास्यताण्डव<sup>4</sup> नृत्यज्ञा न केषां रञ्जिकाभवत् ॥१०॥

Whom did the songstress, Utsavā by name, a veritable missile of love-god, a feast for the eyes, with her proficiency in the tender and violent forms of dance, not entertain?

## Notes

1. This name smacks of Hindu origin. May be dance and drama being taboo with the Muslims as per *Shariat*. Śrivarā has given a Hindu name. However, this profession caught up with the Muslims also as 'Hafiz Nama' have been a thriving institution here in Kashmir.

2. Exceedingly charming with inviting and appetizing gesticulations as is done by 'Hafizas' even now, warming up of passions is meant here.

3. A female singer, a songstress who recites songs from memory in accompaniment of music and dance. *Hāfizā* in Persian means a lady reciting by rote.

4. *Lāsyā* is a soft-pedalled dance associated with Pārvatī, and *lāṇḍava*—the violent dance with Lord Śiva, also called 'Nāṭa Rāja', the ace-dancer also for this very reason.

#### VERSE 11

भावनेकोन<sup>1</sup> पञ्चाशत्संख्यास्तानाश्च<sup>2</sup> तावतः ।

दर्शयन्त्यो बभूवुः पात्र्यस्ता मूर्ता इव मूर्च्छनाः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ११ ॥

Worthy ladies projecting forty-nine emotional sentiments through that very number of musical key notes earned applause, as if, the harmonious melody incarnate.

#### Notes

1. Sanskrit rhetoricians have classified these emotions in three categories: (a) Permanent, (b) Quasi-permanent, and (c) Temporary. Their total has been given as eight, thirty-four and seven respectively making a grand total of forty-nine (Paṇḍita Rāja Jagannātha, *Rasa Gangādhara*, I, Mammata's *Kāvya-prakāśa*, IV).

2. The key-notes of music or running over the notes to catch the key these are said to be forty-nine (*Saṅgīta Dāmodara*).

3. Literally it connotes a duly regulated rise and fall of sounds conducting the air and the harmony through the throat in a pleasing manner. It can mean harmony of sounds, melody.

#### VERSE 12

यासां नृत्ये च गीते च त्वत्ते मेऽस्त्यधिकं सुखम् ।

इतिवादोऽभव 'च्छेत्रनेत्रयोः'<sup>2</sup> प्रेक्षणक्षणे ॥ १२ ॥

"For sooth their dancing and singing have afforded me more joy (than you)"—this kind of argument brewed up between the ear and the eye (simultaneously) at the time of the visual presentation (of such displays).

#### Notes

1. The ear relished the tilting tunes and was thus immensely gratified.

2. The eyes applauded the rhythm of the dance and the facial expression and felt very happy. Actually these two organs could not decide between themselves as to who had derived more joy. Śrivarā would like to convey here that in both these departments of singing and dancing the ladies were equally proficient and entertained the eyes and the ears equally.

## VERSE 13: OPEN AIR THEATRES IN VOGUE

पात्री<sup>१</sup> गानपिकध्वाने रङ्गोद्याने<sup>२</sup> तदाधुतन् ।

दीपचम्पकमालास्ता<sup>३</sup> मधुपैः<sup>४</sup> परितो वृताः ॥ १३ ॥

On the stage (improvised) in a garden with the reverberating tunes of talented songstresses like the notes of nightangale, the rows of lamps, as if the garlands of Campaka flowers, were thronged by honey-sucking bees all over.

## Notes

1. The worthy or the deft ladies quite proficient in singing.
2. An open air stage or theatre is meant here.
3. A tree bearing yellow fragrant flowers. It seems that the lamps were hanging on these very trees, within the campus. The lamp would invite the moth and the flowers the bee.

*Campaka-mālā* is the name of a metre also. It might suggest also that shimmer of lamps kept pace with the rhythm contained in this metre.

4. It might suggest the honey-sucking bees or the admirers gone tipsy. In the former case the bees surrounded the *Campaka* flower and in the latter case the fans drunk with the joy they derived from the singing thronged those queens of melody.

A pun is intended here. The open air performances of the songstresses and the dancers have been compared to the flower. The *Campaka* flowers in the trees looked as if these were lamps hanging on the trees. The flowers would attract the bees and the lamp the moths. To the performances of the singers and dancers would flock the audience as did the bees and moths to flowers and lamps.

## VERSE 14

राज्ञो राज्येक्षणात् तुष्टैर्नृत्यप्रेक्षागतैः सुरैः<sup>१</sup> ।

दीपमालाच्छलान्मुक्ता नूनं हेमाम्बुजस्रजः ॥ १४ ॥

The gods, who had come to have a look after the kingdom, were feeling verily very happy, and they left behind them garlands of gold-lotuses for the Sultān in the garb of the rows of lamps.

## Note

1. The gods were happy with the Sultān for his just and benevolent rule.

## VERSE 15

जलान्तर्बिम्बिता क्वापि दीपाली नागलोकतः<sup>१</sup> ।

वरुणेन<sup>२</sup> नृपप्रीत्या दापितेवाधुतत् तदा ॥ १५ ॥

Somewhere (during those celebrations) the rows of lamps were reflected in the water as if god Varuṇa (god of water) out of love for the Sultān had offered these (to him) from the world underneath.

## Notes

1. The last of the seven regions under the earth where semidivine beings, the *Nāgas*, are supposed to live (Kālidāsa, *Raghuvamśa*, I, 80).
2. The presiding deity of the oceans and the western direction, similar to Neptune—The Roman sea-god.

## VERSE 16

ता दीपिता दीपमाला द्विधा<sup>१</sup> रङ्गे चकाशिरे ।  
दिदृक्षागतनागानां फणा मणिगणा इव ॥ १६ ॥

Those blazing rows of lamps, like the jewel-bedecked hoods of the serpents present for witnessing (the show), lit the theatre doubly.

## Note

1. In two ways, doubly, the glow of the lamps, and their reflection in the water, was like the shimmer of jewels on the hoods of serpents floating in the water.

## VERSE 17

किं राजालोकलोभात् तटभुवि मिलिताः पूर्वभूपाल<sup>१</sup> जीवाः  
किं व्योम्नस्तारकौघः शशधरविमुखः सेवनायावतीर्णः ।  
किं वा सिद्धाः<sup>२</sup> सुरेन्द्रा<sup>३</sup> निज रुचि रुचिराः प्रेक्षणायोपविष्टाः  
किं वैता दीपमाला इति जनमनसाम्नास्त दूराद् वितर्कः ॥ १७ ॥

Are these rows of lamps or the astral bodies of erstwhile Sultāns collected together on the bank (of the river) with a desire to steal a glance over the (present) Sultān or the constellation of stars averse to the moon having come down from the sky to serve (the Sultān); or the semi-divine *Siddhas* and great heavenly Lords (forming) and audience to witness this (display), such distant conjectures came to the minds of the people.

## Notes

1. The astral body at the expiry of the physical one is always represented by a lamp in accordance with Hindu belief.
2. A semi divine being supposed to be of great purity and holiness, as also the master of supernatural powers.
3. Surendra is actually an epithet for Indra—the Lord of gods. The use of plural number here may denote other Lords e.g. Mitra (the Sun), Varuna (the sea god) etc. also.

## VERSE 18

साक्षादेव पुरन्दरः<sup>1</sup> कविबुधा<sup>2</sup> विद्याधरा<sup>3</sup> सेवका  
 अन्ते देवसभासदः सवपुषः सिद्धा अमी योगिनः ।  
 एता अप्सरसो<sup>4</sup> रसोर्जितगुणा गन्धर्वका<sup>5</sup> गायना  
 रङ्गोऽयं त्रिदिवस्थलीति जगदुः सर्वे जनाः प्रेक्षकाः ॥ १८ ॥

"He (the Sultān) is the Lord Indra himself, while the planets Venus and Mercury coupled with semi-divine *Vidyādhara*s are at his beck and call. In the last row are seated the gods forming (a part) of the audience. These are the ascetics and the supernatural *Siddhas* in person. These songstresses are (in essence) the divine nymphs having earned appreciation through their elegant beauty, or the *Gandharva* damsels. This theatre has turned into a heavenly sanctuary. Such were the reactions of all the people having come to witness (the performance).

## Notes

1. An epithet of Indra—Lord of gods. He had razed to the ground the cities built by his adversaries, hence called the destroyer of cities—its literal meaning (*BGVT*, VIII, 13).

2. (a) It signifies Śukrācārya—the preceptor of demons, planet Venus; (b) It can mean a poet also; or

(a) The planet Mercury (Budha); (b) It means also those having acquired self-knowledge; the learned.

3. (a) A species of demi-gods given to amorous activities (*BGVT*, VI, 1); (b) Those professing scholarship.

4. The heavenly nymphs; mermaids, the ladies moving in water is the literal translation. They are supposed to reside there. This was the earlier conjectured meaning. Now it is supposed literally to mean: shameless (a-*psaras*)

5. The Gandharvas and the celestial musicians. They are supposed to be demi-gods.

## VERSE 19: MULTI-COLOURED FIRE-WORKS DISPLAYED

अङ्गारक्षारचूर्णादि गन्धकौषध<sup>1</sup> युक्तिभिः ।  
 रागैः शिल्पिकृतालीला<sup>2</sup> क्रीडालोक<sup>3</sup> मरङ्गयत् ॥ १९ ॥

The display (of fire-works) of myriad hues manufactured by artisans by assembling charcoal, saltpetre, lime, sulphur and other chemicals, draped the auditorium with multi-coloured brilliance.

## Notes

1. All these are the ingredients, used for manufacturing fire-works.

2. This display (*Līlā*) pertains to fire-works (refer verse 27 infra).

3. The auditorium of the theatre. The stadium so to say.

4. V.I. मरङ्गयत् *VVRI*, p 52. It means 'made them happy'

VERSE 20: TYPES OF FIREWORKS DESCRIBED  
(SPARKLERS)

तथा ह्यौषध<sup>1</sup>संपूर्णान्नालद्वह्निकणा<sup>2</sup> घनाः ।  
निर्यत्कुसुमसंपूर्णं स्वर्णवल्लीभ्रमं<sup>3</sup> व्यधुः ॥ २० ॥

A solidified discharge of sparks dashed out of the (hollow) reed filled combustible chemicals creating the delusion of golden creeper in full-bloom.

Notes

1. The chemicals and other ingredients given in verse 19 above.
2. The reed or tube or a rod presumably hollow within. Actually this reed filled with combustible material was fastened to the ground and on being ignited would shower forth a blazing rain of flowers etc. It is still called *phulhari* or sparklers for this very reason.
3. The golden creeper—presumably the golden hue of the sparks coming out of the reed taking a creeper like form.

VERSE 21: SERPENTINE FIREWORKS

सर्पाकारानलज्वालानिर्गता सलिलान्तरात् ।  
चक्रे प्रेक्षक लोकानां त्रासाश्चर्यभयोदयम् ॥ २१ ॥

Flames of fire in the shape of (crawling) snakes released within the water, struck terror and fright (mingled with) amazement in the mind of the audience.

VERSE 22: FIREWORKS SHAPED ROUND

नालकादुत्थिता व्योम्नि ज्वालागोलक पङ्क्तयः ।  
राजद्राजतरोचिष्का जीवशुक्रोपमां<sup>1</sup> व्यधुः ॥ २२ ॥

The rows of flaming balls rising up to the sky from the reed with silvery sheen shone like the planets Jupiter and Venus.

Note

1. The colours red and white being the colours of Jupiter and Venus respectively. The balls discharged a trail of red and white colours while on their way in the sky.

VERSE 23: FIREWORKS FASTENED STRINGS

रज्जुबद्धागमद्दूरं ज्वलन्त्यौषधनालिका ।  
आहूतये<sup>1</sup> तथा नीतास्तादृश्यो बहवो गताः ॥ २३ ॥

The flaming reed containing chemicals, fastened to a string covered a good distance and in the same way many such (reeds)

were released, and it appeared as if they had gone to call back the earlier ones.

*Note*

1. V.I. अद्भुतेष तेषां (VVRJ, 53).

#### VERSE 24: FIREWORKS WITH REMOTE CONTROL

गतागतानि<sup>1</sup> कुर्वन्त्यो दीप्ता उत्का<sup>2</sup> इवोत्चनाः<sup>3</sup> ।  
प्रेक्षकाणां प्रिया दृष्टीरहरन्नुतावहाः ॥ २४ ॥

These reeds like very loudly blazing meteors, leaping to and fro, stole the pleasing gaze of the spectators with wonder.

*Notes*

1. Going and coming because of being controlled by a rope or string.
2. A meteor, a blazing torch.
3. Very forceful, strong, powerful. This spectacle of fireworks with remote control is referred to here.

#### VERSE 25

अत्र पात्री<sup>1</sup>करस्थापि ज्वलन्त्यौषधनालिका ।  
द्युलोकोन्मुक्तसद्वर्णं स्वर्णपुष्पश्रियं व्यधात्<sup>2</sup> ॥ २५ ॥

The blazing reed filled with combustible chemicals placed in the hand of an agile lady presented a feast of golden flower with immaculate due dropping down from the heavens.

*Notes*

1. The lady who could deliver the goods was fit for handling this fireworks. This can be the connotation here; only an agile lady could handle this combustible material.
2. The lady appeared to be a golden flower sent down from the heaven. She was completely screened by the yellowish hue of the dense sparks forming a flowers from top to toe; hence was not visible at all.

#### VERSE 26

निर्गतं ननु दण्डान्तर्ज्वालापिण्डं नभोन्तरे ।  
उदण्डं दण्डं<sup>1</sup> सर्वेषां चण्डरश्मि<sup>2</sup> भ्रमं व्यधात् ॥ २६ ॥

Verily the mass of flames released from within the reed into the sky like a raised staff was mistaken by one and all for the scorching ray (of the Sun).



## Notes

1. The raised staff, the **staff** of authority. The royal sceptre. It was a general practice with the kings of yore to have a staff bearer with them representing their overall supremacy. When the staff was ordered to be raised, it meant announcing punishment. *Rāja-Daṇḍa* is referred to here. *Daṇḍa* also connotes punishment, fine, punitive measures, etc.

2. The scorching rays of the sun, making people uneasy.

### VERSE 27: HABIB IS INSTRUCTED TO MANUFACTURE FIREWORKS

वह्नि क्रीडनलीलाया<sup>1</sup> युक्तिज्ञेन महीभुजा ।  
शिक्षयित्वा<sup>2</sup> हभेभाख्यं<sup>3</sup> तास्ताः सर्वाः प्रदर्शिताः ॥ २७ ॥

The Sultān conversant with the know-how of presenting a spectacle of such a sport of fire instructed one Habib by name—who accordingly exhibited that very (fireworks) before all and sundry.

## Notes

1. It seems that the Sultān had already witnessed such shows of fireworks outside Kashmir when he was in sojourn (*JRRT*, verses 714-716).

2. Habib was instructed by the Sultān to manufacture these fireworks locally. Habib accordingly assembled all such ingredients available in Kashmir and presented the spectacle of fireworks to the people.

3. Obviously a Muslim name. He had perhaps been inducted into Kashmir from Persia as he seems to have known only one language Persian—the *lingua franca* of Iran (verse 29, *infra*).

Hassan has given the name of this Habib as Jiva (*TKHSN*, Persian, p 198).

### VERSE 28: SALT-PETRE NOT KNOWN IN KASHMIR THEN

क्षारस्तदुपयोगोऽत्र<sup>1</sup> दुर्लभो योऽभवत् पुरा ।  
तद्युक्तिशिक्षया राज्ञा स्वदेशे सुलभः कृतः ॥ २८ ॥

Prior to the Sultān salt-petre as also (the art of harnessing it to various) uses was a far cry here (in Kashmir). The Sultān by his skill and training made it easily available in his own kingdom (locally).

## Note

1. Actually *Kṣāra* connotes the ingredients of fireworks. Probably the introduction of canon had made these ingredients more easily available.

### VERSE 29: A MANUAL ON FIREWORKS PREPARED

प्रश्नोत्तरमयीं स्वोक्तिर्ह<sup>1</sup> भेषं प्रति या कृता ।  
पारसी भाषया काव्यं<sup>2</sup> दृष्ट्वाद्य कुरुते<sup>3</sup> न कः ॥ २९ ॥

The conversation in question and answer indulged in (by the Sultān) with Habīb was (later) composed in Persian verse (by the Sultān). On going through it, (I feel) that none could reach up (to that excellence of form and content) **those days**.

#### Notes

1. His own impressions, the know-how, the expertise etc.
2. Since Habīb, a resident of Persia, did not know any other language except Persian.
3. Having seen, gone through, perused it. Apparently Śrīvara knew Persian also as he had rendered the Persian romance *Yūsuf Zulaikha* into Sanskrit entitling it as the *Kathā Kautuka*. About this *Tabaqat-i-Akhari* has recorded this information. A book entitled *Sawāl-Jawāb* had been written by the Sultān in collaboration with Habīb, p 657.  
This manual on fireworks has not been discovered so far.

#### VERSE 30: SULTĀN'S RESPECT FOR ORIGINAL TALENT

ते शिल्पा मतिकल्पिताः स च सदा संगीतवाद्यो रसः ।  
 सालङ्कारविचारचारुधिषणा काव्ये च तत् कौशलम् ।  
 सच्छास्त्रश्रवणादरः स च नवप्रोत्पादनायोद्यमः<sup>1</sup> ।  
 श्रीमज्जनमहीपतेर्वसुमतेस्तस्यैव कस्याधुना<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३० ॥

The crafts brought to life by (applying) intelligence; un-diminishing aesthetic pleasure (wafted) by vocal as well as instrumental music; the poetic composition displaying dexterity of embellished diction with ennobling thoughts (as the content); veneration for listening to ever green religious discourses; encouraging for an original productive talent: the great Lord Zaina had overwhelming respect for all these (activities) which none has nowadays.

#### Notes

1. The Sultān would encourage originality that was the reason he honoured 'Habīb'. Subsequent verses substantiate this verdict of Śrīvara about the Sultān.
2. Reference is to the Sultān's successors Haider Shāh and Hassan during whose rule Śrīvara was alive and was composing in verse this contemporary history. These Sultāns had no use for such accomplishments of head and heart.

#### VERSE 31: KHUJĀ THE ACCOMPLISHED MUSICIAN

खुज्याब्दोल्कादराख्यस्य<sup>1</sup> शिष्यः सर्वगुणान्बुधेः ।  
 भूभुजश्चित्तमनयद् रागतालादिभिर्मृदम् ॥ ३१ ॥

The disciple of Abdul Qādir—an ocean of multi-talents, Khujā by name, transported the mind of the Sultān to ecstasy by his

musical notes with harmonious beats of time.

*Note*

1. Kashmiri rendering of Persian (Turkish) epithet *Khwājā*—meaning a Lord. It is an honorific expression prefixed with a name, but does not signify the name by itself. The name has not been mentioned by Śrīvara here. It may be that this accomplished musician was known by this *Khujya* (Kashmiri). *Khōjā* expression only. Dr Mohib-ul-Hassan says that this *Khujā* might be *shujā* actually, as the sounds 'ख' and 'ष' are interchangeable (*Kashmir under Sultans*) between Persian and Sanskrit—eg. Sanskrit *Ṣaṭ-Darśana* is written as (*Khāṭa Darśan*, *Upanisad* as *Upnikhat* etc. In Persian Hassan has given the name as 'Mullā Udi' (*TAHS*, Persian, p 198).

The *Ain-i-Akbari* states that Abdul Qādu belonged to Khurāsān, Persia (p 439). In this regard it is worth noting that in the medieval times, when learning was limited and writing all the more so, there was not much distinction between श and ष. The श in correct pronunciation is nearer to ख and in the 18th and 19th century manuscripts, they are often interchanged. It is in this very tradition that शिष्य became सिख. Therefore there appears to be a lot of weight in what Dr Mohib-ul-Hassan says.

VERSE 32: THE LUTE PLAYER MULLĀ  
JĀDA HONOURED

खुरासानागतो मल्लाजादकाख्यो<sup>1</sup> महीपतेः ।  
वादनात् कूर्मवीणायाः<sup>2</sup> प्रापातुलमनुग्रहम् ॥ ३२ ॥

Having come from Khurāsān, a lutist namely Mullā Jādakā, by playing on the tortoise-shaped lute, was immensely favoured by the Sultān.

*Notes*

1. Mallā is Kashmiri rendering of Mullā or Maulvi. The name given here is 'Mallāzādā'—scion of Mallā only and not the actual name.

2. It might connote either a lute shaped like a tortoise or a particular gesticulation with the finger displaying the gait of a tortoise.

VERSE 33: MULLĀ JAMĀL A VOCALIST

मल्लाज्यमाल'नामापि स्लेच्छवाग्नेयकारकः<sup>2</sup> ।  
नारदो<sup>3</sup> वासवस्येव राज्ञोऽभूदतिरञ्जकः ॥ ३३ ॥

The vocalist, Mullā Jamāl by name, also a (prolific) singer and composer in Persian, entertained the Sultān profusely as Nārada entertained Indra.

*Notes*

1. Persian historians including Hassan have given the name as Jamāl (*TAHS*, p 198) and not *Jaymāl* as mentioned here. Mallā Jyamāl is an exact Kashmiri rendering of Persian Mullā Jamāl.

2. It also connotes a foreigner, not an Indian. The language of the foreigners as referred to here is obviously Persian.

Mlecha has been defined as the one not speaking Sanskrit language or not conforming to Hindu institutions (*Amarakōṣa*, *Manusmṛti*, II. 23; *Śabdakalpādruma*, p 792).

3. Nārada—the son of Brahmā born from his lap (*Puranic Encyclopædia* by Vettam Mani, p 526).

Lord Kṛṣṇa declares him to be his incarnation (*Gītā*, X, 26). He is taken to be an ascetic practising penance by Vālmiki (*Vlmn* I, 1, 1). This sage belongs to the clan of celestial seers (*Devarṣis*) and is supposed to be the inventor of lute or the *Viṇā* (*BGV*, I, 3, 8). He is an inalienable part of *Indra-Sabhā*—the 'Court of Lord Indra' and entertains him with his wit and playing on the *Viṇā*.

#### VERSE 34: ŚRĪVARA COMPOSES THE NOTES OF A BRAND NEW MELODY

तुम्बवीणाधरः<sup>1</sup> सोऽहं सर्वगीतविशारदः ।  
उद्बद्धनवगीताङ्कः कौशलं समदर्शयम् ॥ ३४ ॥

I (Śrīvara) proficient in every form of music composed the notes of a brand new melody and played these on the gourd shaped lute, (thus) exhibiting my ingenuity.

#### Note

1. तुम्ब वीणा: Apparently all *Viṇās* are made from a gourd, but why does the poet specify gourd-shape lute? May be this particular one was introduced from Persia or through any other foreign influence.

#### VERSE 35: JĀFFAR AND ŚRĪVARA SING TURKISH MELODIES

अन्येऽपि जाफरणाद्या मया सह नृपाग्रगाः<sup>1</sup> ।  
तौलुष्कान्<sup>2</sup> दुष्करान् रागानगायन् वीणया समम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३५ ॥

Jāffar and many others forming the retinue of the Sultān as also I sang the difficult Turkish melodies to the accompaniment of the lute.

#### Notes

1. Literally "going in front of the Sultān"—usually the Sultān would be in the middle of the courtiers accompanying him—some in front and some behind. Jāffar and Śrīvara seem to have been allotted the places in the front line.

2. Turkish melodies eg. *Turkishgauda* and *Turushkatodi* etc. The names survive in the manuals on Indian music even today and are also sung as a part of classical Indian music.

3. Perhaps Śrīvara wants to convey that these melodies were adapted to the lute here.

VERSE 36: THE SAME SONG RENDERED IN TWELVE  
DIVERSE MELODIES

गीतं द्वादशरागाङ्कं<sup>१</sup> गायतां नः सभान्तरे ।

प्रीत्यैवैक्यमिवापन्नास्तन्त्रीकण्ठोत्थिताः स्वराः ॥ ३६ ॥

While rendering the same song in twelve diverse melodies in the audience hall, the notes from the flute and those coming out of the throats (instrumental as well as vocal music) assumed oneness out of affection (for each other).

Note

1. The same song was sung in twelve different melodies. *Tabaqât-i-Akbari* has also mentioned this feat. "There were such people who could sing the same song in twelve diverse melodies" (p 439). Śrīvara alludes to the perfect understanding between the instrumentalists and the vocalists while rendering a song in twelve different melodies. However, it only means that the instrumentalists accompanying the vocalist could perform very well and follow all the ups and downs of the vocalists' voice.

VERSE 37: ZAIÑACARITA BY NOTHASOMA  
IN KASHMIRI

देश<sup>१</sup> संस्कृत काव्यज्ञो राज्ञो निकटवास्यभूत्<sup>२</sup> ।

पण्डितो नोत्थसोमाख्यो देशजैनचरित्रकृत् ॥ ३७ ॥

Possessing perfect command over the indigenous (Kashmiri) and Sanskrit poetry, very close to the Sultān, the scholar named Nothasoma compiled a biography of the Sultān *Zainacarita* in Kashmiri.

Notes

1. Kashmiri language seems to have been made a viable vehicle of poetry during the reign of the Sultān. Apparently Kashmiri was also developing just as other modern Indian languages.

2. In the language of Persian chroniclers Nothasoma was *Khâsulkhâs* 'special favourite' with the Sultān. Hassan has mentioned his name as Soma only but has corroborated other details (*TAHS*, p 198). Śrīvara wrote in Sanskrit. Nothasoma owned the Kashmiri vehicle. Both were chroniclers of the Sultān.

VERSE 38: ZAINA PRAKĀŚA—KASHMIRI DRAMA COMPOSED

देशभाषाकविर्योधभट्टः शुद्धं<sup>१</sup> च नाटकम् ।

चक्रे जैनप्रकाशाख्यं राजवृत्तान्तदर्पणम् ॥ ३८ ॥

Yodha Bhaṭṭa a poet in the local language (Kashmiri) composed an immaculate drama named *Zaina Prakāśa*—a veritable mirror for the details about the Sultān.

## Note

1. In accordance with the rules given in manual, on dramaturgy—presumably Sanskrit.

Hassan also has written about him but gives his name as Bodi Bhaṭṭa (TAHS, p 199).

VERSE 39: ZAINA VILĀSA IN KASHMIRI  
COMPOSED

भट्टावतारः<sup>1</sup> शाहाम<sup>2</sup>देश ग्रन्थविपारगः ।

व्यधाजैन विलासाख्यं राजोक्ति<sup>3</sup> प्रतिरूपकम् ॥ ३९ ॥

Bhaṭṭāvatāra a prolific writer in local language who had learnt the *Shāh Nāmā* in depth (by rote) composed an exact reproduction, of the Sultān's sayings under the title *Zaina Vilāsa*.

## Notes

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* gives the name as Lodhi Bhat (p 439).

2. Hassan seems to have confused Bhaṭṭa Avatāra with Yodha Bhaṭṭa when in the case of latter he says that the Persian epic *Shāh-Nāmā* by Firdausi was at the tip of his tongue (TAHS, p 199).

3. Perhaps by the sayings referred to here might be meant the Sultān's observations about composing music in Kashmiri in particular. It might have been a manual on music composed by the Sultān and edited by Bhaṭṭa Avatāra. This inference is strengthened by the mention of one book namely *Mamaka*—a manual on music attributed to Bhaṭṭāvatāra who published it in the name of the Sultān (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p 685).

## VERSE 40

वीणातुम्बीरवावाद्याः<sup>1</sup> सर्वास्तुष्टेन धूम्रुजा ।

सुवर्णरौप्यरत्नैर्घटितास्ताश्चकाशिरैः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ४० ॥

The Sultān fully satisfied with the performance of the musical instruments—the viṇā, the gourd shaped lute and the rabāb got these cast from gold and silver and a multitude of gems, endowing these with a shimmer.

## Notes

1. The Rabāb is a musical instrument similar to a sārāṅgī with the difference that it is much wider and longer than the other; seven strings made up of sinews are fixed on it. Śrīvara has later on categorically stated that it was invented by one Bahlol presumably a Kashmiri. Hence the notion that rabāb was imported from Persia does not seem tenable (ZRRT, II, 59); v.l. रपाप instead of रवाप (VVRI, 55).

2. It seems wood, hollow gourds etc. were used in manufacturing these musical instruments. In case of royal orchestra, gold, silver and gems were used in their stead.

## VERSE 41: TALENTED ACTORS AVAILABLE HERE

तद्वाचिकाङ्गिकाहार्यं सात्विकीभिनयोज्ज्वलम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
नाट्यं दृष्ट्वा जनः सर्वश्चतुर्मुखमशंसत<sup>2</sup> ॥४१॥

The people admired profusely the natural and faultless acting demonstrated through the word of mouth, the movement of limbs, and the make-up after having seen a dramatic performance.

## Notes

1. Śrīvara has quoted verbatim from the treatises on dramaturgy ie. *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa* and Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* wherein it has been laid down that acting is to be conveyed through four media—word, action, make-up and genuine feelings (*Sāhitya Darpaṇa* VI, 2).

2. With four mouths. Loud appreciation is the sense to be conveyed.

## VERSE 42: A VARIETY OF DANCES IN VOGUE HERE

इत्थं त्रिवर्गविद्वाजा<sup>1</sup> त्रिजगत्ख्यातपौरुषः ।  
त्रियामास्त्रिविधैर्नृत्यैरनयत् त्रिदशोपमः<sup>2</sup> ॥४२॥

In this manner, the Sultān whose valour had pervaded the three worlds, who had an exact comprehension of the ideals of life like an immortal being, spent three nights in (relishing) three kinds of dances.

## Notes

1. Śrīvara has used the word 'three' (त्रि) five times without any extraordinary significance attached to it. Repetition has been called inferior poetry by Sanskrit rhetoricians.

The three ideals or obligations have been enumerated as *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*—the right conduct, material security and the will to advance respectively (*Manusmṛti*, III, 224).

2. Feeling quite relaxed without the dread of death haunting him as if he was an immortal, a god.

## VERSE 43

स्फुरद्विचकितोल्लास<sup>1</sup> हासं स भवनान्तरम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
आसदत् तारकापूर्णं पूर्णचन्द्र इवाम्बरम् ॥४३॥

He (the Sultān) like the full-moon on the star-studded sky reached the interior of the bower glittering with the ravishing laughter of white jasmine.

## Notes

1. The laughter providing delight, joy. Laughter is associated with whiteness in

Sanskrit literature, hence the use of white jasmine seems quite apt, or may be the simile pointed out towards the white teeth of the laughing women.

2. A bower of enclosure is meant here.

VERSE 44: THE SULTĀN AND HIS SON PARTICIPATED  
IN A DRINKING PARTY

ततो विमलकुण्डान्ते<sup>1</sup> पानक्रीडां<sup>2</sup> महीपतिः  
कर्तुं प्रचक्रमे तत्र पुत्रमित्रविभूषितः<sup>3</sup> ॥४४॥

Thereafter, the Sultān adorned by his friendly son proceeded towards the pond (containing) pure and transparent (water) to inaugurate the drinking party on its bank.

Notes

1. This word among other meanings connotes nearness, to be close by also. That connotation seems to be apt here. The purest possible water was at hand there for adding to the drinks.

2. *Pānam* has always been taken in the sense of the beverages in general, drinking, sipping liquors etc., though it might mean drinking water also (*Manusmṛiti*, III, 227, VII, 53, etc.).

3. Earlier the sons were enemies to him, now Hāji Khān became a friend, a well-wisher to the Sultān, his father. Or it might connote that the Sultān treated his son as his friend and so did not object to his drinking in public with him like other friends in the drinking party. This shade of meaning suits the context even though Śrīvara has most artfully mentioned the pond thereby conveying that water may have been taken there. Śrīvara had to be cautious in mentioning an un-islamic action of the Sultān, eg, drinking. Moreover Sultān's drinking in public along with his son would have denigrated him in the eyes of puritans; yet Śrīvara has told the truth without offending anybody in those days when Muslim law reigned supreme here. Excessive addiction to liquor by Kashmiri then, can be inferred from the fact that not coping with the ever-increasing demand for it, additional distillation was undertaken from molasses also (*ZRJT*, II, 55).

VERSE 45

पितृप्रेमामृतोत्सिक्तो<sup>1</sup> हाज्यखानोऽथ भक्तिमान् ।  
वसन्तवर्णनोन्मिश्रां चाटूक्तिमवदद्<sup>2</sup> विभोः ॥४५॥

Having bathed in the ambrosial love of his father, dutiful Hāji Khān composed sweet and coaxing verses there and then, punctuating these with the description of vernal season for (entertaining) the mighty Sultān.

Notes

1. Having been overwhelmed by the kind gesture of his father offering him a cup of nectarine beverage (wine). Kashmiri Hindus, most of them *Saivas*, even now call wine euphemistically as *Amṛta* in that connotation also.



2. Flattery is the literal translation of this word. Hāji Khān out of regard for his well disposed father lavished praise on him. May be he indulged in flattering his father under the influence of liquor. This may also be the dimension hinted at by Śrīvara, otherwise a son flattering his father in public does not mean much, more so, in royal courts where norms of propriety are to be observed strictly. Again the author has shown his cleverness in depicting the actual fact under a camouflage of outer covering of words having more than one dimensions.

## VERSE 46

संगीतनादनिपुणान् कलकण्ठभृङ्गान्  
कृत्वानिलं ब्रतति<sup>1</sup> लास्यविधान दक्षम् ।  
गीतप्रियं नरपते किमु सेवितुं त्वां  
प्राप्तो वसन्तऋतुचारणचक्रवर्ती<sup>2</sup> ॥४६॥

Grooming sweet-throated blackness to attain (over more) proficiency in creating the musical notes, training the breeze to acquire the deftness of the regulated mellowed dancing, the all dominant bard—the spring—seems to have arrived, O Lord of the people, to wait upon you, being enamoured of song and melody.

## Notes

1. Quite disciplined, regulated, not violent. The soft breeze is blowing is the actual purport.

2. The wheel-turning king. One having sway; authority, over the four quarters of the world is the literal meaning. Here the word is used for the spring season, or the bard whose compositions are heard with utmost respect everywhere.

## VERSE 47

मेघाडम्बरमम्बरं यदि तदा निर्नष्टशोभा वयं  
नित्यं तीक्ष्णकरेण तेन दिवसे तत्राप्यहो बाधिताः ।  
स्वामी नः शशभृल्लयोदयहतो दुःखादितीवागता  
उद्याने नरदेव सेवनपराः पुष्पच्छलात् तारकाः<sup>1</sup> ॥४७॥

Where the sky is overcast with clouds, our charming lustre is completely at a discount; during the day we are tormented by the sharp rays of the sun, our master, the moon is a chronic patient of waxing and waning. O Lord of men; the stars have arrived to dance attendance on you under the guise of flowers in this pleasure garden.

## Note

1. Evidently this or one similar to this was the verse composed by Hāji Khān in honour of his father.

## VERSE 48

पङ्कतङ्क कलङ्किता जलमया ये भोगिदेहार्ति दा-  
 स्त्वद्देशे विलसन्त्युपात्तविषया सन्मार्गविघ्नोद्यताः<sup>1</sup> ।  
 ये याता स्वयमेव देव विलयं श्रीमत्प्रतापोदया-  
 दस्मिन् हर्षमये वसन्तसमये प्रालेयपूरा<sup>2</sup> यथा ॥ ४८ ॥

Just as the fear of muddy roads and water-holes and snow heaps which had marred the pleasure of the people and had restricted their movements disappears at the approach of the spring season and the sun, similarly all the rogues and groups of obstinate people, who obstruct the visitors or peace-loving people living here, have disappeared (on hearing) of your approach and (because of) your presence.

## Notes

1. During March, April and May—the spring season in Kashmir—rains are also a usual affair. Rains definitely mar the pleasure obtainable in spring. Reference to weather in Kashmir during this season is obvious here.

2. Rains do herald the end of snowy winter. Earlier the snow and the rains have stopped coming down due to the Sultān's might. Spring at its height of glory in the absence of rains that is what Hājī Khān tries to convey.

VERSE 49: THE SULTĀN PRESENTS A DAGGER  
TO HĀJĪ KHĀN

श्रुत्वेतिभूपतिर्दृष्टो राज्यखानाय सत्वरम् ।  
 सुवर्णकर्तरीबन्धमप्रमेयं<sup>1</sup> समर्पिषत् ॥ ४९ ॥

The Sultān, on hearing this, was beyond himself with joy and instantly made the gift of a peerless dagger with golden sheath to Hājī Khān.

## Note

1. The dagger with the golden sheath, cover is meant here the double of which could not be had.

Hassan has said that a sword was gifted to Hājī Khān (TAHS, p 205) while *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* mentions that a golden waist-band or belt was presented to Hājī Khān (pp 444-668).

## VERSE 50: WELFARE OFFICERS FOR GUJJARS APPOINTED

यैर्यैः सेवा कृता तस्य शाह्यदेशे विचार्य तान् ।  
 पुत्रस्नेहेन भूपालो घोषराष्ट्राधिपान्<sup>2</sup> व्यधात् ॥ ५० ॥

Those who had been with him through thick and thin while in the imperial country, the Sultān out of consideration for them

having paternal love for them made these administrative heads of Gujjar habitations.

*Notes*

1. *Shāhi* is Persian word meaning imperial, royal. The imperial Mughals were ruling India then. Perhaps in this very context Śrīvara has used this word. This inference is fortified by the fact that the Persian historians have used the epithet *Shāhi* inside India, in this context.

2. *Ghosa* means a hamlet, a village, more particularly a camping ground of herdsmen. May be some of them were made officers on special duty for looking to the convenience of herdsmen—the Gujjars.

*Rāstrādhipa* means a ruler, a sovereign. Herein we may translate 'Ghosarāstra' as the sum-total of such Gujjar hamlets. Wherever these nomadic tribes of Gujjars were stationed with their herds, these officers were there to look after them.

It seems probable that Gujjars might have been very helpful to the Sultān while in sojourn outside Kashmir. The 'Khukhars' or Kashmiri (Khokhi) made the Sultān regain his throne. In this context Jona Rāja and Śrīvara both have used the adjective *Malik* with the name of Jasrath their chief (*JRRT*, 736; *JRRT*, I, 3, 1, 7).

'Maliks' are a clan amongst the Gujjars, who, it is said, while tending their cattle on the heights of Amarnath discovered the holy cave of ice—Lingam. Maliks even to-date get a share of the offerings made in cash or kind there in the cave at the feet of Swāmi Amar Nāth.

**VERSE 51: ROYAL PAṬṬAS GRANTED TO  
'GRUMBLING' ATTENDANTS**

प्रेष्याद्याक्षेपसिन्ध्वौषे मग्नांस्तान् सेवकञ्जान् ।।  
प्रसादपट्टपोतेन समुत्तीर्णान् व्यधानृपः ।। ५१ ।।

The Sultān has with the help of the boat of his magnanimity, consisting of land grants (*paṭṭas*), ferried across that groups of his attendants who (being unhappy) were immersed in the sea of censure (ie, were busy cursing him).

*Notes*

1. आक्षेप means censure, abuse, defiance etc. These attendants were grumbling for not having been rehabilitated after their sojourn with the Sultān outside Kashmir.

2. Such people were granted royal '*paṭṭas*' usually landgrants transferring to them the ownership of some piece of property or cash reward. They were thus appeased for all time to come. This practice of granting '*paṭṭas*' was in vogue during even Dogra rule here.

**VERSE 52**

विद्वद्गीताङ्गिभृत्येभ्यस्तस्मिन्वसरेनृपः ।  
सुताप्यानस्<sup>१</sup> वाष्पाढ्यो व्यधात् कनक<sup>२</sup> वर्षणम् ।। ५२ ।।

The Sultān at that moment with his eyes brimming with tears of

joy on reclaiming his son showered gold over his attendants well read and possessing poetic bent of mind.

*Notes*

1. It was virtually home coming of his prodigal son—Hāji Khān. Now the Sultān was relieved of the anxiety concerning his life and throne.
2. Śrīvara has used this phrase earlier also (cf, I, 3, 42). Kalhaṇa also has made use of this phrase (VI, 161, 301 etc). See notes on I, 3, 42 supra.

VERSE 53: TOURISTS ENCOURAGED TO COME  
TO KASHMIR

दत्तमार्गोपचारार्थां रुष्टिया<sup>1</sup> दर्शनागताः<sup>2</sup> ।  
प्राप्तपट्टपरीधानमानतुष्टा न केऽभवन् ।। ५२ ।।

“Who amongst the tourists from the mainland having come here for sight seeing was not gratified by the grant of travel money and would also receive silk-robe of honour.”

*Notes*

1. This word might connote the mainland Indian subcontinent including Pakistan. Kashmir was obviously a Desha and India was a *raṣṭra*.
2. Having come for sight-seeing visitors, tourists.
3. Perhaps the Sultān wanted to give a fillip to tourist industry here for which purpose the visitors were provided free trips and silk robes.

VERSE 54

तान् विलोक्य भवनोपवनादीन्  
पुष्पपूर<sup>1</sup>परिपूरित नौकः<sup>2</sup> ।  
संस्तुवन् मडवरज्यनिवासान्<sup>3</sup>  
प्राप जैन नृपतिर्नगरं<sup>4</sup> ख्यम् ।। ५४ ।।

Having fed his eyes on seeing the mansions and the gardens, praising the people of ‘Maraz’, the Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn rowed back to his metropolis in a boat full of lush crop of flowers.

*Notes*

1. V.I. पुष्पपूर (VVRI, 57).
2. Presumably the boat was decorated with lush crop of flowers, the people of Maraz, while bidding adieu to the Sultān had offered boquets and garlands to him with which the boat was now full.
3. He thanked all people of Maraz for their hospitality also for the warm farewell they had given him (cf, note i above).
4. Actually Zaina Nagri situated to the north of Srinagar (cf, ZRR, I, 5, 4).

## WAVE I, CANTO V

### VERSE 1: NEW WATERWAYS DUG OUT

अत्रान्तरे सुतप्राप्त्या निश्चिन्तः सुकृतोद्यतः<sup>1</sup>।

कुल्या नवनवाः<sup>2</sup> कर्षन् प्रतिष्ठा<sup>3</sup> रसिकोऽभवत् ॥ १ ॥

In the meanwhile the Sultān devoid of anxiety on winning his son (Hājī) back, turned his attention towards doing permanent (public) good by digging new canals as also showering fondness to perpetuate his name and fame.

#### Notes

1. Literally good action, virtuous deeds etc. Herein it might suggest for doing good to the people.

2. Not in existence till then. Reference may be to taking branches out of *Mahāsaritā* ('Mari' Mashmir) as described by Kalhana (*KLRT*, III, 339-349).

The Sultān replenished this network of waterways, the main source of these being the Dal Lake (cf. *ZRRT*, I, 5, 54).

Stein has remarked in this context: "This canal is of considerable importance to the internal traffic of the city as it opens a convenient waterway to the Dal Lake and greatly facilitates the transport of its manifold produce" (*STRT*, II, p 416). Ironically enough, all these waterways dug out by the Sultān have now been got filled up and roads built over these under the state government's Nala Mar Project. The one mentioned by Kalhana (above) known as Tsunt Kol presently is a solitary exception.

The use of *Nava* might also suggest that these waterways were nine in number, or newly built.

3. This word among other meanings connotes name and fame, renown, eminence etc also. Śrīvara would like to convey that initiating this network of waterways served double purpose. It afforded convenience to the people as also perpetuated Sultān's name and fame.

### VERSE 2: ŚRĪVARA DESCRIBES INNER WATERWAYS ONLY

कविः श्रीजोन् राजो यां स्वसंदर्भान्तरेऽब्रवीत्<sup>1</sup>।

ग्रन्थविस्तारभीत्यातद्वर्णनं न मयाकृतम् ॥ २ ॥

Those canals which the poet Joṇa Rāja has described with their respective context, I have refrained from repeating for fear of making my chronicle voluminous.

## Notes

1. Reference is to *Joṇa Rāja Taranginī* containing the account of later Hindu period and the early period of the Sultāns including Buḍshah 1128 AD to 1470 AD.

2. *Joṇa Rāja* has also referred to bigger river projects initiated and completed by the Sultān (verses 860 to 871), among these Kakapur canal, Nandi canal, Awantipur canal etc. may be mentioned.

## VERSE 3

एकैवास्त्यमरावती' ननु पुरी साज्ञातनिर्माणका  
 तत्राप्यत्र सदा विमान' वसतिर्देवादिषु श्रूयते ।  
 सोऽभूद् भूमिपुन्दरः पुरशतं कुर्वन्नवं सर्वतो  
 यत्रैते निवसन्ति मानसहितास्ते' भूमिदेवादयः ॥ ३ ॥

Verily, Amarāvati is a city without any peer (but) its founding is not known. Then also, we are given to understand that the gods prefer to live in their chariot of the gods (*vimāna*) and not in that city. He (the Sultān) (on the other hand) having become the Indra of the land, (under his suzerainty) founded hundreds of cities around, where the earthly gods (Brahmins) live with their pride intact.

## Notes

1. The point made out by Śrīvara is that Indra's Amarāvati though providing affluence, comfort and convenience is only one in number. No second city of this kind could be founded or exists anywhere. It is more or less, a solitary exception.

Amarāvati is known as the city in which Lord of gods, Indra, dwells. It is situated in heaven, but the Sultān has built many beautiful cities on the earth which rival Amarāvati.

2. This word *Vimāna* means an aerial car or residence, a vehicle which traverses the space. The inference here being that the gods are not enamoured of this city at all, and they prefer to live in their *vimānas*.

This word can mean 'bereft of pride, or honour' also. The gods always are at the beck and call of their master (Indra), and live a life like serfs there, always humiliated, always looked down upon. The word *Vimāna* also means a sky-scraper.

3. On the other hand, the Sultān founded a hundred cities and not only one Amarāvati, and that the elite, as the earthly gods, always with their head high, live in these with their pride and ego intact. Hence Amarāvati is no match for the cities founded by the Sultān.

Herein the author has played upon the words विमान and मान i.e. the gods live in their 'aerial mansions' (विमान) and not in Amarāvati; or the gods live without any self-respect (मान). On the other hand the Sultān who is like Indra on this earth has built many towns, where people live with self-respect (मान) and 'not without self-respect' (विमान).

## VERSE 4: "ZAINA NAGAR" FOUNDED IN 1439 AD

श्रीजैननगरे<sup>१</sup> पञ्चदशेऽब्दे<sup>२</sup> या कृता पुनः ।  
राजधानी नवात्युच्चा विद्धा देवगृहोपरि<sup>३</sup> ॥४॥

"Zaina Nagar" founded earlier in the fifteenth year (of the local Saptarṣi calendar) on a very high elevation, known as the new capital, surpassed the (former) seat of kings.

## Notes

1. Jōṇā Rāja has also referred to it (*JRRT*, verse 869) wherein it is indicated that right from the outskirts of Hari Parbat, this new capital extended upto "Amberhor" (Amreshwara) in which are included presently Lal Bazar, Hawal, Nowshera (Vicharnagh), Ont Bhawan (Amrit Bhawan), Soura (Siddhapur) etc.

2. Saptarṣi 4515 corresponding to 1439 AD.

3. This term means a temple, a shrine as well as a palace, the seat of the king; the latter meaning has been taken here.

This Zaina Nagar was bounded by the Dal Lake on the right, by the Anchar Lake on the left and the Lachmakot (Lachmi Kulya) to the west behind Hari Parvat.

## VERSE 5: NEW PALACE CONSTRUCTED IN 1464 AD

तस्याः<sup>१</sup> समीपे नृपतिश्चत्वारिंशेऽय वत्सरे<sup>२</sup> ।  
इष्टकादारुसंबद्धं<sup>३</sup> राजवासं नवं व्यधात् ॥५॥

Quite close to it (Zaina-Nagari) the Sultān in the fortieth year constructed a new royal abode built with bricks and wood.

## Notes

1. Just within Zaina-Nagari can be the obvious inference here. According to Dr Parmu, the palace was built at the site called ~~Nowshera~~ at present (*A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p 156). Peer Hassan confirms it (*TAHS*, Persian, p 194).

2. The Saptarṣi 4540 corresponding to 1464 AD. Twenty-five years after founding the city of Zaina-Nagar the Sultān seems to have built a permanent abode there.

3. In Hindu period stone was mostly used in the construction of shrines, palaces etc. The Sultān especially from Sikandar onwards introduced brick and wood as additional building material here.

4. The new palace. Prior to it the Sultān might have occupied his paternal palace at 'Sikandar Puri' (Nowhatta) (*JRRT*, verse 589).

VERSE 6: THE DOME OF THE PALACE A REPLICA  
A GOLDEN LOTUS THE STATE EMBLEM

यत्पृष्ठे<sup>१</sup> मूर्णकलशो<sup>२</sup> भातिभाति मनोहरः ।  
हेमपद्मं<sup>३</sup> इवोन्मुक्तः शक्रेण श्रुतकीर्तिना<sup>४</sup> ॥६॥

On the roof of which (palace) the golden dome was captivatingly resplendent, as if Lord Indra having heard about the prowess (of

the Sultān) had dropped a gold-lotus (from the heaven).

*Notes*

1. *Prṣṭha* also means the flat of a house.
2. Literally it means a pitcher or a round pinnacle on the top of a temple. Actually the dome introduced by Muslim architecture resembled inverted pitcher.
3. The lotus. It could be the state emblem (*ARRT*, I, 1, 81 notes) or it could refer to the inverted lotus with which the dome is compared.
4. This phrase can be explained in two ways: (a) One whose fame is universal; and (b) One who has heard about the fame of some one other than himself. Here the Sultān is meant which meaning agrees with the context.

VERSE 7: SEAT OF GOVERNMENT SHIFTED TO THIS PLACE

यद् द्वाराप्र<sup>1</sup> नियुक्तेभ्यस्तत्तत्कर्म समादिशत् ।  
आजीवं सोऽवसदराजा राजधान्युज्झितास्थितिः<sup>2</sup> ॥७॥

The Sultān lived here till the end of his life, reversing the earlier status of the seat of government and on its (palace's) threshold would delegate powers to the executives to attend to multifarious administrative offices.

*Notes*

1. The orders to this effect would be available to the concerned executives at the threshold, entrance of the palace, perhaps from the private office etc. or may be the offices were situated near the entrance.
2. Literal meaning would be to forsake the position, or status of the administrative capital. Earlier capital built by Sultān Sikandar at Nowhattā is meant here. Within this Zaina Nagar, the administrative capital also was shifted from Nowhattā.

VERSE 8: *BHAGVAD GĪTĀ* RECITED QUITE CLOSE TO THE PALACE

यत्र वापीगता हंसा गीतशंसास्वनच्छलात् ।  
कुर्वन्तीव समीपस्था गायद्गीताङ्गिसंस्कृतेः ॥८॥

Where (in that palace) the swans swimming in the tanks, under the pretext of their warbling, appreciated the tune employed by Sanskrit knowing choir in reciting portions from *Bhagvad Gītā* nearby.

*Note*

1. This compound word has three parts:
  - i) गायद् = the singers, the choir.
  - ii) गीताङ्गि = Portions from the *Gītā* or component verses of a song.
  - iii) संस्कृतेः = Knowing Sanskrit or polished.

In view of this other meaning can be: "Appreciated the tune employed by polished singers while reciting verses from a song."



## VERSE 9: THE SULTÂN HAS AN EAR FOR THE MUSIC

यत्र खर्वकृतारतिः सुपर्वाधिपतिर्यथा ।  
सर्वाहः सुखगन्धर्वचर्वणैरनयत् सुखम् ॥ ९ ॥

Where (in that palace), like Lord Indra, the Sultân humiliating his enemies, spent days leisurely while enjoying lilting music.

## Note

1. Gandharvas are celestial musicians and so it refers to the science of music here

## VERSE 10: "DIWÂN-I-'ÂAM"

यदन्तरे सुविस्तीर्णः सर्वदर्शन' मण्डपः ।  
काचभित्तमयो भाति त्र्यश्रः सिंहासनोज्ज्वलः ॥ १० ॥

In the centre (of that palace) a very spacious audience-hall with glass-partitions glittered along with a shining triangular lion-throne.

## Notes

1. A hall where the Sultân would grant audience to everybody. *Darbâr-i-'Âam*
2. The throne erected over the image of a lion was triangular in shape. It might connote even three dimensional which could catch the eye of the Sultân from any angle in the hall. The throne was made of gold (ZRJT, II, 6). It could even be a throne resting on three lions.

## VERSE 11: "DIWÂN-I-KHÂS"

यद्गर्भाद्'धूप' सन्दर्भनिर्भरानृपसंश्रितात् ।  
वातोऽपिसफलो यातः प्रातर्घ्राणसुखप्रदः ॥ ११ ॥

Through the innermost sanctuary which the Sultân used for worship, the morning breeze pregnant with the perfumed odour of the incense did come out fully recompensed wafting a sweet smell.

## Notes

1. *Garbha*. Among other meanings, it connotes the innermost sanctuary also where the Sultân would spend his time in private. *Diwân-i-Khâs*, so to say.
2. Ordinary incense is used by the Hindus during worship. Muslims use incense sticks instead. But poet has used the word धूप

## VERSE 12: INSPECTS THE FORT AT LAR

कदाचित्लाहर' दुर्ग' यात्रां द्रष्टुं गतो नृपः ।  
राजवासं नवं कृत्वा जीर्णोद्धारमकारयत् ॥ १२ ॥

Once the Sultān travelled to Lāhara for inspecting the fort there. He got it repaired and also erected a new royal residence therein.

*Notes*

1. Lāhara is the Lar of to-day (*JRRT*, verse 161).
2. The fort at Lar occupied a strategic position being on way to Ladakh, etc.
3. The fort was dilapidated hence needed immediate repairs. Moreover, the Sultān for occasional inspection of the fort got a royal residence built there. It may also suggest renovating the older palaces of Chandra dynasty there (*JRJT*, verse 81).

VERSE 13

समुद्रकोटादारभ्य' यावच्छ्रे द्वारिकावधि' ।  
तत्तन्वनवावास' वासवालय सुन्दरान् ॥ १३ ॥

Right from Samudra Koṭa (Sadra Kuta) to Dwārikā (Anderkot) within new and beautiful rest houses like the abode of Indra.

*Notes*

1. Samudrakot is the Sadrukuta of today (*STRT*, II, p 422).
2. Dwārikā in the same way is presently known as Anderkot.
3. Nava has been repeated twice either for emphasis or for denoting the number nine (also refer to *ZRRT*, para I, 5, 1, note).

VERSE 14: HABITATIONS FOUNDED UNDER THE SULTĀN'S  
NAME AROUND THE WULAR

जैननामाङ्कितान् ग्रामान् अकरोन्नगभूषितान्' ।  
उपतीरं' महापद्म श्रीमत्पन्नग' भूषितान् ॥ १४ ॥

The Sultān founded rural habitations teeming with plantations under the name Zaina, on the shores quite adjacent to the Wular Lake presided over by the illustrious Mahā Padmā Nāga.

*Notes*

1. Nāga among other things means a plant or a plantation also. We can even at present see huge plantations chiefly of willow in the back waters of Wular at Ningal etc. Perhaps the Sultān wanted to remove the scarcity of fuel in Kashmir. Wood was the main source of fuel in Kashmir till recently.
  2. Not on the very shore of Wular but somewhat away. The villages were not founded on the shore itself because of constant erosion caused by the violent waves.
  3. Mahā Padma Nāga, the presiding deity of the Wular Lake, is referred to here (*NLMT*, verse 928; *KLRT*, V; *JRRT*, verse 922 etc.).
- Jona Rāja has also referred to the founding of the villages on the inner fringe of the Wular Lake (*JRRT*, verses 944, 950).

## VERSE 15: OPEN HOUSE STARTED AT TRIPHARA

तदन्नसत्र तृप्तानामर्थिनां त्रिपुरेश्वरे ।

उदरं मेदुरं क्षान्तो राजा लम्बोदरः कथम् ॥ १५ ॥

Feeling quite satisfied at the open house started for those in want at Tripura (Triphara) the forbearing Sultān made those (in want) have a meal to their fill, otherwise how could he earn the appellation Lambodara (Gaṇeśa).

## Notes

1. These were actually open houses meant for those who were hungry. Actually this institution was common at famous pilgrim spots. Triphara was 'one of those (KLRT, V, 46). This institution of free feeding is even now in vogue at several Hindu and Muslim places of worship in Kashmir, and is financed by public-agencies. In this case the government bore the expenses then.

Jona Rāja has also given notice of such free meals (JRRT, verse 881).

2. त्रिपुरेश्वर or Tripharī (Kashmiri) was a very famous pilgrim spot then. King Avantivarman spent his last days there (KLRT, V, 46). It is on the way to the Mahādeva mountain.

3. This word means the one who can endure self-suffering, patient, forgiving etc.

4. One of the names of elephant faced Gaṇeśa—the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. Literal meaning—the one who has a protruding belly. Suggestive import may be that the Sultān also had such a belly, or that he was considered to be the son of Śiva, the lord of Kashmir.

## VERSE 16: OPEN HOUSE AT

BARĀMULLA.

अन्नसत्रे क्षितीशान्नैर्वराहक्षेत्रभूमिषु ।

अस्तु नम्रशिराः शेषशिचत्रमिन्द्रोऽपि चाभवत् ॥ १६ ॥

Verily by the institution of open house started by the Sultān within the territory of Varāha (Bārāmulla), Śeṣanāga had to hang down his head and Lord Indra got (stupified) as if painted in a picture.

## Notes

1. वराहक्षेत्र (Varāhakṣetra) is the territory covered by the name of Baramulla to-day. The allusion is to Varāha or Brar—an incarnation of Viṣṇu (KLRT, VI, 186, 204, etc.).

2. शेष, is the name of a celebrated serpent said to have one thousand heads and represented as forming the couch of Viṣṇu or as supporting the entire earth on his hood. Herein Śrīvara would like to suggest that Śeṣa—the support of the world was left behind by the Sultān through the support he provided to the people in want, the destitutes etc. The use of plural number is obvious here.

3. Indra—the lord of the gods was so much impressed by the benevolence of the Sultān that he could not believe his eyes, consequently becoming stupified, unnerved, as if devoid of life painted in a picture.

## VERSE 17

मत्स्येभ्यो नित्यतृप्तेभ्यः सूक्ष्माणामभयं ददौ ।  
मत्स्यानामन्नसत्रेण वितस्तासिन्धुसंगमे ॥ १७ ॥

At the confluence of the Vitastā (Jhelum) and the Sindh (Shādipur) starting of an open house gave a belly-full feed to the (bigger) fish, thereby providing immunity to the smaller ones from fear (of being eaten by the bigger ones).

## Note

1. The confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu improvised by Suyya (KLRT, V, 97-98). Presently this spot is known as Shadipur. *Vitastā Māhātmya* labels it as *Śraddhāpura* where the ashes of the manes are immersed. Jona Rāja mentions that this town was founded on either side of the river by Sultān Shahāb-ud-din naming it as Shahāb-ud-dīnpur (JRRT, verse 4). Present name may be corrupt Kashmiri rendering of either Śraddhāpura or Shahābuddīnpur.

VERSE 18: SHADY TREES (CHINĀRS)  
PLANTED AT PĀTTAN

अर्थिनामतृप्तानां श्री शङ्करपुरे नृपः<sup>1</sup> ।  
अवेक्ष्य विदधे छायां न फलानि<sup>2</sup> महोरुहाम् ॥ १८ ॥

The Sultān having satisfied fully the destitutes at Śaṅkarapura (Pāttan) on their asking, provided them shady trees but not the fruiting ones.

## Notes

1. It is the present day Pāttan, seventeen miles away from Srinagar on road to Bārāmulla. This town was founded by King Śaṅkara Varman 883-902 AD (KLRT, V, 213).

2. The shady trees bereft of fruit is generally taken to be the *chinārs* also.

VERSE 19: FULL MEAL OF WATER NUTS PROVIDED  
AT AŚRAMA

अश्रमायां<sup>1</sup> व्यघादन्नसत्रैः सत्तर्पयञ्जनान्  
भक्ष्यन्तवल्लीनां<sup>2</sup> श्रृङ्गाटैरितिसंस्कृतैः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

At Aśrama (the Sultān) started open houses and pleased the people exceedingly with water-nuts refined carefully (resulting in) dispersion of water-nuts hedges.

## Notes

1. Obviously with the mention of water-nuts (fruit of *Trapa Bispinosa*) we shall have to look for this place, somewhere around the Wular lake—where this water

crop is found in abundance. It is beyond any shadow of doubt that the village *Aśrama* was perhaps one of the nine villages founded by the Sultān around this lake (cf. *ZRRT*, I, 5, 13-14).

2. *पद्मपूर* is the fruit of *Trapa Bispinosa* plant. It is commonly eaten in almost all parts of India.

3. Properly dressed, refined perhaps peeling off their thorny covering, drying them in the sun and then pound them. Cakes made of these might have been served to the destitutes.

Kashmiri Hindus when on fast in connection with an auspicious day or *Śrāddha* ceremony for the manes take this water-nut flour instead of wheat flour. It is treated as sacred by Pandits of Kashmir. Actually it being a fruit, its use is permitted on the days when only fruit-food (*फलाहार*) is permitted.

The patent cause of feeding people with water-nuts there is not far to seek; for people in that area this was the usual meal even till recently.

#### VERSE 20: OPEN HOUSE AT PADMAPURA

तस्य पद्मपुरे<sup>१</sup> चान्नसत्रेव्यञ्जन<sup>२</sup> सौरभैः ।

कथं न कुङ्कुमस्याभूद् गन्धभेदकर्धना<sup>३</sup> ॥ २० ॥

At Padmapura (Pampor) why did not the fragrance from the various food articles (distributed by the Sultān) from the open house, and put to shame, the fragrance of the saffron (grown over there)?

#### Notes

1. पद्मपुर is called Pampor at present. It was founded by Padama the powerful uncle of Gippata-Jayā Piḍa (*KLRT*, IV, 676, 695, V, 330, etc.) in the beginning of 9th century. It is famous for saffron-cultivation.

2. व्यञ्जन means any thing used in cooking or preparing food, a condiment, the appetizing additions made to the food, the seasoning (cf. *MW*, 1029), probably the spices etc. added to food.

3. कर्धना : putting to shame, slighting.

#### VERSE 21: OPEN HOUSE AT VIJAYEŚWARA

अच्छिन्नैनान्नसत्रेण विजयेश्वर वासिनाम्<sup>१</sup> ।

उदरे मेदुरे सिद्धः प्रणामो यत्नतो विभोः ॥ २१ ॥

Through the unbroken (chain) of open houses, the residents of Vijayeśwara (Bijebehara) with their bellies full to the utmost capacity, had to make an effort to pay homage to god.

#### Notes

1. Presently called Bijebehara. This town was founded by King Aśoka (*KLRT*, I, 105). It is famous pilgrim spot some 32 miles away from Srinagar on the national highway to Jammu.

2. Excess of food produced distended their bellies. And with distended bellies it is not possible to bow before the idols, where one may like to bow, or lie flat on the ground.

#### VERSE 22: OCTROI ABOLISHED AT ŚURAPURA POST

अन्नसत्रमविच्छिन्नं<sup>1</sup> कृत्वा शूरपुराध्वना<sup>2</sup> ।

शुल्कास्थाने व्यधात् राजापरिक्रान्तिसारिवन्तं<sup>3</sup> ॥ २२ ॥

By establishing a permanent open house enroute from Śūrapura, the Sultān instead of (demanding) octroi from the travellers (going to and fro) from Abhisāra (Poonch and Rajouri) made them carry the burden (of the free food offered to them).

#### Notes

1. अविच्छिन्न is permanent. There seem to be two kinds of such open houses permanent as indicated here and temporary—perhaps on the occasion of festivals at the places of worship.

2. It is called Hurpur at present (cf. note on verse, 1, 116-117, ZRRT).

3. This term has a pun on it. Those travellers who would like to visit their near and dear ones or the people living in the tract of land known as Abhisāra or Darvabhisāra—the territories known as Poonch, Lorin, Nowshera, Rajouri, Bhimber etc. to-day (STRT, II, p 432).

Usually this term *Abhisārikā* is used in feminine form meaning, a love-lorn lady going to meet her lover.

Perhaps they were offered additional food also for taking away this during the travel which they had to carry then hence would become *bhārikas* i.e., coolies.

It might also suggest that the octroi collected at Hurpur was abolished by the Sultān.

#### VERSE 23: FOOD OFFERED WITHOUT ANY DISCRIMINATION

गुणी मुखो निराचारः साचारो यवनो<sup>1</sup> द्विजः<sup>2</sup> ।

नापोषि यस्तदन्नेन कश्मीरेषु स नाभवत् ॥ २३ ॥

There was not a single virtuous or foolish, unmannerly or well-behaved Muslim or a caste Hindu in Kashmir who was not fed by the food offered by him (the Sultān).

#### Notes

1. This word was applied to Greeks or Ionians originally (*Matsya Purāṇa*, III, 43). Later on it became a synonym for any foreigner to India (*Bṛhamāṇḍa Purāṇa*, 39th Chapter). It also connotes a barbarian (*VRMN*, I, I, 54, 20-22).

At present it is used for a Muslim or a European.

2. द्विजः = the word stands for a caste Hindu, i.e., a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya. But in Kashmir the number of non-Brāhmaṇa Hindus was negligible (to-day there is none) and hence it could mean a Brāhmaṇa.

## VERSE 24: A NEW RIVER SYSTEM PLANNED

शम्भु<sup>1</sup>श्रीपति<sup>2</sup>धातृज<sup>3</sup>हु<sup>4</sup>मनुभिः<sup>5</sup> पूर्वं खेरन्वये  
जातेनापि<sup>6</sup> कृतः श्रमेस्त्रिपथगा<sup>7</sup> गङ्गा<sup>8</sup>व जाता नदी ।  
तेषां स्वार्थमभूद्रसो<sup>9</sup>नरपतिः सोऽयं परार्थे पुन-  
र्देशोऽस्मिन् स्वधिया<sup>9</sup> नदीर्नवनवा<sup>10</sup> नोनापथः<sup>11</sup> कष्टवान् ॥ २४ ॥

In ancient days Lord Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Jahnu, Manu, and Bhagīratha, born in the solar race—toiled hard to excavate the Ganges possessing a three-fold route. It was done with a selfish end (in view). Quite contrary to it, this Sultān for doing good to others got new rivers dug up in this country with their myriad routes by dint of his sheer brain work.

## Notes

1. Lord Śiva offered to decrease the flow of the Ganga coming down from the heaven, by receiving it on his matted locks (VRMN, I, 43, 7-9).

2. The spouse of Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu, Śrī Rāma as the incarnation of Viṣṇu, worshipped the Ganga for going across over it (VRMN, I, 24).

3. Brahmā—The progenitor of the whole animate as well as inanimate world. He had prophesied that the commander of the forces would be born from the Ganges for annihilating the Rakshasas (VRMN, I, 3708).

4. Jahnu—The knee born king who adopted the Ganga as his daughter (Raghuvamśa, VIII, 95).

5. Manu—The father of the human race. According to Hindus (Manusmṛiti, I, 63). He is also looked upon as the harbinger of human race (Uttara Rāmācāritam, VI, 18).

Being the sole survivor in the प्रलय, he propitiated the Ganga (in heaven) for his weal. He improvised the confluence of the Saryu and the Ganga at Ayodhyā (VRMN, III, 71, 17).

6. Bhagīratha—An ancient king of solar dynasty who brought down by practising the most austere penances, the celestial river Ganga to the earth for purifying the ashes of his ancestors. He may be called the engineer who provided a course to the Ganga which was called the 'Bhāgīrathī' (Mahābhārata, I, 1, 573-74 etc.).

7. The Ganga flows in the heaven, on the earth and in the nether regions—has three fold route (Amarasāhita, 99).

8. As is obvious all these above mentioned persons invoked the Ganga for selfish ends.

9. Through his intellectual acumen which included engineering skill also.

10. The gods and others excavated one single river while the Sultān dug out many rivers. Hence has an edge over them.

11. The Ganga flows through three routes only while the river dug out here extended over many routes. A hyperbole has been used here to magnify the goodwork done by the Sultān.

Probably all this points out to the various canals dug by him on the channels through which the rivers were guided in order to help the people and the lumbering industry. Though one would not be able to say it positively, yet it appears that these canals helped the people in the development of lumbering industry. It will be of interest for all of us that till 1947-48, lumbering industry used the various channels

of the Jhelum river for carrying the log of wood to the plains and literally millions of logs of wood were carried down to the plains every year by the waters of the Jhelum.

#### VERSE 25

नवीनोदारकेदार धूम्यत्पन्नाः प्रतिस्थलम्<sup>1</sup> ।

कूटा<sup>2</sup> धान्यफलैः पुष्टा<sup>3</sup> दृष्टाः पर्वत सन्निभाः ॥ २५ ॥

At every place the ever mounting heaps of paddy, produced by fresh and fertile fields, looked (actually) like mountains.

#### Notes

1. स्थल might even connote a *thal* (Kashmiri), or well-arranged rows of paddy-plants in a field.

2. It means a mountain, a heap, a mound, a mass, etc.

Reference is obviously to *Annakūṭa* here when on the eve of reaping the harvest a portion out of it was arranged in heaps and distributed amongst the beggars for receiving their blessings for the subsequent crop. The *Nilamata Purāṇa* has also referred to it (*NLMT*, verses 748-49).

3. Well-looked after, fed, nursed. The point made out here is that the heap would be replenished with more grain, when it became depleted with distribution.

#### VERSE 26

धान्यकूटच्छलानूनं साभूदधात्र्याः कुचस्थली ।

प्राप्तोदया<sup>1</sup> प्रजा यस्माद् बुद्धिमापददिनेदिने ॥ २६ ॥

Surely: under the pretext of heaps of paddy, those heaps of grains resembled the breasts of a wet nurse, from which people derived their sustenance and attained matured growth day by day.

#### Note

1. Found means for making their life worth living can be another rendering. V.I. *प्राप्तोदया* (*VVRI*, p 61).

It is one of the most beautiful verses. The simile is very apt. The mother earth is compared to a wet nurse. The fields often undulating, or the heaps of grain are compared to the breasts full of milk, and the paddy is compared to the milk itself, both being the sustenance for the humans, one for the older people and the other for the children.

#### VERSE 27: GRANARIES INSTALLED AT PLACES OF SCARCITY

दुर्लभोपद्रवानिष्टा<sup>1</sup> यत्र यत्राभवत् क्षितिः ।

स सुय्य<sup>2</sup> इव सस्याद्यां<sup>3</sup> तत्र तत्राकरोन्मृपः ॥ २७ ॥



Where the land would get flooded beyond any remedy, there he, the Sultān, like Suyya, would instal permanent granaries of produce.

*Notes*

1. It means difficult to obtain, of uncommon nature. उपद्रव connotes disorder, chaos, scarcity, here due to floods, erosion, draught etc. Suyya made Kashmir flood-proof, hence we might translate it as flooded, submerged.

2. An engineer in the time of Avanti-Varman who regulated the course of the Vitastā, drained out water from the fields permanently and earned the epithet Annapati, the Lord of grain. Earlier Kashmir was deficit in rice-produce, but Suyya by his ingenuity turned this into surplus (KLRT, V, 74, 118, 120 etc.).

3. Granaries were meant here, so that people of such deficit areas would get the ration from government stores.

VERSE 28: A NET WORK OF CANALS IMPROVISED

न तत् स्थलं न कन्तारो<sup>1</sup> न स देशो न साटवी ।

यत्र ननीय कृत्याः स्वाः स्वनामाकृतः पुरीर्व्याघात् ॥ २८ ॥

There was not a place, not a mountainous terrain, not a habitation, nor a jungle tract, where he (the Sultān) did not improvise a canal as also establish a township in his name.

*Note*

1. By the mountainous tract is meant the *Kandi* area of Kashmir here. Refer verse no: 31 infra also.

VERSE 29

न सा नदी न तत् क्षेत्रं न स ग्रामो न सा पुरी ।

न तत् स्थानं न यद् यज्ञा जैन नामाङ्कितं<sup>1</sup> कृतम् ॥ २९ ॥

There was not a river, not a territory, not a hamlet, not a township, nor a place, which the Sultān did not consecrate with his name.

*Note*

1. The stamp of the Sultān's personality is discernible on the topography of Kashmir even now. It might also suggest that the Sultān went to every corner of his state.

VERSE 30: ARTIFICIAL LAKES IMPROVISED

यत्रयज्ञाध्वनिम्नः प्रदेशस्तत्र कृत्यया ।

व्यघाद् यज्ञा सरः पक्षि<sup>1</sup> विस<sup>2</sup> मृज्जट<sup>3</sup> भूषितम् ॥ ३० ॥

Wherever there was a low-lying area, there the Sultān improvised a lake, (feeding it) with a canal (for breeding) a rich harvest of the water fowls, lotus roots (*nadroo*) and water-nuts.

#### Notes

1. Water fowls, or other water birds.
2. बिस is the edible lotus stalk. It is a popular vegetable, used all over India.
3. Water-nuts used all over India (see *supra* V, 19).

#### VERSE 31

धान्योवारिधरो धरोपकरणोद्युक्तः सदा जीवने रयः  
सिन्धोः<sup>1</sup> सलिलं निरर्थकतया<sup>2</sup> निन्ये निकृष्यान्वहम् ।  
कान्तारे<sup>3</sup> च्छफलेषु केषु रुचिरं मुञ्चन्त्यभीक्ष्णयत -  
स्तत्सेकोदितसर्वं सस्यविभवो लोकः सुखी जायते ॥ ३१ ॥

Blessed is that cloud which is always in harness for doing good to the country and its people, which draws out the superfluous water of the sea every day, carries it over to some mountainous terrains where nothing grows, and releases a pleasing and torrential rain by spray of which, every kind of corn attains blooming life, making people comfortable.

#### Notes

1. Evidently सिन्धु here means sea, because the clouds get their water from the ocean and not the Sindhu river.
2. The poet thinks that it is the superfluous water of the ocean which is taken up by the clouds and released over the rain hungry areas, or where the rain is needed.
3. कान्तार is the jungle or forest area.

#### VERSE 32: DAL LAKE DESCRIBED

लोके डल<sup>1</sup> इति ख्यातं यदगाधं सरोवरम् ।  
तस्य प्रतिष्ठा<sup>2</sup> प्रस्तावाद् वर्णनं क्रियते मनाक् ॥ ३२ ॥

An immensely deep lake known as the Dal in the world, will now briefly be described by me for highlighting its eminence.

#### Notes

1. We find this name of the Dal lake in any Sanskrit chronicle for the first time.
2. Its importance, advantages etc.

#### VERSE 33

आराजधान्या<sup>1</sup> यददीर्घं सुरेश्वर्याः<sup>2</sup> सरोवरम् ।  
नौकरूढोऽचरन्तितं व्योम्नीवेन्दुः सुनिर्मले ॥ ३३ ॥

Which extends from the Sureśwari spring to the capital (Zaina Nagri), (therein the Sultān) would go afloat in a boat every day, just like the moon on the spotless sky.

#### Notes

1. By Rājdhāni, is meant here the town of Zaina-Nagri.
2. It is the Kashmiri Sureshwar shrine on the hill above Gupta-Ganga. The Dal lake extends upto the foot of this hill then, as is the case today also. It is also called Bod Dal—the 'bigger lake' by the locals. It might even connote the spring at Gupta-Ganga or Kashmiri *Ishber*.

#### VERSE 34: HOUSE BOATS WITH WEATHER-COCKS ON DAL LAKE

अरित्रपत्रायत्रात्तः<sup>1</sup> सोडीनाः<sup>2</sup> पटसुन्दराः<sup>3</sup>  
पोता<sup>4</sup> इवारुच्न् पोता राज्ञः शाकुनिकन्विताः<sup>5</sup> ॥ ३४ ॥

The house boats of the Sultān fitted with weather-cocks, draped in beautiful cloth with the pinioned oars moving very fast presented a captivating sight like the pretty-feathered flying birds in the company of a fowler.

#### Notes

This verse contains words projecting double meaning in the context of the boat and the bird respectively.

1. The oars with small flags attached to their ends:
    - a) Staves, carried by the fowler.
    - b) The leaf-shaped oars. The Kashmiri type of oars is actually shaped like a leaf.
  2. Flying. Moving with speed.
  3. The house-boats had the:
    - a) The birds having multicoloured feathers.
    - b) Curtains etc. made of tapestry or beautiful cloth as is the case even now.
  4. a) The birds; b) Actually a ship, a house-boat.
  5. Literally an interpreter of omens. Actually:
    - (a) It was the weather-cock on the roof of the house-boat. Foul weather in such a big and deep lake would have been hazardous, hence the mood of the weather was ascertained through this device before going into the vast expanse of the lake. On this weather-cock depended the movement and speed of this house-boat. It was definitely an interpreter of omens directing the inmates where to proceed and when.
    - (b) A bird-catcher, a fowler, on whom depends the movement and speed of birds—they would like to alude him at a very fast speed.
- Actually the simile between the house boat with rows of oarsmen on either side and the birds flying with their coloured wings on either side, is very apt. On weather-cock depends the speed of the house boat and on the fowler that of the birds.

## VERSE 35: TELBAL STREAM MENTIONED

तिल प्रस्थागता<sup>1</sup> यत्र तटिनी त्रिपुरेश्वरात्<sup>2</sup> ।  
संगच्छते<sup>3</sup> सुटङ्गा<sup>4</sup> यत्सङ्गा<sup>5</sup> द्रष्टुमिवोत्सुका ॥ ३५ ॥

Where the stream Tila Prastha coming from Tripureśwara desirous to feed its eyes on far famed Sona Lank which negotiates it (the Dal) fully.

## Notes

1. This actually is the Telbal Nālā of today.
2. Name of a mountain.
3. Flows together with, is fully immersed. Telbal Nala joins the Dal Lake quite in the vicinity of Sona Lank.
4. Of firmly established fame, renown. It was definitely a wonder—an island in the midst of a vast lake.
5. The island Lankā (Skt.) *Lank* (Kashmiri) see also verse 39 infra. Apparently the small island in the middle of the Dal lake was named Lankā.

## VERSE 36

श्रीपर्वतोऽपि<sup>1</sup> षट्क्रोश<sup>2</sup> स्तीर्यस्नानफलोप्सया ।  
स्व सङ्गतिच्छलाद्<sup>3</sup> यत्र मञ्जतीव दिवानिशम् ॥ ३६ ॥

The auspicious mountain (range) even (extending over) six *crośa*, under the pretext of being in its vicinity, takes a bath in it every day and night with a desire to reap virtue in consequence of an ablution at a holy-place.

## Notes

1. Śrīparvata, will connote the sacred mountain range from Gopa Dari (Shankaracharya hillock) to Mahādeva mountain. Singular has been used here to denote the whole.
  2. षट् क्रोश is six *Krośa*. *Krośa* roughly equals two miles. Herein it might also be inferred that it connotes Shar-Chakra ie, Śārikā-Śilā or Hari Parvat near Srinagar. The length of this hill is just two miles only. Hari-Parvat is also situated on the bank of the Dal.
  3. Own company, nearness, vicinity or closeness. Actually the mountain range as explained in (1) is very close to the Dal.
- This mountain range is reflected in the waters of the Dal, by the Sun during the day and the moon during the night.

## VERSE 37

शैवलन्तिद्रुमा यत्र कमठन्ति च पर्वताः ।  
पूर्यश्च नागलोकन्ति जलान्तर्यत्र बिम्बिताः ॥ ३७ ॥

Reflected in its waters, the trees (would appear) as the moss,

the mountains as the tortoises, and the habitations as *nāgaloka* nether-world.

*Note*

This could mean that these all would suffer in their stature on comparison with the Dal Lake or the waters of the Dal were so crystal clear that in their reflection they would appear very small.

VERSE 38: FLOATING FIELDS IN THE DAL

यच्चलतुण भूशालिकुलानि<sup>1</sup> सरसीरुहाम् ।  
तत्सौगन्धमिवाघ्रातुमानतानीक्षते<sup>2</sup> जनः ॥ ३८ ॥

The people would witness this slanting floating mass of grass, earth and hay as if to inhale the sweet smell of the lotuses.

*Notes*

1. In Kashmir it is a common feature to have floating gardens or fields made like rafts from grass, mud and hay etc. on which the vegetables etc. are grown. These can be taken from one corner of the lake to the other most conveniently, close to these in the Dal lotuses are also grown.

2. These improvised floating fields are at a higher level than the lotuses, hence bend to approach these figuratively. Actually raft and have a slant towards one side so that superfluous water is drained back to the lake out of own account.

However another meaning that could be put into this verse is that the people came to enjoy the scenic beauty of the Dal. The reflection of the trees, mountains and that the houses in the ripples of water would appear as if it was a floating mass and as they would regard it from the land, it would appear to be a little tilted on one side.

VERSE 39: THE TWO LANKAS IN THE DAL

यल्लङ्कायुग<sup>1</sup> लोत्रेक्षाखोदय द्वय<sup>2</sup> संप्रमात् ।  
जाने याति रविः कुर्वन् प्रत्यन्दमयनद्वयम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३९ ॥

On seeing the pair of the islands (in the Dal Lake), the Sun out of utter perplexity (took) these (islands) on his rising twice (likewise) perhaps improvising two solistices during one year of rotation.

*Notes*

1. The two islands referred to here are the Sona Lank in the Bod Dal (bigger-expanse) and the Ropa Lank in the Lokut Dal (smaller expanse of the Dal Lake) Till recently these bore the same name, now these are called 'Char-chinān'.

2. These islands have been round like the Sun at that time. Now a lot of improvement has been made in them and are a favourite picnic spot with the tourists.

3. The summer and winter solistice.

## VERSE 40

यत्र तीरे सुरेश्वर्याः<sup>१</sup> क्षेत्रं भुक्तिविमुक्तिदम् ।  
वाराणस्यधिकं<sup>२</sup> भाति तीर्थराजि विराजितम् ॥४०॥

On the banks of which (Dal Lake) the locality of Sureshwari bestowing worldly enjoyment (as well as) deliverance, which out-shines in brilliance Vārāṇasī, the crown of holy places.

## Notes

1. For Sureshwari refer note on verse 33.
2. Vārāṇasī is considered as the *Mukti Kṣetra*—the place where final emancipation is easily available.

VERSE 41: SCHOOLS FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION  
ESTABLISHED

विहारैरग्रहारैश्च मठैः<sup>३</sup> सुकृत कर्मठैः ।  
आश्रमैरश्रमे राजवासैः स्वर्गोपमां व्यधात् ॥४१॥

Recreation-houses, monasteries with land grants, monastic schools activised with all round goodness, the hospices for relieving the tedium and the royal buildings (on the banks of the Dal) vied with the (grandeur) of the heaven.

The brief description of the Dal Lake ends here. Now Śrīvara takes up thread from verse 11, ie, description of Zaina Nagar.

## Notes

1. This word means a Buddhist convent as also a pleasure garden. May be that Buddhism still existed in Kashmir.
2. Land-grant, endowment of land was made for different institutions. King Gopāditya had made an endowment of land to the milk-sellers near Gopadani (Shandaracharya hillock) known as Gupkar to-day (KLR7, l. 341; cf RSP tr.).
3. मठ may mean a monastery where enchanter live and are meant for imparting religious education, may be for the Muslims as well as to the Hindus.

## VERSE 42

दीर्घैश्चतुर्शिका हस्तैर्नृत्यन्ते<sup>२</sup> इव सूनृताः<sup>३</sup> ।  
दृश्यन्ते ये जनैर्दृग्द्वेष्टमच्छत्र वरोदराः<sup>५</sup> ॥४२॥

The golden parasol extending over four *hastas* the bulging front of which was (inscribed) with wise, auspicious and excellent sayings, would arrest the gaze of the revelling people from afar (even).

## Notes

1. This word means four in number.
2. *Hasta* is 24 anguls or 18 inches in length. Four *hastas* would work at 72 inches or 6 feet or 2 yards, indicating a large royal umbrella.
3. Wise and auspicious sayings perhaps from scriptures.
4. *हम छत्रः*: the golden parasols over the buildings erected in this area (verse 41). These might be the *Kalaśas* or the domes on which sayings from scriptures were inscribed.
5. *बरोदरा*: Bulging forward. The large parasol with a bulging stomach like front could be identified easily from afar.

VERSE 43: ROYAL ENCLAVE BUILT AT THE BANKS  
OF THE DAL

येषां सिद्धपुरीनाम<sup>1</sup> प्रसिद्धं नृपतेर्गृहम् ।  
स्वसौधैः कुरुतेसिद्ध<sup>2</sup> विमानावलिबिभ्रमम् ॥४३॥

Among these (buildings) the celebrated royal enclave Sidhapuri by name, with its (suite) of apartments plastered white, created an illusion of fleet of white *Vimānas* belonging to the Siddhas.

## Notes

1. The name of the royal enclave built on the bank of the Dal Lake. The last Dogra ruler of Kashmir Maharaja Hari Singh also had built a palace overlooking this lake, which has now been leased out to Oberois and converted into Palace-Hotel for the VIPs.

The name Siddhapuri would connote a habitation of the *Siddhas*, ie, accomplished one for the savants and sages. Joṇa Rāja has also alluded to this name as Siddhipur—a sanctified area where pious actions bear fruit or are accomplished without any hindrance whatsoever.

Joṇa Rāja has treated it as *Siddha Kṣetra*, the area of the Siddhas, the land of the Blast, vouchsafing accomplishment, fulfilment (*JRRT*, verse 873).

2. सिद्धः is one, who has attained *siddhi*, ie, supernatural powers or psychic powers. In the Sanskrit and Brahmanical tradition, there are eight *siddhis*, viz:

(i) *animā*, ie, one can become extremely small or almost disappear; (ii) *laghimā*, ie, one can become very light so that one is able to fly at will and as high as one wants; (iii) *prāptih*, ie, one has the power to attain anything; (iv) *prākāmya*, ie, whatever one desires, will happen (*anivārya samkalpa*); (v) *mahimā*, ie, one is able to expand one's body as much as one desires and become big; (vi) *is'itva*, ie, one has the power to become lord of everything; (vii) *vas'itva*, ie, one is able to control everything; (viii) *kāmāvasāyitā*, ie, one can suppress one's passions (cf. *MW*, p 1216 and *Apte*, 1106).

In the Buddhist tradition, we come across similar psychic powers, known as *iddhis* (from Vedic *ṛddhā*). These were similar powers; though the number differs. But on the whole the powers are similar, only given a Buddhist tinge (cf. T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *Pāli English Dictionary*, p 21). These were supposed to come to every one, who was on the way to become an *arhat* (emancipated). Scores of stories of Gautama Buddha demonstrating his such powers are mentioned in the early Pāli literature. Several of his disciples, especially the famous Mahāmoggallāna,

were supposed to possess them. But claiming such powers falsely was the highest sin and was punished by expulsion from the Sangha (cf. *Vinaya Pīṭaka* and *Majjhima Nikāya*).

The *Siddhas* were supposed to be semi-divine beings of great purity and perfection and seem to possess these supernatural faculties. According to some, the *Siddhas* inhabit, together with the *munis*, the *Bhuvan-loka*, or atmosphere between the earth and the heaven. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* 88,000 of them occupy the regions of the sky, north of the Sun and south of the *Seven ṛṣis* (the Polar Bear), and they are regarded as immortal till the end of the *kalpa* (MW, p 1215).

VERSE 44: HINDU PLACES OF WORSHIP RENOVATED  
DESPITE STRONG OPPOSITION

जीर्णा देवालया यत्र राजधान्यन्तरीकृताः<sup>1</sup> ।

धृत्यौन्नत्यानिजस्थित्या सत्यार्था भूमृजा कृताः ॥४४॥

While founding the metropolis, the dilapidated and neglected places of worship situated within it were restored to their (former) stature and position, in letter and spirit, by the forbearing Sultān.

Notes

1. The idea being that while planning the capital at Nowshera (Zaina Nagar) many out of use and dilapidated places of worship had been included in it. Instead of destroying these the Sultān renovated them and restored them to their former glory and sanctity.

2. This word connotes patience, endurance, forbearance. It might suggest that these houses of the gods belonged obviously to the Hindus which had been razed to the ground by his father Sultān Sikandar (JRRT, 604) or out of fear the Hindu population would not go to these places for worship or had been abandoned because of any circumstances, and hence were neglected. The Sultān showed an exemplary tolerance and tact in dealing with this delicate issue despite strong opposition by the neo-converts. The use of the word *dhṛti* projects that dimension also.

VERSE 45: IMPROVEMENT MADE TO THE  
FLOATING FIELDS

यत्र सर्वतृण<sup>1</sup> क्लेदनिर्घेदोत्पन्न भूस्थली ।

संचारिष्युर्वरा<sup>2</sup> रक्षा सफलां विहिता घिया ॥४५॥

Where (in the Dal Lake) arresting seepage by making a compact whole of all kind of reeds and straw, the Sultān through his intellect made these floating columns of earth fertile and good crop-yielding.

Notes

1. The word means grass in general. It also connotes reeds and straw of any size. The reeds were joined together and then the layers of grass laid over it to stop percolation, then over this soil was spread making it look like a segment of a field. Mostly vegetables are grown on these even now.



2. The mobile, going from one place to the other. These could be taken from one place to the other by a rope just like rafts.

#### VERSE 46: ZAINA VĀTIKĀ FOR YOGIS ESTABLISHED

एकत्र देशे यत्रान्तः<sup>1</sup> सत्रं श्री जैन वाटिका<sup>2</sup> ।

योगिनो<sup>3</sup> पात्रपूजार्थं कृतं भोगाकृतस्मयम् ॥४६॥

At a place on its (Dal's) interior (the Sultān) established an open house at Zainavāṭika for propitiating the *Yogis* worthy of receiving gifts, which with its variety of dainties were surprising (for all and sundry).

#### Notes

1. In the interior of which or in the backwaters of which—the Dal Lake hence this verse refers to it quite obviously. V.l. अन्तः for अन्तः (VVRI, 63).

2. Hassan has referred to an orchard built by the Sultān at Zainagair but by no stretch of imagination, it can connote that here (TAHS, Persian, p 281).

3. This seems to be Jogi-Lankar-Mohalla at Rainawari (cf, ZRRT, I, 48, 49 notes). Subsequent verse will make it all the more clear.

#### VERSE 47

मद्य'पुष्करिणी<sup>2</sup> मध्ये संक्रान्तः स्वादलिसया<sup>3</sup> ।

यत्रैति द्विजराजोऽपि<sup>4</sup> योगिक्वन्नन्तरे<sup>5</sup> भुक्त्वा ॥४७॥

In the midst of the lotus ponds reflected in the (waters surrounding), the circular formations of the *Yogis*, the moon, greedy to relish the taste (of the niceties offered to them) verily used to come there.

#### Notes

1. The meanings of this word are not very clear.

2. The ponds in which lotus plants put forth their flowers.

In Kashmin these are called *pokher*, derived from the Pāli *pokkarnī* or Sanskrit *puṣkariṇī*.

3. For relishing the taste of the niceties offered to the *Yogis* (cf, ZRRT, I, 3, 49).

4. The moon.

5. The word *Cakra* will denote either the circular island in which *Yogis* lived or their circular formation for practising *Yoga*. It might also indicate that their area was demarcated by a circular hedge around it (cf, JRRT, vs, 887-98).

#### VERSE 48

भूपतिर्भोजयन् योगि सहस्रं मीलदीक्षणम्<sup>1</sup> ।

निष्कम्पमकरोन्नित्यं<sup>2</sup> किं तृप्त्याकिं समाधिना ॥४८॥

The Sultān fed thousands of *Yogis* till their eyes would close (for being fed to their fill), and they could not also bend their heads with a gentle nod (indicating) their having had their fill or forget their meditation.

#### Notes

1. Till the aroma of the good and nice food, gone into their stomach would make them giddy and compel them to have a nap out of indolence.

2. This word (a) has been used here ironically. निष्कम्प actually means without any tremor, shaking etc. The *Gitā* lays down that a *Yogi* should control all the movements of his mind just like the steady flame of lamp (IV, 19), a place bereft of wind. (b) Herein the *Yogis* like gourmets have filled their stomachs to such an extent that their movements get restricted (निष्कम्प) or would not be able to acknowledge the culinary generosity of the Sultān. Eating too much would in a way paralyse them as to forget to wish good bye to the donor, throw contentment and meditation for which they are schooled, to winds. Gluttony of the *Yogis* seems to have been highlighted here.

कम्प means 'to bend the head out of acknowledgement' (Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*—XIII, 44).

#### VERSE 49: KASHMIRIS RELISH GOOD FOOD

आहारमनुतीब्रोधत्कीर्त्या रसवती<sup>1</sup> श्रिया ।

दिवीव क्रियते यत्र सर्वा रसवती<sup>2</sup> प्रजा ।। ४९ ।।

The prowess of the kitchen (started by the Sultān), the fame of which sprung up intensively made all the people (subjects) connoisseur of good taste in the wake of taking a meal, like the (denizen) of heaven.

#### Notes

1. Śrīvara has projected two senses out of this word. Here it will connote the reputation of starting a kitchen where tasty preparations were made. *Rasavati* means a cooking-site, a kitchen etc. also.

2. Here it will mean possessing aesthetic pleasure, taste, etc.

#### VERSE 50: COOKED FOOD GIVEN TO PEOPLE

पक्वान्तराशयोऽद्भ्रा<sup>1</sup> यत्राभ्रमुभ्रमप्रदाः<sup>2</sup> ।

बिभ्रत्यभ्रं भ्रमच्युभ्रं शरदभ्रश्रियोपमाम्<sup>3</sup> ।। ५० ।।

Where (in these kitchens) the plentiful heaps of cooked food created an illusion of Abhramu (the maté of Airavata—the elephant of Indra), and these appear to be as beautiful as the white autumnal clouds floating in the sky.

## Notes

1. अदम्य actually means plentiful.
  2. Abhramu is she-elephant consort of Airavata—the vehicle of Lord Indra, and its colour is supposed to be white.
  3. The spotless white clouds of autumn moving in the sky.
- It seems that rice had been cooked. The white colour suggests this inference. Moreover, rice has been the staple food in Kashmir.

## VERSE 51

यत्राधर्मं मृगं हन्तुं शृङ्गनादमिषाद्<sup>1</sup> ध्रुवम् ।  
संमिलितसारसा रावं<sup>2</sup> श्रूयते मृगयायाः ॥ ५१ ॥

In order to positively kill the deer of wrong doing (*adharma*), was heard their blowing of the horn and this sound was intermingled with the croaking of the cranes.

## Notes

1. Actually the horns blown by the *Yogis* at the time of worship or for announcing their arrival at a place.
2. सारस is the *crane*. It could be other water-birds also. Kashmir being a land of lakes such aquatic birds are in abundance there.

## VERSE 52: YOGIS FED AT THE VĀTIKĀ

सामोदका<sup>1</sup> मनिर्मुक्तमोदका<sup>2</sup> यत्र योगिनः ।  
श्रमघर्मोदका<sup>3</sup> जग्धेर्जाता यज्ञः प्रमोदकाः ॥ ५२ ॥

The *Yogis* even though released from the (bondage) of desires affording pleasure, they ate the *laddus* (*modaka*) readily, and their sweating from the eating of *laddus*, amused the Sultān very much.

## Notes

1. मोद here means pleasing, giving joy.
  2. *Modaka* connotes sweet-meats called the *laddus* which was the favourite of Gaṇeśa, son of Śiva.
  3. Sweat, perspiration, etc.
- Here Śrīvara would like to convey that the *Yogis* claimed that though they were supposed to have conquered the desires but the desire of eating sweetmeats in abundance, they could not shake off. He has a dig on them by suggesting that profession is better than precept.

## VERSE 53: YOGIS FED WITH FOOD AND CURD

योगिस्तु<sup>1</sup> रत्नकरक्लिष्ट<sup>2</sup> दधिदिग्धाशनच्छलात् ।  
योगाच्छ<sup>3</sup> शिकलासावास्तत्रैवान्त<sup>1</sup> इवाद्युतन् ॥ ५३ ॥

Under the guise of the food daubed with curds flowing when pressed in the trembling hands of the *Yogis*, it looked like the bright flow of the digit of moon flowing through (the power) of their *yoga*.

*Notes*

1. The trembling, quivering, not steady hands of the *Yogis*.
2. Wearied, afflicted, pained, fatigued or pressed when the food was pressed, the curd flowed through their fingers.
3. Through the efficacy or power of *yoga*.
4. The bright flow of the digit of moon which melted through the power of *yoga*.

Actually the reference is to the digit of moon adorning the crest of Lord Śiva who is supposed to be the tutelar deity of the *Yogis*. It will suggest that the worn on the crest of Lord Śiva was moved by the meditation of the *Yogis*.

**VERSE 54: THE MĀRĪ STREAM**

**EXCAVATED**

मारीनाम<sup>1</sup> नदी तस्माद् वितस्तान्तरमागता<sup>2</sup> ।

केवलं<sup>3</sup> यावत् पौर स्नानपान प्रयोजना ॥ ५४ ॥

The stream *Mārī* by name, flowing into the *Vitastā* was earmarked exclusively for bathing and drinking purposes of the city dwellers.

*Notes*

1. The *Mārī* canal or *Mahāsaritā* as used by *Kalhana* (*KLRT*, III, 339-40).
2. It can connote either flowing into the *Vitastā* or 'wading through it'. Actually the *Mārī* formed by the superfluous waters of the *Dal* lake joins *Vitastā* at *Dvibhuja* (*Bīlhana*, *Vikramānka Deva Caritam*, verse 22).
3. The inference being that the waters of this *Mārī* could not be used for washing purposes at this point.

**VERSE 55**

हस्तिकर्णाभिधे<sup>1</sup> क्षेत्रे युक्त्या<sup>2</sup> राज्ञा प्रवेशिता ।

सिन्धु संगम<sup>3</sup> पर्यन्तं निर्मिता शालि नालिनी<sup>4</sup> ॥ ५५ ॥

The *Sultān* trained it (the *Mārī*) to enter the area *Hastī Karna* by name, and till it joined the *Sindhu*, it was meant for irrigating the paddy fields.

*Notes*

1. The locality has also been mentioned by *Kalhana* (*KLRT*, v, 23) but does not seem to be the same as described by *Śrīvara* here. It may be pointed out here that the *Mārī* canal system referred to here extends from the right bank of *Vitastā* within the city to the confluence at *Shadipur*.
2. युक्त्या is an artificial device, i.e., probably the *Sultān* created an artificial channel leading the waters via *Hastī Karna* and this channel was used as an irrigation canal.
3. Internal canal system of *Mārī* had two branches. The one joined the *Anchar*

Lake at Nadavana (Narwara, *KLRT*, III, 11) and the other the Sindh at Shadipur.

4. Meant as a canal for irrigating paddy. Herein the use of *hasti karna*, an elephant's ear and that of *nālini*—an instrument for boring the ear of an elephant deserve attention. This area must have resembled the bulging wide ears of an elephant and the Māri canal went through it as if boring its ears, piercing through this locality just below Noorbagh cremation ground.

VERSE 56: A CREMATION GROUND ON THE CONFLUENCE  
OF THE VITASTĀ AND THE MĀRI

मृतानां देह दाहेन स्वर्गदे नगयन्त्रे<sup>1</sup> ।

समायी सङ्गमच्छातो<sup>2</sup> जातः सङ्गाद् वितस्तया ॥ ५६ ॥

That confluence of the Māri within the city (in view of) cremation of the dead bodies, attained the stature of bestowing heaven (upon the dead) and in the company of the Vitastā became famous.

*Notes*

1. Within the city—Śrīvara is cautious enough to locate the exact position of this cremation ground. It could be confused with the present day Noorbagh cremation ground (cf. note 3, verse 55 above), in the absence of a precise date.

2. This Māri Sangama refers to Maksikaswāmin (Kashmiri—*Maysum*) girded by Vitastā on one side and the Māri (Kashmiri—*Kol*) on the other (*KLRT*, IV, 88).

In this big island must have been situated the cremation ground. In this respect Dr Stein remarks:

‘The conclusion is further confirmed by the fact that close to the place where western branch of Dal stream joins the Vitastā (a little below the first bridge) there existed till the times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh a Hindu burning ghat’ (*KLRT*, III, verse 339 note).

Already in the times of Pravara Sena II on this confluence a cremation ground was situated (*ibid*).

VERSE 57: CREMATION-TAX HAD  
BEEN THE ORDER  
OF THE DAY

यक्षेत्रपालः<sup>1</sup> कर्त्तुमेन<sup>2</sup> किङ्करुः<sup>3</sup> पञ्चवारिकाः<sup>4</sup> ।

पौरैर्यः सव दाहोत्पमगृह्णन् शुल्कमन्वहम् ॥ ५७ ॥

The śloka has a double inference.

a) In course of time, the officer incharge of that area, the servants assigned the duty of making a pyre and the persons incharge of five small earthen containers of water charged a levy from the citizen every day for consigning their dead to flames.

b) The times being unpropitious money as fees was extorted from the citizens for burning their dead (in the name of) Kshetrapālas, Kinkaras and Pañcavārikas.

## Notes

1. a) The one in whose charge the security of that area rested.  
b) The presiding deities at a place of worship—Deva Kriyā (homage to the gods) or Pitṛ Kriyā (homage to manes).
2. Reference is to Sultān Sikandar's banning the observance of Hindu rituals (JRRT, verse 575)
3. a) The slaves, the servants (cf. MW, p 283) perhaps those low-caste people who would make a pyre. The meaning of this word as derived from *Kim Karoti*: points to this explanation.  
b) The presiding deities as given in 1(b) above are always invoked along with their retinue or servants.
4. a) The persons in charge of laying out the paraphernalia including the five water containers of clay at the cremation ground for the last rites of the dead before being consigned to fire.  
b) The symbolic representation of the five elements of which body is made in terms of five earthen water containers—Kashmiri *Vari*.  
These items given at 1(b), 3(b) and 4(b) formed the cremation rituals of the Hindus. The more credulous among them paid any amount for seeing this ceremony through in its entirety. For reasons obvious this whole affair was to be gone through surreptitiously. Hence extortion was the natural corollary from it.  
Herein, Śrīvara—a Brahmin as he was—knew the detail of death rites in full, hence he used such technical terms usually recited at this time.

VERSE 58: CORPSE TAX FOR THE HINDUS  
ABOLISHED

मलितृप्रमये<sup>१</sup> रजा विज्ञप्तः स मयैकदा<sup>१</sup> ।

दण्डयित्वा<sup>२</sup> किपतास्ताम्<sup>३</sup> शवशुल्कं<sup>४</sup> न्यवारयत् ॥ ५८ ॥

Once on the demise of my father I brought this to the notice of the Sultān, who punished the *kirātas* and abolished the tax levied on the dead bodies.

## Notes

1. Śrīvara would like to convey that through his own good offices this corpse tax was abolished.
2. Punishing, fining etc. It seems that the *kirātas* were indulging in illegal or obnoxious practices.
3. Literally name of a degraded mountain tribe who live by hunting (*Pañca Tantra*, 1,17) in the mountains did this cremation work. The Kashmiri word *Kavaj* is a pointer to this inference.  
At present Muslims burn the dead of the Hindus in Kashmir.
4. Extortions demand by the *Kirātas* for doing this cremation work, or it might connote that a fee that was levied by the state for burning the dead of the Hindus. This might have been one of the means to convert Hindu population to Islam.

## VERSE 59

ततः प्रभृति तत्स्थाने विमाना' नगरन्तरे ।  
दहान्ते दर्शनद्वेषि<sup>2</sup> म्लेच्छानां हृदयैः समम् ॥ ५९ ॥

Since that time at that very spot (cremation ground) within the city the humiliated (Hindus) would be burnt along with the hearts of the unclean avoiding such a sight.

## Notes

1. Literally disrespected, humiliated—the Hindus who would not be allowed to perform their religious rites.

It may also convey the sense that the Hindus of small means even would burn their dead. Previously only those who had substantial means could get it done through the *kirātas* at exorbitant charges (cf, *supra*).

2. a) Avoiding this sight of a dead body burning.

b) Or averse to Hindu point of view, philosophy etc. The Muslims in general treated as unclean by Hindus.

## VERSE 60: HINDUS TAKE THEIR DEAD TO THE CREMATION GROUND WITHOUT ANY FEAR

निरर्गला<sup>1</sup> वयं जाता इतीव शिविकानकैः<sup>2</sup> ।  
छत्रहस्तैः प्रनृत्यन्त्यो दृश्यन्तेवाद्यनिःस्वनैः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ६० ॥

We have been relieved of our obstacles with these words the pallbearers would be seen with parasols in their hands and dancing with the brass band in attendance.

## Notes

1. Means literally a bar, a bolt, latch for fastening or blocking a door. It means a ban or bar which had been removed.

2. The bearer carrying a dead body, and even those following it.

3. This custom of accompanying the funeral procession with the music is not in vogue here now. Perhaps this reference pertains to the old people who had lived their full life.

Even at present the death of the old in a Hindu family is not condoled but rejoiced instead.

## VERSE 61: CUSTOM OF SATI BANNED

दिगन्तरीयया<sup>1</sup> रीत्या<sup>2</sup> यत्र राज्ञाप्यवारिताः<sup>3</sup> ।  
प्रियानुगमनं नार्यश्चित्तमारुह्य कुर्वते ॥ ६१ ॥

Where in accordance with the custom in vogue outside the territorial jurisdiction (of Kashmir), the women would mount the funeral-pyre to accompany their beloved (husbands), they were dissuaded to do so by the ruler.

## Notes

1. The territories outside the pale of Kashmir. It might connote rest of India here.
2. The practice of *Sati* is referred to here.
3. The women were dissuaded from burning themselves voluntarily, which was the custom elsewhere also. The suggested import being that Sultān disallowed the women to do so. He banned the practice of *Sati*.

Śrīvāra perhaps has not referred to this directly for fear of Hindu-puritans. The Kashmiri Brahman ladies do not accompany their dead to the cremation ground perhaps as an echo of the ban imposed by the Sultān.

## VERSE 62: BEGGAR HOMES ESTABLISHED

अर्थि संघोपकारार्थं<sup>१</sup> पौराणांसुकृतीन्<sup>२</sup> ।  
विहारबहुविस्तारं<sup>३</sup> तत्संगमतटे<sup>३</sup> व्यधात् ॥ ६२ ॥

For doing good to the multitudes of beggars amongst the city dwellers, the benevolent Sultān established in spacious (beggar) home, on the bank of that very confluence.

## Notes

1. The number of destitutes in the city seems to have been large at that time. It might also connote an order of Buddhist monks living on alms and residing together. The *sangha* and the *vihāra* are actually Buddhist terms, the first devoting 'the order of monks' and the second 'a monastery'.
2. A home for those who beg from door to door. It might also connote a monastery or a convent.
3. The confluence of the Mārī and the Vitastā, within its precincts known as Maysum to-day (cf. notes, in verse 51).

## VERSE 63: A MONASTERY FOR THE BUDDHISTS AND AN INN FOR THE HĀJIS CONSTRUCTED

स च ह्यज्ये<sup>१</sup> विहारश्च पाणवारे पुरद्वये  
गृह त्रेणि मणिमाल नयकत्रियमापतुः  
अन्याः प्रतिष्ठास्तत्कालं राज्ञा स्वस्थेन<sup>२</sup> कारिताः ॥ ६३ ॥

Among the rows of houses like the bunches of crystals (situated) on both sides of the confluence forming the cities, that monastery and the inn for the *Hājīs* shone like a faultless diamonds. Having fully recouped his health, the Sultān established many other foundations at that time.

## Notes

1. This proper noun can be interpreted in two ways:  
a) An inn for the *Hājīs*—going on pilgrimage to Mecca.  
b) An inn in the name of Hājī Khān, the heir apparent.



Śrīvara would like to demonstrate here that the Sultān had equal regard for Buddhist mendicants and Muslim *Hājīs*. Hence this kind of rendering seems plausible, but may be, it only refers to a residential place for the Muslim mendicants only. *Vihāra* is basically a residential place.

2. Either the Sultān might have been very ill and on regaining his health, as a token of gratitude to the Almighty, built these foundations for doing good to His creation.

Or, it might refer to the poisonous boil from which one Śīrya Bhaṭṭa relieved him (*JRRT*, verses 810-14).

#### VERSE 64

श्री हर्षो<sup>१</sup> नृपतिर्बभूव कविता<sup>२</sup> राज्ये तदा येऽभवन् ।  
सर्वेते कवयः किमन्यदपि ते सूदाः स्त्रियो भारिकाः  
सन्त्यद्यापि कृतानि तैः प्रतिगृहं पद्यानि<sup>३</sup> विद्यानिधी  
राजावेद् गुणवान् गुणेषु रसिको लोको भवेत्<sup>४</sup> तदृशः ॥ ६४ ॥

Śrī Harṣa was a king of yore in whose kingdom of poetry, whoever there was, propitiated poetry, what more than the cooks, the women and the coolies even. The verses composed by them are even now (recited) in every home. If the king be a mine of learning, possessed of excellent qualities, relishes merit, the people also become similar ones.

#### Notes

1. Kalhaṇa has also extolled the overwhelming learning of one Śrī Harṣadevan, who ruled Kashmir from 1089 AD to 1101 AD (*KLRT*, VII, 829-1732).

However, despite his scholarship in the later years of his rule he plundered the wealth of the temples and earned the epithet Harṣa Turuṣka—Harsha, the Turk, (*Ibid*, vv, 1095), referring to the despoilation by the Turks.

Joṇa Rāja also does not have a good word for him. He has compared Sultān Sikandar with him (*JRRT*, verse 598). Śrīvara seems to more emancipated than the two chroniclers preceding him, because this kind of sacrilege must have been an every day affair then. Hence a chronicler such, as Śrīvara was, reconciled to it without any murmur and highlighted Harṣa's other towering attainments. Moreover by praising him in a way tried to conceal his iconoclastic bent of mind so that the iconoclasm indulged in by the Muslim rulers might not lose its sting.

2. Śrī Harṣa ruled over the kingdom of poets so to say.

3. Śrīvara refers to these poetic compositions. These are not extant now, perhaps were popularised through words of mouth, and have been lost to posterity.

4. Reference to the *Gītā* (III, 21) wherein it is said that people take after the norms set by the great.

#### VERSE 65: CLASS ROOMS FOR IMPARTING RELIGIOUS LORE CONSTRUCTED

छत्रशाला विशालास्ता धर्मार्थ<sup>१</sup> गुण शालिना ।  
कृता याभ्यः श्रुतः शब्दस्तर्क व्याकरणोद्भवः ॥ ६५ ॥

For perpetuating the tenets of *Dharma* the meritorious (Sultān) erected spacious halls for students from, where the (rising high) pitched of (lessons in) logic and grammar would strike the ears.

*Note*

1. It might connote here *Shariat*—the Muslim jurisprudence.

**VERSE 66: TEACHERS, BOOKS, BOARD AND LODGING  
PROVIDED FREE TO SUCH STUDENTS**

आचार्य पुस्तकवास सहायान्<sup>1</sup> समृद्धिभिः ।  
पाठयन् सर्वविद्यानां वर्द्धयामास मण्डलम् ॥ ६६ ॥

By providing abundant munificence of teachers, books, lodging and board, all the branches of knowledge (there) taught registered an upward running.

*Note*

1. Encouraged study of various branches of learning by providing tuition, books, board and lodging free to the prospective students. This kind gesture made the numbers swell in each institutions. In a way, revived the ancient *gurukula* system in the context of changed circumstances.

**VERSE 67: SAFETY AND SECURITY  
GUARANTEED**

न विद्यासुखयोः<sup>1</sup> संघि<sup>2</sup>स्तेजस्तिमिरयोरिव ।  
इति व्यर्थं वचश्चक्रे मुनीना<sup>3</sup>मभयप्रदः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ६७ ॥

This observation of the thinkers “that learning and prosperity cannot go together like light and darkness”, was falsified by the (Sultān) guaranteeing safety and security (to every one).

*Notes*

1. It is said that fortune favours fools but not in any case the men of learned. However, in the person of the Sultān fortune and learning were glued to each other.

2. Union, coming together.

3. *Muni* from the root √मृ, meaning ‘to think’, ‘to ruminate’, ‘to ponder’ etc. The *Gītā* defines *Muni* as the one who is unruffled in adversity, devoid of desire in opulence, free from attachment, fear and spite and whose thinking is ripe and mature.

4. Ensuring freedom from fear, safety, security etc. The Sultān guaranteed security and safety to every one. The inference, being that the Hindus persecuted earlier could also live without any fear

## VERSE 68

सौराज्य सुखिते देशे विद्याभ्यास परायणः ।  
अकाङ्क्षीत् सर्वदारोग्यं नृपतेः स्वस्य चान्वहम्' ॥६८॥

In this country (Kashmir) prospering under the good rule devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, (the people) always wished good health for the Sultān as also for themselves.

## Note

1. It indicates that he was a very popular king. The subjects wished for their own good health as much as for the Sultān.

## VERSE 69: THE LEARNED TREATED WITH RESPECT

उज्योत्पत्या नृपस्तादृक् तुष्टोऽभून् प्रतिष्ठया ।  
यथा पण्डित सामाग्र्या' यामग्र्यामविदद् गुणैः ॥६९॥

The Sultān was not as content with his own rule gaining a firm footing, as with the material well-being of the learned whom he gave priority (over others) for their eminence (of head and heart).

## Note

1. A pundit is defined by the *Gītā* as one having an emancipated outlook, treating high and low equally (v, 18). *सामाग्र्या* means assemblage of material, apparatus, effects, provision etc.

## VERSE 70

येषां स्वप्नेऽपि पाण्डित्यं नाभूज्जातुचिदन्वये ।  
तेऽपि भूप्रसादेन जाताः पाण्डित्यमण्डिताः ॥७०॥

In whose lineage scholarship would never be obtained in the dreams, they even were adorned with learning through the grace of the Sultān.

## VERSE 71: PLANNED EDUCATION MADE VOCATION ORIENTED

वर्धिता जीवनोपायैर्देवेनफलदाः' सदा ।  
याताः सहस्रशाखत्वं<sup>2</sup> विद्याकल्पलता<sup>3</sup> इव ॥७१॥

The Sultān always desired that the education should become a means of livelihood. (Hence) it became multidimensional like the branches of the *Kalpa-latā* (desire-yielding creeper).

## Notes

1. The expedients of life, the means of livelihood. Education was linked with providing a vocation or a means of livelihood.

2. Attaining thousands of branches, of diverse denomination. Apparently only book education was not given, rather training in crafts and arts was also provided.

3. *कल्पवृक्ष* is a fabulous tree in the heaven supposed to grant every desire. The educational pattern introduced by the Sultān would safeguard the future prospects, making life easy. This proper planning might have been done before the aspirants were admitted to various disciplines or vocations.

#### VERSE 72: MULTI-DIMENSIONAL DISCIPLINES INTRODUCED

न साविद्या न तच्छिल्पं न तत्कर्म न साकला ।

श्री जैन भूपते राज्ये नाभूत् या प्रथिता भुवि<sup>2</sup> ॥७२॥

There was no branch of learning craft, literary activity and fine arts of any dimension that would not exist or flourish in the country during the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn.

## Notes

1. This kind of education paid rich dividends; the talent thus available was groomed to local needs and there was no brain-drain. Every discipline flourished in this way.

2. Literal meaning 'the earth', universe, land etc. Herein this word can mean only throughout the country, ie, Kashmir.

#### VERSE 73

विदुषां मान्यतां दृष्ट्वा भूपतेर्गुणिबाग्धवात्<sup>1</sup> ।

काङ्क्षन्ति स्मापि सामन्ताः<sup>2</sup> पाण्डित्यं नित्यमादरत् ॥७३॥

Beholding the Sultān taking personal interest (in nourishing) talent as also possessing unflinching respect for it (thereby), lavishing every esteem on men of letters, the neighbouring vassals also aspired to respect the scholarship.

## Notes

1. A kinsman or a relation of the talented.

2. Literally neighbouring vassals. It might connote Jāgirdārs or men of substance here.

Generally such people did not woo knowledge at least in those middle ages when education was ignored.

## VERSE 74

निदाघकाले<sup>1</sup> विषमः प्रतापो  
 दहेद् धरित्र्यां तृणगुल्मपूगान् ।  
 वय्यो न केषां घनकाल एको<sup>2</sup>  
 यो जीवनेस्तान् विततान् करोति ॥ ७४ ॥

During the bad days of summer, terrible heat burns the vegetation, bushes and bowers on the earth. Who does not adore the peerless rainy season which rehabilitates these by life giving (showers)?

## Notes

1. Summer season.
2. The one and only one, actually without a second, peerless.

## VERSE 75

शेकन्धरघरानाथो<sup>1</sup> यवनैः<sup>2</sup> प्रेरितः पुग ।  
 पुस्तकान् सकलान् सर्वास्तृणान्यग्निरिवादहत् ॥ ७५ ॥

Earlier Sultān Sikander instigated by Muslims of foreign descent had made a bonfire of all the books as if it was the fire of hay.

## Notes

1. Srivara by using Sekandhara for Sikandar has tried to project the sting contained in this term.

*Saha* means a cutter or a destroyer *Kandhara* connotes a neck. The term taken together will mean cutter of necks—the reference is to the massacre of Hindus ordered by Sultān Sikandar, father of the then benevolent Sultān (cf. *ZRRT*, I, 5, 77, v.l. *सेकन्धर*, *VVRI*, p 67).

2. However, Srivara has used two words for Muslims—*Yavana* and *Mausul*. *Yavana* connotes a foreigner, a barbarian etc. It seems this term was used for such Muslims who had come from outside and had settled in Kashmir.

*Mausul* means neo-converts, or local Muslims. Kalhana and Jona Rāja have also taken this very dimension of *Yavana* (*KLRT*, VIII, 2264, *JRRT*, verse 575, etc.).

Other two terms used in this context by Sanskrit chroniclers are *Turuska* and *Mlechha*, the former meaning 'the Turk coming from Central Asia'—a foreigner and the latter 'unclean', 'an-Aryan' having embraced Islamic faith—a neo-convert, or even a local Hindu owning unclean way of life.

## VERSE 76 INTELLIGENTSIA FLEES KASHMIR DURING SULTĀN SIKANDAR ALONG WITH BOOKS

तस्मिन्काले<sup>1</sup> बुधाः<sup>2</sup> सर्वे मौसुलोपद्रवाज्जवात्<sup>3</sup> ।  
 गृहीत्वा पुस्तकान् सर्वान् ययुर्दूरं दिगन्तरम्<sup>4</sup> ॥ ७६ ॥

At that (inauspicious) time by reason of the suddenness of attacks by the neo-convert Muslims, the whole of the intelligentsia fled to distant places, outside Kashmir, taking away their books.

#### Notes

1. At that time viz, during the rule of Sultān Sikandar.
2. Wise, learned, prudent, elite or intelligentsia. Such people who valued books as their own life.
3. This word construction is derived from *Musala* (Sanskrit) meaning a mace or a club, a pestle etc. Perhaps the neo-converts used clubs or pestle to beat the Hindus with. These pestles were easily available in every home because of being used for pounding paddy. Till recently every house-hold in Kashmir had at least a pair of pestles (Kashmiri *Muhal*). Now with the induction of rice-hauling machines, driven by power these have been dispensed with.
4. 'In directions other than those of Kashmir' is the literal translation. Actually they left Kashmir in order to save their skin as well as their books.

#### VERSE 77

किमन्यद् द्विजवद् देशे सर्वे ग्रन्था मनोरमाः ।  
कथञ्चरोषतां' याताः पद्मानीव हिमागमे ॥ ७७ ॥

What else: all the books affording mental pleasure, just like the Brahmins, survived in stories only (became extinct), like the lotuses at the advent of snow.

#### Note

1. Survived in stories, tales etc. only. Actually the books as also the Brahmins were destroyed and put to sword respectively. कथा is derived from √ कप् to speak by word of mouth, means oral tradition also.

#### VERSE 78: THE SULTĀN GETS THE BOOKS PREPARED ANEW

सुमनोवत्सभेनात्र<sup>1</sup> उज्ञाभूषयताक्षितिम् ।  
नवीकृताः<sup>2</sup> पुनः सर्वे मधुनेव मधुमताः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ७८ ॥

The Sultān, beloved of the noble minded, got all these books prepared anew, like the spring does the bees, and adorned the land with these.

#### Notes

1. सुमन = सु + मन is, good minded, amiable, pleasing to the mind etc. Taken as सुमन it means a flower also.
2. Got them prepared anew—through transliterations, translations and making the scribes copy these out from wherever the original was available.
3. The bees who swear by honey. Spring gives them new lease of life as the Sultān did in case of the lost books.

VERSE 79: BOOKS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS  
BOUGHT WITH MONEY

पुराण<sup>1</sup> तर्क मीमांसाः<sup>2</sup> पुस्तकानपरानपि ।  
दूरादानाय्य<sup>3</sup> वित्तेन<sup>4</sup> विद्वद्भ्यः प्रत्यपादयत् ॥ ७९ ॥

(The Sultān) brought books on ancient (mythology), logic and Mīmāṃsā; also those dealing with other (subjects), on payment from afar, keeping these at the disposal of the scholars.

Notes

1. *Purāṇa*—In general sense it connotes belonging to ancient times, old, decayed, out of use, worn out, etc.

In particular sense it means the whole collection of the eighteen *Purāṇas* supposed to be composed by Vyāsa, containing the entire gamut of Hindu mythology.

2. *Mīmāṃsā* is one of the six chief systems of Indian philosophy. It was originally divided into two parts—the *Pūrva* (anterior) founded by Jaimini and the *Uttara* (posterior) written by Bādrāyaṇa. In course of time *Pūrva-mīmāṃsa*, alone was treated as the *Mīmāṃsa* since from the *Uttara*, the Vedānta philosophy was evolved.

This system advocated reflection, investigation and subsequent conclusion concerning philosophic subjects.

3. From very distant countries. Hassan has to say this in this context, the Sultān sent his emissaries to India, Irān, Irāq and Turkistān for purchasing or procuring the books (*JARS*—Persian). In this way a very good library was built which existed till the reign of Sultan Fatch Shāh.

4. Money was spent by the Sultān for reclaiming the lost treasure of books.

VERSE 80: ŚRĪVARA GIVES LESSONS TO THE SULTĀN  
FROM HINDU SCRIPTURES

मोक्षोपाय<sup>1</sup> इति ख्यातं वासिष्ठं<sup>2</sup> ब्रह्म दर्शनम् ।  
मन्मुखादशृणोद्ब्रज<sup>3</sup> श्रीमद्वाल्मीकि<sup>4</sup> भषितम् ॥ ८० ॥

For learning how to achieve release from birth and death, the Sultān listened from my mouth (recitations) from the celebrated philosophy regarding transcendence, the *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* and what Vālmiki had said (*Rāmāyaṇa*).

Notes

1. Liberation from birth and death. Hindus acclaim it as the most coveted aim of life.

The Sultān seems to have been impressed by this Hindu outlook on life.

2. Reference being to *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*—A treatise indicating the means by which final beautytude, or emancipation can be obtained. It is also called *Uttara* (post) *Rāmāyaṇa*.

3. "From my mouth"—Śrīvara would recite and explain the content given therein.

4. What Vālmiki had said, ie, Vālmiki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is meant here.

VERSE 81

श्रुत्वा शान्तरसोपेतां<sup>1</sup> व्याख्यां स्वप्नेऽपि नो नृपः ।  
अस्मार्थदिग्बिक्काः कान्ता हवन्माष क्रियामिव ॥८१॥

Lending ear to my explanations (of *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha*) punctuated with the sentiment of calm composure, the Sultān would recapitulate these in dreams like the inviting coquetry of a lovely woman.

Note

1. The sentiment of tranquillity, actually disdaining this life full of hassles and fraud.

VERSE 82: THE SULTĀN KNEW SANSKRIT

यो यद्भाषा प्रवीणोऽस्ति स तद्भाषोपदेशमाक्<sup>1</sup> ।  
लोके नहि जना नानामाषालिपि विदोऽखिलाः ॥८२॥

He, who is proficient in a certain language can receive tuition in that very medium since all cannot claim to know various languages and scripts.

Note

1. Obvious inference being that the Sultān knew Sanskrit. For this very reason he commissioned Śrīvara to recite the *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* to him and desired that he should also get apprised of it. So he knew the Hindu and Muslim theology very well.

VERSE 83: TRANSLATIONS FROM ONE LANGUAGE  
TO THE OTHER ORDERED

इति संस्कृतदेशादि<sup>1</sup> पारसीवाग्बिशारदैः ।  
भाषाविपर्ययात्<sup>2</sup> तत्तच्छास्त्रं सर्वमचीकरत् ॥८३॥

Hence, by those well-versed in Sanskrit and Persian, locals or foreigners, the Sultān got the books of knowledge prepared through reversal of mediums employed therein (translations).

Notes

1. देश would connote local talent, available in Kashmir. आदि would mean others, aliens, not Kashmiris. Such eminent scholars were brought to Kashmir for translation work.

2. Changing one language into another, translation and transliteration both are meant here.

The Sultān got the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rājataranginī* translated into the Persian. Likewise Persian and Arabic treatise were translated into Sanskrit (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p 282).



## VERSE 84

धातु<sup>1</sup>वादरस<sup>2</sup> ग्रन्थ कल्प<sup>3</sup>शास्त्रोदितान् गुणान् ।  
यवना अपि जानन्ति स्वभाषाक्षर वाचनात् ॥ ८४ ॥

The use and efficacy of minerology, metallurgy, chemistry, alchemy and medical jurisprudence treated in their (respective) manuals (in Sanskrit) could not be available to the Muslims also by reading these in their own alphabet and language.

## Notes

1. धातु among other connotations means a mineral or metal. Hence this word would mean both—the science of minerals and metals.
2. रस is actually *rasāyana* or chemistry as well as alchemy.
3. कल्प also means medical treatment of the sick or medical jurisprudence. It could be easily inferred here.

## VERSE 85

दशावतार<sup>1</sup> पृथ्वीश ग्रन्थ रजतरङ्गिणी<sup>2</sup> ।  
संस्कृताः पारसीवाचा वाचनार्हस्त्वकारयत् ॥ ८५ ॥

*Daśāvatāra* and the Chronicle of Kings ie, *Rājataranginī* (originally) in Sanskrit were rendered into the Persian language for being comprehended fully (by him or Muslims).

## Notes

1. Reference is to the *Daśāvatāra Carita* written by Kṣemendra, which deals with the ten incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu. Śrīvara refers to his other composition, *Brhat Kathā Sāra* also subsequently (verse 86).
2. The chronicle of the Hindu Kings of Kashmir written by Kalhaṇa upto 1149 AD.

## VERSE 86

म्लेच्छैर्बृहत्कथासारं<sup>1</sup> हाटकेश्वर<sup>2</sup> संहिताः ।  
पुराणादि<sup>3</sup> चतद्युक्त्या वाच्यते निजभाषया ॥ ८६ ॥

Through this expediency the Muslims could read the concise edition of *Brhat Kathā*, the collection of texts on *Hāṭakeśwara*, the Purāṇas and other (Sanskrit treatises) in their own languages.

## Notes

1. Reference is to Kṣemendra's *Brhat Kathā Mañjarī*—the expurgated edition of *Brhat Kathā*.
- It is believed that the original book *Brhat Kathā* was written by Guṇadhya in Pāṣāci language. This book is not available now and an inkling of the content treated

therein can be gleaned either from Ksemendra's *Brhai Kathā Mañjarī* or Soma Deva Bhaṭṭa's *Kathā Sarita Sāgara*. Both of these were Kashmiri writers.

2. It can be explained in following ways:

a) Hātakeśwari as such is the shrine of a Bhairava at the foot of Hari Parbat, situated to its south. Some ruins above ground also are seen here. Archaeological Department, government of India, has declared it a protected monument and it is in its charge now. The text mentioned here is not available at present

b) It is one of the names of Lord Śiva. May be Śrīvara has referred to Śaiva-treatises here.

c) *Hātaka* means gold. The image of Lord Śiva in gold, might have been installed in the shrine referred to in (a) above.

3. It might even refer to *Nilamata Purāṇa*.

4. In Persian is meant here which was their language.

#### VERSE 87

करिचच्छुत्वा<sup>1</sup> शुचि रुचि चिरं धर्मशास्त्रं पवित्रं  
घटे चित्ते पट इव सितो रञ्जनं तत्क्रियां यः ।  
आकर्ष्यान्ये<sup>2</sup> प्रतिदिनममुं पद्मिनी पत्र तुल्याः  
कुल्याधारा अपि धृतगुणा गृह्णतेऽतन किञ्चित् ॥ ८७ ॥

Someone of unsullied taste listens for long to sacred religious texts, the message of which he imprints on his mind, like a white sheet capable of getting dyed in any colour. Some others lending ear to these (sacred texts) every day, do not assimilate anything like the lotus petals (unimpressed by) the efficacious water of a stream.

#### Notes

1. Reference is obviously to the Sultān—a God-fearing soul.
2. Herein Śrīvara in undertones would like to convey that, Muslims in general, on getting acquainted with Hindu scriptures, did not learn anything from them.

#### VERSE 88: THE SULTĀN DESIRES TO VISIT KAUNSARNAGH

नौबन्धनगिरे'यत्रामाकर्ष्यादिपुणतः<sup>2</sup> ।  
तीर्थयात्रोत्सुकं राज्ञः कदाचिदभवन्धनः ॥ ८८ ॥

Once having heard about the pilgrimage to Naubandhan Mountain, from the *Purāṇa* (*Nilamata*) the mind of the Sultān expressed a desire to participate in it.

#### Notes

1. *Naubandhana* literally means a 'tying post for boats' or even place meant for this purpose. Here it has reference to the great deluge in which Manu alone could survive and running down in a boat for his life reached this mountain to the summit of which he tied his boat (*NLMT*, verse 167) The *Nilamata Purāṇa* as well as *Kathā* give an elaborate description of Naubandhan where in the lake

Jalodbhava the demon was killed and then the valley drained off its water. The land thus reclaimed came to be known as Kashmira (*KLRT*, I, 14, 25, 27).

2. Obviously the first and last *Purāṇa* compiled in Kashmir was the *Nilamata*.

VERSE 89: THE SULTĀN VISITS KAUNSARNAGH  
IN 1463 AD

एकोन चत्वारिंशे<sup>१</sup> पितृपक्षान्त्यवासरे<sup>२</sup> ।  
यात्रादिदृक्षया भूपो जगाम विजयेश्वरम्<sup>३</sup> ॥८९॥

In thirty-ninth year (of the Saptarṣi era) on the penultimate day of the fortnight dedicated to the manes, the Sultān proceeded to Vijayeśwara on his way to the pilgrimage (at Kaunsarnagh).

Notes

1. According to the Saptarṣi or the local calendar thirty-ninth year is actually 4539 corresponding to 1463 AD.

2. Dark fortnight of *Bhādrapad* is reserved for *Śrāddhas* (obsequial rites) in the name of the manes. It is hence called *Śrāddha Paksha* or *Pitr-paksa* also (*Manusmṛiti*, III, 122, 123). Last day of this fortnight would be *Amāvasyā*—or the New Moon day, when the sun and the moon are in conjunction.

3. This might have been the first leg of the journey to Kaunsarnagh from Srinagar.

VERSE 90: DRAMA HALL OF CIRCULAR SHAPE  
AT BIJEBEHARA

नानावर्णाशुकच्छनैः प्रेक्षकैः परिपूरितम् ।  
पुष्पाकीर्णमिवोद्यानमद्राक्षीद् रङ्गमण्डलम्<sup>१</sup> ॥९०॥

The Sultān perceived the circular theatre filled to its capacity by the spectators donning multi-coloured robes, like a garden teeming with flowers.

Note

1. From the use of the word *Maṇḍala* it can easily be inferred that the drama-hall was of circular shape (refer also I, 4, 4) etc., v.l. रङ्गमण्डलम् (*VVRI*, p 69).

VERSE 91: ADJOINING RULERS ALSO INVITED TO THE  
DRAMATIC PERFORMANCE

यत्र बान्दरपालाद्या<sup>१</sup> राजानो वीक्ष्य सद्बलाः ।  
तद्वर्षे दर्शनायाता<sup>२</sup> हर्षमन्वभवंति ॥९१॥

Where (at Bijebehara) the chieftains Bāndarpāla and others

having come for seeing (the dramatic performance) that year along with their dependable bodyguards, felt very happy on beholding the (grandeur of the dramatic-hall).

*Notes*

1. This may refer to the Pāla dynasty in the adjoining principalities of Kashmir—Rajouri, Bhimbar, Lorin or Poonch etc.

2. It might connote either 'for seeing the performance' or the Sultān who took them with him to Bijebhara. During that year 1463 AD some princes from the outer periphery of Kashmir, might have come to see the Sultān or had been invited to witness the performance at Bijebhara.

VERSE 92

गगनं तारकापूणी दीपाद्यं रंगमण्डपम् ।  
यत्रान्योन्यं तुला<sup>1</sup> चक्रे यत्रौ कविबुधार्चितम्<sup>2</sup> ॥९२॥

During that night the star-studded sky attended upon by the planet Venus and Mercury, and the theatre-hall with an inexhaustible store of lights, replete with poets and scholars maintained a uniform balance.

*Notes*

1. Were balanced, the one could not register an edge over the other.

2. *Kavi* is the planet Venus as well as a poet, while *Budha* is Mercury as well as the intelligentsia or scholars. Therefore in the context of the sky—the planets Venus and Mercury and in the context of the drama-hall, the poet and the scholars—the elite so to say.

VERSE 93

अमावस्यादिने प्राप्तैर्नानागरिकामुखैः<sup>1</sup> ।  
शुशुभे शुभदं यत्र शतचन्द्रं भुवस्तलम्<sup>2</sup> ॥९३॥

On the final day of this dark fortnight (Bhādrapada), the variegated beauty displayed by the faces of the city women gathered there, brightened up the entire space (on which the hall was built) with hundreds of moons, affording extraneous pleasure.

*Notes*

1. A courteous, polite woman, or a city-bred woman. The women of good-taste would travel to Bijebhara for seeing the dramatic show.

2. The surface of the 'and on which the hall was built. The interior of the hall can also be inferred from it.

## VERSE 94: THE TORCHES ILLUMINED THE THEATRE

दीपवृक्षो<sup>1</sup> नृवाहोऽपि यत्र स्नान्तरे स्फुरन् ।  
दग्ने तारकाग्रमहयोधत्कृत्तिकर्क्षो<sup>2</sup> योपमाम् ॥ ९४ ॥

Where (mobile) trees with lamps installed on them and carried by the men with a quivering blaze in the drama-hall, made it to look as the beaming cluster of Kṛttikā planet amidst the stars.

## Notes

1. It is actually the the burning torches used at the weddings even today.
2. Kṛttikā is the third of the twenty-seven lunar mansions or planets or a cluster of six stars, the pleiades.

## VERSE 95

विजयेशादथोत्थाय धूपः पुत्रद्वयान्वितः<sup>1</sup> ।  
पदभ्यामुल्लङ्घ्य दुर्गमं प्रपदे कासरेक्षिणिः ॥ ९५ ॥

Thereupon, the Sultān having proceeded from Vijayeśa (Bijebhara) along with his two sons covered the impenetrable terrain on foot and reached (Kaunsarnagh) in three days.

## Note

1. This event took place in the year 1463 AD. Adam Khān had already gone into self-exile (*Ibid*, verse 89, *ZRRT*, I, 3, 113-114).

Therefore by the two sons that are referred to are Hājī and Behrām (*ZRRT*, I, 56).

## VERSE 96: THE SULTĀN PRAYS AT KAUNSARNAGH

दृष्ट्वा क्रमसरो<sup>1</sup> विष्णुपादमुद्राकृतिं<sup>2</sup> प्रभुः ।  
पादं<sup>3</sup> प्रणामजानहन् दमस्विन्दद् भक्ति सुन्दरः ॥ ९६ ॥

The Sultān possessing charming devotion on seeing the Kaunsarnagh stamped with the image of the foot of Lord Viṣṇu derived untold bliss by making an obeisance at the foot (of Naubandhan Mountain).

## Notes

1. Kramsar or Kaunsarnagh is a lake 2 miles long at the foot of the Naubandhan mountain towards north-west (*KLRT*, v, 174).
2. Kramsara is known as Viṣṇu Pāda also (*NLMT*, verses 123, 176 etc.). Before ascending the Naubandhan mountain Lord Viṣṇu took the first step here at this lake. Hence earned the name Viṣṇu Pāda also.
3. "Pāda" will mean the foot of a human being or of a hill. Latter meaning has been taken here. It seems that the Sultān offered the *Namāz* and the *Sajdā* here.

## VERSE 97

ब्रह्माच्युते<sup>१</sup> गिरयः पततोयरवच्छलात् ।  
अकुर्वन् कुशलप्रश्नं हयंराज<sup>२</sup> महीभुजे ॥ ९७ ॥

The mountains (sanctified by) Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva under the pretext of the noise (created by the falling waters actually) asked the Sultān a scion of Śiva about his welfare.

## Notes

1. The three peaks of the Naubandhan mountain where Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva were stationed while a duel was on between Krishna and the demon Jalodbhava when his brother Balabhadra had drained off the waters of the lake by his plough. अच्युत is Viṣṇu (KLRT, I, 25-27).

2. Cf. JRRT, verse 134; KLRT, I, 72; NLMT, verses 237, 314 etc.

## VERSE 98

कस्तूरी<sup>१</sup> कुसुम<sup>२</sup> श्यामां कोष्ठागारावनिं<sup>३</sup> गिरेः ।  
दृष्ट्वा तुष्टो नृपश्रेष्ठो योगीवेष्टां<sup>४</sup> हरेस्तनुम्<sup>५</sup> ॥ ९८ ॥

Having observed non-stop and plentiful streams coming down the mountain with a darkish hue of musk coloured flowers afforded immense pleasure to the tallest Sultān (likening it) to the body of Hari (Viṣṇu) dressed as a Yogi.

## Notes

1. The musk—white in colour. Agrees with the ash-bedecked body of a Yogi as also the colour of the water rushing down.

2. The flowers with darkish hue, the mountain abounds with these like the matted locks of a Yogi. The placid waters of the lake also present a darkish look.

3. A store house, granary.

4. An abode, dwelling etc.

5. It means a current, a stream as also the ground, earth etc. It resembles in its whiteness with the ashes with which Yogis besmear their matted hair.

6. The Sultān's regard for the *yogis* (jogis) has already been described by Śrīvara (ZRRT, I, 3, 46).

Jonā Rāja has also alluded to this trait of the Sultān's character (JRRT, verse 897).

7. Some scholars have tried to compare the mountain with its rivers flowing down the slopes with Śiva. But Śiva is not Hari. Hari is Viṣṇu. Also Śiva is not associated with musk. Therefore the reference is to Hari sitting in the posture of a yogi.

## VERSE 99: THE SULTĀN ROAMS IN THE LAKE IN A BOAT

अथ नौकां समारुह्य धीवरैः पञ्चवैर्वृताम्<sup>१</sup> ।  
धृत्वा<sup>२</sup> मां सिंह भट्टं च चचार सरसोऽन्तरे<sup>३</sup> ॥ ९९ ॥

The Sultān boarding a boat, lined by five boatmen and taking hold of me and Sinha Bhaṭṭa, roamed in the deeps of the lake.

## Notes

1. *बीवर* actually means a fisherman. In Kashmir the fishermen are boatmen by practice as they collect the fish while on a boat. Hence, Śrīvara as a Kashmiri, has used this very word for a boatman.

An inference to fishing in the lake could also be gleaned from it, but sacred ponds and lakes are immune from this trade in Kashmir. May be the fishermen were employed for rowing the canoe for fear of a water-monster to whom these fish-catchers armed with spears (Kashmiri—Narchus) could give a fight.

2. Five boatmen would be arranged so that one would keep the rudder, and the two each on each side would row.

3. Śrīvara has used this verb intentionally which connotes that the Sultān banished their fear in going deep into the lake by persuasion and injecting courage into them.

It might suggest also that Sultān was bold enough to face hazards but the two brahmins accompanying him were not so, hence he *kept* the two friends in the boat.

4. It can also mean the proximity, or closeness to the bank also.

## VERSE 100

गीतगोविन्दगीतानि<sup>1</sup> मत्तः<sup>2</sup> श्रुतवतः प्रभोः ।

गोविन्दभक्ति संसिक्तो रसः कोऽप्युदभूत् तदा ॥ १०० ॥

The overlord (Sultān) while listening the songs from the *Gīta-Govinda* from me was drenched profusely in the devotion for Lord Krishna at that time enjoying inexplicable æsthetic pleasure.

## Notes

1. The name of a book containing devotional songs with respect to Krishna and Rādhā. Its author is Jaya Deva of Bengal. Its verses are based on classical music.

2. Śrīvara himself was a musician of talent as pointed out by him earlier. Hence his recitation must have been sung in the particular *rāgas* in which these are composed.

Actually the recitations from the *Gīta-Govinda* was very popular among the elite. It gave the singers and the audience an opportunity of listening to classical music, enjoy the description of passionate physical love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and also chant the name of God and thus earn merit (*punya*). It will be of interest to note that the *Gīta-Govinda* inspired many a painter also and inspite of the ravages of time, scholars like late Dr M. S. Randhawa were able to retrieve some of these paintings from the Kangra and Chamba valley, both adjacent to Kashmir.

## VERSE 101: THE SULTĀN ACQUAINTED WITH SANSKRIT

कुञ्ज प्रतिश्रुतो मञ्जुगीतिनाद स्तदावयोः<sup>1</sup> ।

अनुगीत<sup>2</sup> इवावस्थेः किन्नरै<sup>3</sup> रजगौरवात् ॥ १०१ ॥

At that hour the notes of sweet song sung by us two were echoed through the bowers, as if the *Kinnaras* staying there, out of respect for the Sultān, repeated its symphony.

## Notes

1. We two will mean either the Sultān and Śrivarā or Sinha Bhaṭṭa and Śrivarā. Most probably it was the Sultān, who was an adept in classical music. It will also suggest that the Sultān could read and understand Sanskrit very well.

2. Literally would connote followed the symphony used in this song.

3. किन्नरः—A type of *demi-gods* said to be very proficient in music. They are supposed to live in woods and deep ravines. Even these appreciated the symphony used in this song, they could in no way improve upon it.

4. These Kinnaras even acknowledged the superior talent of the Sultān with respect to music.

## VERSE 102

क्षणं सरोन्तश्चरतो हिम वृष्टि' निभाद् विभोः ।  
भक्ति प्रीतैरिवोन्मुक्तं देवैः कुसुम वर्षराम् ॥ १०२ ॥

While roaming in the interior of the lake for a while, the gods gratified by the devotion shown by the Sultān, showered flowers in the shape of snow-flakes.

## Note

1. Actually it began to snow.

## VERSE 103

दृष्ट्वा सरोन्तरे श्वेता हिमान्यो भ्रमणाकुलाः<sup>१</sup> ।  
तीर्थस्नानाप्तकैलास<sup>२</sup> शृङ्गभङ्गिभ्रम<sup>३</sup> व्ययुः ॥ १०३ ॥

The sight of the white snow flakes, moving restlessly in the middle of the lake, gave one a false appearance, as if the peaks of Mount Kailāśa, had arrived there for a holy dip after having broken away from it.

## Notes

1. Moving unsteadily, knowing no rest. Always on the move.

2. Mount Kailāśa—the abode of Śiva and Pārvatī, always draped in white snow. The holiest of the holy mountains.

3. The peaks detached themselves from the mountain and arrived at the lake considering it more sacred than the Kailāśa.

## VERSE 104

सत्यविष्ण्ववतारः<sup>१</sup> स येनभक्त्याप्रदक्षिणम् ।  
त्रीत्यायनकरोन्नूनं<sup>२</sup> ज्ञातुं स्व क्रम<sup>३</sup> विक्रमम् ॥ १०४ ॥

In truth, he (the Sultān) the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, by going around it (lake) three times with devotion, actually (desired) to test the prowess of his own steps.



## Notes

1. The incarnation of Viṣṇu—one of the Trinity worshipped by the Hindus. He is accredited with providing sustenance to the entire creation. The Sultān also did the same to make his people happy, hence the comparison is very apt.

Joṇa Rāja has also alluded to the Sultān's being a Viṣṇu in human form (verses 973, 975).

2. Reference to Viṣṇu's *Vāmaṇavatāra*—Dwarf incarnation is patently clear here. He took three steps to humble the demon Bali and encompassed the earth, the heaven and the nether regions (*Puranic Encyclopaedia*, pp 823-24).

3. Of his own steps, like the three of Vāmana. The inference being that he could not be cowed down by the awṣ this project. He had not one but three joy-trips in it.

## VERSE 105

योऽमृदागमसिद्धार्थो नौबन्धनगिरिस्तदा<sup>१</sup> ।

प्रत्यक्षार्थः<sup>३</sup> कृतो राज्ञा बद्ध्वा नौकां यदागतः ॥ १०५ ॥

In the past what the irrefutable tradition with its relevant connotation had to say about the Naubandhan mountain, was made meaningfully visible by the Sultān when he tied his boat there on return (from the strolls in the lake).

## Notes

1. *Āgama* connotes the tradition handed down through ages. It means revealed scriptures like the Vedas also. Here it has reference to the tradition contained in the *Nilamata Purāṇa* regarding Naubandhan mountain.

2. That this mountain was made a safe perch for his canoe by Lord Viṣṇu.

3. The tradition only heard of earlier was translated into reality by the Sultān as he was Viṣṇu incarnate.

## VERSE 106: THE SULTĀN PAYS VISIT TO KUMĀRA

स कुमार<sup>१</sup>सरो यावत् सुकुमार<sup>२</sup>स्मरन् पथि ।

स कुमारो<sup>३</sup>ऽम्बुपानेन सुखं पुण्यमिवाप्तदत् ॥ १०६ ॥

While on his return journey he (the Sultān) remembered the ever-young (Kaunsarnagh) lake upto Kumāra. (There) along with the prince (Hājī Khān) (he), by taking water out of it, earned worldly comfort and virtue.

## Notes

1. कुमार सर was probably a spot there.

2. It might mean ever-green, ever-young. The Kaunsarnagh lake is always in full youth, its water does not dry up at all. It could also be broken up as follows:

सु ie Overwhelming.

कु ie Illusory duality.

मार ie Destroyer.

The lake which destroys overwhelming illusory duality—the duality of the Śaivas. Here man and his architect, nature and the spirit are identified completely with each other.

3. In the company of the prince—either Hāji Khān or Behrām. It seems that on the return journey the Sultān had only one son with him, while proceeding towards Kaunsarnagh. Śrīvara says that he had two sons with him (cf, verse 95 earlier). May be one of the sons had left for Srinagar earlier.

#### VERSE 107

शुष्वन् स्थानाभिधाः<sup>1</sup> पुण्या स्फुरंस्तीर्यजलं शुभम् ।  
विबन् सत्पुष्टिनं<sup>2</sup> तोषं पश्यन् वन तरत्रिचम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १०७ ॥

While listening to the places counted as sacred, touching the water at holy-places (bestowing) luck, taking water mixed with ice, observing the majesty of sylvan trees.

#### Notes

1. The list of holy places enroute to Zaina Nagari was submitted to the Sultān while on his return from Kaunsarnagh. It seems that while on his way back to the capital the Sultān visited many other pilgrim spots.

2. Literally water along with snow or ice. Snow or ice had not fully melted in that very cold atmosphere. It was in liquid form mostly but solid form also remained intact at some places.

3. Only dense forests of pines grow at that high altitude where Kaunsarnagh is situated.

#### VERSE 108

जिघ्रन्नोषधिपुष्पाणि<sup>1</sup> पञ्चेन्द्रियसुखं<sup>2</sup> प्रदाम् ।  
तीर्थयात्रां विधायेत्यं नगरं<sup>3</sup> प्रापभूपतिः ॥ १०८ ॥

Inhaling the odour of medicinal herbs, the Sultān completed the pilgrimage affording pleasure to five sense organs, thus reaching (back) the city.

#### Notes

1. The flowers, herbs etc. used as medicines. Reference may be to *gauzaban*—a medicinal herb (Persian) called *Kāhzaban* in Kashmiri. Very vast stretches of this herb are seen at high altitudes. *Patni* (Kashmiri shrubs) may also be meant here.

2. Eye, ear, nose, skin and tongue are the five sense organs of perception referred to here.

3. Obviously Zaina Nagari (cf, I, 5, 4).

## WAVE I, CANTO VI

### VERSE 1: THE SULTÂN CONSTRUCTED LAKE AT PAMPOR, A DUPLICATE OF KAUNSARNAGH

ततः क्रमसरतुल्यं राजा पद्मपुरन्दरे<sup>1</sup>।

तत्कृतैतुकापनोदाय<sup>2</sup> चक्रे जैन सरो नवम्॥१॥

Later the Sultân in order to make the wonder (as Kaunsarnagh was) available to (all and sundry) constructed a new lake like its (Kaunsarnagh's) replica, *Zainasara* by name within Pampor.

#### Notes

1. Padmapura is known as Pampor now. It is only eight kms distant from Srinagar. This town was founded by Padma—the uncle of puppet king Cippata-Jayapida in the beginning of 9th century (*KLRT*, IV, 695). It is famous for its saffron-fielding soil. It can suggest that the lake was constructed in the centre of this town. It might have been an artificial lake fed by the waters of the Jhelum which flows nearby. No trace of this lake exists today there. May be the lake was constructed towards the east of Pampor in the basin surrounded by Kareas. This basin can be recognized today.

2. Perhaps for those who could not undertake such an arduous journey as also foot the expenses involved in it. This artificial lake was quite close to the city. Hence everybody high or low, could see it and derive same pleasure as on seeing Kaunsarnagh.

### VERSE 2: PROFUSE SAFFRON BLOSSOM AROUND ZAINASĀGARA

फुल्लत्कुङ्कुम्<sup>1</sup> पुष्पोषस्थामी<sup>2</sup>भूतस्थलच्छलात्।

शरदीवागता प्रीत्या यमुना<sup>3</sup> यत्सरोवरम्॥२॥

In the guise of the profuse saffron-blossom in autumn, the furrows having become bluish, Yamunā out of affection had negotiated this lake.

#### Notes

1. In autumn the saffron blossom is in full bloom here.

2. The flowers containing saffron are bluish in colour. These saffron bulbs are sown in furrows properly laid out which also seemed to have attained bluish hue.

3. The water of the Yamunā or the Jamuna is supposed to be of bluish appearance as compared to that of the Ganga.

## VERSE 3

कुलोद्धारणागाञ्ज<sup>1</sup> मण्डिते यत्ते नवम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
रजस्रजगृहं राजा रजस्रजोष्मते<sup>3</sup> व्यधात् ॥ ३ ॥

On the banks adorned by the Kula spring called as such Dharapa spring, the Sultān constructed a brand new royal residence loudly displaying the grandeur befitting the emperors.

## Notes

1. This spring seems to be the Kuloddharanika, nearly fourteen miles away to the north-west from Bijebhara (*Haracaritasamudāmani*, X, 247).
2. No royal quarters seem to have existed there before. Hence the use of new, fresh, for the first time etc.
3. This royal residence was so grand that only a king of kings, an emperor, could make it and not a mere Sultān, who was supposed to be the deputy of the Khalifa.

## VERSE 4

उच्चैः<sup>1</sup> पदस्थममलं<sup>2</sup> रुचिरञ्जितारं<sup>3</sup>  
संपूर्णं मण्डलमखण्डं<sup>4</sup> कला<sup>5</sup> कलापम् ।  
राजानमीशमवलोक्य<sup>6</sup> हतोपतापं<sup>7</sup>  
काङ्क्षन्ति<sup>8</sup> के न नितरमपिदूरं<sup>9</sup> संस्थाः ॥ ४ ॥

Even though being at a very far distance from the all surveying moon, spotless by being perched on a height, illumining the (four) quarters with its pleasing radiance, in full orb with a multitude of digits intact—having experienced its soothing demeanour, who will not aspire to be (under its canopy).

## Notes

1. Possessing a towering stature, without any malice (for anyone) with a benevolent attitude.
2. Spotless.
3. A king, the directions glow with his tastes, benevolence of attitude, approach etc.
4. In full form, with his sovereign powers intact.
5. Knowing all arts completely.
6. The Lord of the Sultāns.
7. Banishing the afflictions, shortcomings, etc.
8. Wishing well, desiring good, etc.
9. At a very far distance, the Sultān being above all.

## VERSE 5

दिगन्तरीया<sup>1</sup> भूपालाः श्रुत्वैतद् गुण गौरवम् ।  
नानोपायनवर्षेष्वेवर्षु नितरममुम् ॥ ५ ॥

The rulers outside Kashmir, having heard about his (the Sultān's) eminent qualities, without any break whatsoever showered abundant rain of presents over him.

*Note*

1. It may connote the rulers on the outer fringes of Kashmir as also in the Indian sub-continent.

**VERSE 6: THE RULER OF THE PUNJAB PRESENTS  
A TĀZI HORSE TO THE SULTĀN**

वेगेन जितवायुं स तजिकखं<sup>1</sup> तुस्लमम् ।

उरुदं वसुवत् सखादुष्यं<sup>2</sup> पञ्चद प्रभुः<sup>3</sup> ॥६॥

The ruler of the Pañcanada (Panjāb) (for creating) cordial relations sent a high steed named Tājik (to the Sultān) as a present which would vanquish even the wind with its speed.

*Notes*

1. Named as Tājik. It might connote an Arab steed called *Tāzi*—*Aspi Tāzi* (Persian). Tājik might also lead us to infer that it was from Tājikistān (Central Asia). No such horses have earned a reputation there as the Tāzi. This word *Tāzi* has been equated with Arabian in Persian dictionaries.

2. Of a big size, towering, superior or high in every sense.

3. Pañcanada is evidently the 'Land of Five Rivers' ie the Panjāb.

The Panjāb was divided into principalities then like Multan, Sirhind, etc., as no single authority appeared to have ruled over the entire Panjāb. Which of these rulers sent the horse to the Sultān has not been made clear here.

**VERSE 7**

किन्नरोऽश्वमुखः<sup>1</sup> ह्यातः कण्ठानृत्यं न वेत्यसौ ।

इतीव नाट्यं<sup>2</sup> यो दर्पात्<sup>3</sup> वारुडोऽकरोत् पथि ॥७॥

The horse-faced Kinnaras are reputed for their (sweet) throat, but do not know dancing. For this very reason this steed out of vanity indulged in gamboling on the road when the Sultān had mounted it.

*Notes*

1. *Kinnaras*—the demi-gods known for their sweet singing are supposed to have the face of a horse faced. They might have had aquiline features—a veritable sign of beauty. Dancing is not their forte.

2. This horse was above the *Kinnaras* as it knew singing and dancing both, hence began to dance and gambol, not remaining steady.

3. Its age could not tolerate anybody taking a seat of it. It could not be tamed or trained.

## VERSE 8

प्रवालहस्तः<sup>१</sup> सद्रश्मिः<sup>२</sup> सुखलीनः<sup>३</sup> सुलक्षणः<sup>४</sup> ।  
यथासावहमित्यं यो नसहिष्टाय ताडनम् ॥८॥

“I am as nimble footed as he (the Sultān) has tender leaf like hands; I possess as firm reins as he a virtuous halo; I am as devoted to pleasure as he to doing good; I own as distinctive marks on my body, as he the auspicious omens”; hence (the steed) could not put up with his (Sultān’s) whipping.

## Notes

Double entente in terms of the Sultān and the horse is contained in this verse as made clear in the translation above.

1. (a) Tender, soft as a sprut shoot or a young leaf.  
(b) The hands of a horse are its legs, hence nimble, fast, light-footed.
2. (a) Virtuous, noble eminent radiance, light halo.  
(b) Firm and strong reins, bridle.
3. (a) Happiness, comfort, devoted to, engaged in.  
(b) Pleasure, good food and drink.
4. (a) Auspicious omens, portents presaging luck and fortune.  
(b) Distinctive marks on the body. Horses are generally provided with a sign or a mark on the body so that these are identified squarely after being recovered from a horse-thief.

## VERSE 9

पादैश्चतुर्भिः शुभ्रो यो मुखमध्येन<sup>१</sup> चावहत् ।  
कल्याणपङ्कक<sup>२</sup> ख्याति कल्याणाभरणोज्ज्वलः ॥९॥

Dazzling with its four hoofs, in the prime of his (youth) affording pleasure with shining and lovely apparel, that horse earned the reputation of ushering in five kinds of luck.

## Notes

1. The middle of anything is its strong point, as the middle of life is youth.
2. A species of horses having four (white calves extending from hoofs and a white mane), believed to bring luck.

VERSE 10: NAWABS OF MĀLWĀ AND BANGĀL  
SENDS ROBES TO  
BUḌSHĀH

माण्डव्य<sup>१</sup> गौड भूमीशः<sup>२</sup> खलुच्यो<sup>३</sup> यो महीपतिः ।  
अतुल्यं दरन्दाम<sup>४</sup> नामवस्त्रैरुपाहितैः ॥१०॥

The Nawabs of Mālwa and Bangāl called Khalucha gratified (the Sultān) with presenting royal robes studded with pearl known as *darandam*.

*Notes*

1. It is Māndu in Mālwa.
2. The Sultān of Bangāl. Rukn-ud-din ruled 1459-1478 (AD) there at that time.
3. The name of the Nawāb, or it was some one of Khālji descent.
4. It might be *dur* or pearl in Persian. The royal robes were studded with pearls.

VERSE 11: THE SULTĀN IS A POET ALSO

इतो ह्यस्मै नृपोभव्यं काव्यं कृत्वा स्वभावया' ।  
 प्राहिणोद् द्रव्यं संयुक्तं सव्यसाच्यग्रजोपमः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ११ ॥

Propitiating decorum and piety like Savyasācin (Arjuna), the Sultān despatched an excellent poem, composed by him in his own language, along with precious presents to him (Nawāb of Bangāl) from here.

*Notes*

1. In his own language. Persian most probably. Kashmiri could not be understood by the Sultān of Bangāl.
2. सव्यसाचिन्—one who is dexterous with both hands.  
 Arjuna could wield his bow (Gāndiva) with both hands, i.e. ambidextrous. Also used for Kṛṣṇa (cf. MW, p 1191). Probably it meant 'giving and taking' i.e. reciprocal.

VERSE 12

सोप्यनयैः पदार्यैर्न तथा तुष्टो महीपतिः ।  
 सालङ्कारैर्यथाभूपकाव्यस्यातिमनोहरैः ॥ १२ ॥

He (the Nawāb) was not as much pleased with such valuable presents as with the poem composed by the Sultān punctuated with heart-ravishing figures of speech.

VERSE 13: RĀNĀ KUMBHA OF MEWĀR SENDS  
 PRESENTS TO SULTĀN

वस्त्रं नारीकुञ्जराख्यं<sup>1</sup> कुम्भराणो<sup>2</sup> व्यसर्जयत् ।  
 अहरद् धृदि तद्वेश नारीकुञ्जर कौतुकम् ॥ १३ ॥

Rānā Kumbha (of Mewār) presented a robe called *Nārikunjara* (to the Sultān) satisfying the curiosity of the upper-class women in his land, in their hearts.

## Notes

1. It is obvious that this garment relates to women as the use of the prefix Nāri—a woman, is significant here. It may be explained like this:

a) *Kurja*—a thicket, bower etc., just like the hair of a woman. *Ra* means to cover, to hide. A garment which hides or—conceals or covers hair of a woman—a 'chunari' as it is called in Rajasthan.

b) It might also mean a loose and broad garment in keeping with the size of an elephant (*kurjara*). This might connote 'ghāgra' as used by ladies in Rajasthan. This garment is commonly depicted in the Rajput and Kangra art.

c) It might even connote a garment meant for a lady with the print of elephants on it. Obviously this garment was for the use of the Begums.

2. Rājā Kumbha ascended the throne of Mewār in 1419 AD. He ruled for fifty years like Buḍḡshāh (Col. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*).

#### VERSES 14-15: THE RĀJĀ OF GWALIOR SENDS MUSIC-MANUALS TO THE SULTĀN

एजा दुगर<sup>१</sup> सीहाख्यो गोपालपुरवल्लभः<sup>२</sup> ।

गीत ताल कलावाद्य नाट्यस्तबाजलक्षितम् ॥ १४ ॥

संगीत चूडामण्याख्यं<sup>३</sup> श्री संगीत शिरोमणिम्<sup>४</sup> ।

एजे गीतविनोदायै गीतग्रन्थं व्यसर्जयत् ॥ १५ ॥

Rājā Duggar Singh, the beloved ruler of Gopālapura (Gwalior), sent *Saṅgita Cūḍamāṇi*, and *Śrī Saṅgita Śiromāṇi* named manuals on prosody, defining precisely singing (music), beating time, syllabi instants, instruments of music, and drama book to the Sultān for his interest in music.

## Notes

1. Persian historians take him to be 'Dungar-sena' (*TABK*, pp 440-660).

2. This place is the present Gwalior, more so as an uninterested tradition of music is witnessed there from early times.

Kalhana has referred to two Gopālpurās—the one founded by Queen Sugandhā (904-906 AD) and the second where the head of king Sussala was formally cremated. The first is inside Kashmir and the other is in the vicinity of Rajouri (*KLRT*, V, 244, VIII, 1471).

The Persian chroniclers including Hassan have unanimously taken it to be Gwalior. *Cambridge History of India* has corroborated this (III, p 288).

3. Written by Chalukya Mahārājā Jagadekamalla of Kalgam (1134-1143 AD). This manual was published in *Gaekwar Oriental Series* in 1958 AD.

4. This manual was written by a team of Pandits in Gwalior. It is available in parts only. Some Mss. of this book have been indicated in the *Catalogues of Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya*, Varanasi.

#### VERSE 16

तस्मिन् राशि दिवं याते कीर्तिसीहो महीपतिः ।

तत्पुत्रः पितृवत् प्रीतिमरुतत् प्रहितोपदः ॥ १६ ॥



When that Rājā (Duggarsinha) ascended the heaven, his son Mahārājā Kirtisinha by sending presents (to the Sultān) preserved the good-relations like his father.

VERSE 17: SUBEDAR OF SURĀSHTRA PRESENTS

A PALFREY

मण्डलीकाधिपो<sup>१</sup> राजा सुगष्ट<sup>२</sup> नगरधिपः ।

प्राहिणोन्पतेः प्रीत्या ललाम<sup>३</sup>कमनीयकम् ॥ १७ ॥

The Subedar ruling over the cities of Surāshtra out of love presented to the Sultān a palfrey, with a lovely name and tail.

Notes

1. It is actually a *sabedar* as in vogue in Persian. 'Maṇḍal' is a *sūbah* or a *pradesh*. He seems to be one Karim Shāh (*AI/AK*, II, p 389, *TABAAT*, III, 440).

2. Śrīvara would like to say that this subedar ruled over Kutch and Kathiawar also. Kutch horses were famous for their gait and shape.

3. Here the author has used a part for the whole. ललाम means a 'tail' or a 'mane'. Hence a horse seems to have been sent to the Sultān.

VERSE 18: BUSTARDS SENT TO THE SULTĀN

चित्रवर्णोल्लसत्पक्षलक्ष्य शोभान् महीपतेः ।

पक्षिणो मुचुकुन्दाख्यान<sup>१</sup> प्राहिणोदक्षि सुन्दरान् ॥ १८ ॥

(The Subedar also) sent birds called *mucukunda* bright with variegated coloured feathers, very pretty to look at, and possessing beautiful eyes, to the Sultān.

Note

1. Literally it means a kind of tree. We might translate this word in this way—*Muca*—to release, to waft, to free etc. *Kunda* (*Skt*) white and delicate like jasmine. This bird seems to waft the fragrant majesty of white jasmine. It might be the Indian bustard which thrive in the sanctuaries at Kutch and Saurāshtra.

VERSE 19

जिघांसया<sup>१</sup> चरन् सोऽपि भूपतेः प्राकृतेर्गुणैः ।

बद्धो हिंस्रोऽपि<sup>२</sup> डिल्लेशो<sup>३</sup> बल्लूको रल्लकोपमः<sup>४</sup> ॥ १९ ॥

Roaming for doing harm, that ruler of Dilli (Delhi) Balluka (by name) was tamed by the innate qualities of the Sultān, and behaved like a deer though fierce.

## Notes

1. For perpetrating violence in the shape of looting and killing or annexing territories.

2. Very cruel, fierce, violent etc.

3. The Sultān of Delhi. He seems to be Bahlol Lōdhi (1450-1488 AD). Hassan confirms this (TAHS, Persian, p 200).

4. V.I. बल्लभेयम् (VVRI, p 74). Śrīvara knew that the correct word 'Bahlol' as he has presented him as the inventor of 'Rabab' (II, 59). It seems intriguing as to how he has not given the correct name here. May be the later scribes committed this mistake.

VERSE 20: KING SWANS OFFERED TO THE  
SULTĀN

कच्चिच्छीरजहंसस्य राजहंसयुगं ददौ ।  
अन्ये हंसा यदुत्पन्ना राजहंसमरञ्जयन् ॥२०॥

Somebody offered a couple of king swans, the brood from which in the shape of other swans delighted the Sultān—the tallest of those, who are free from malice.

## Note

1. Here Śrīvara has played on the word हंस which means a swan as also the Supreme Being, the sun, an ascetic, one free from malice etc. The Sultān was राजहंस, the ace amongst those having no malice or envy, for anybody. A pure person, an unambitious monarch. Śrīvara has not given the name of donor while Hassan has said that these swans were presented by the wali of Lhasa (TAKH, Persian, pp 200-01).

Lhasa is close to the Manasarovar lake which is supposed to be the haunt of such birds.

## VERSE 21

सरः खन्तर्ग्रमन्तस्ते निर्दराः पङ्क्तिपावनाः ।  
तस्मिन्तरलोत्फुल्ल श्वेतोत्पल तुलां दधुः ॥२१॥

Roaming in the pool fearlessly and in steadfast rows, these (swans) would look like mobile and blooming white lotuses (wading) over ripples.

## VERSE 22

खुरासान महीपस्य यस्येवाज्ञा हयप्रभोः ।  
मूर्ध्ना मन्दारमालेव घ्नियते दिगधीश्वरैः ॥२२॥

The ruler of Khurāsān, lord of horses, whose orders would be

(respected) by other rulers around, like a garland of *mandāra* flowers put on their head.

*Notes*

1. The master of horses. The ruler of Khurāsān seems to have been in possession of a fine breed of horses.
2. The coral tree, one of the five trees in Indra's paradise.

VERSE 23

यस्यायुधोजितकराः किङ्कराः<sup>1</sup> सुभयङ्कराः ।  
यमस्य चार्पितकरा<sup>2</sup> व्यचरन् धरणीतले ॥ २३ ॥

Whose slaves (soldiers) with weapons in hand, very ferocious, even would challenge the god of Death, roamed over the surface of the earth.

*Notes*

1. Actually means a serf, a servant, a slave etc. Here it might mean the legions or soldiers in the pay of the ruler of Khurāsān.
2. Who would place their hands on the god of wealth or who would even tax on the *God of Death*, not afraid of death at all.

VERSE 24: RULER OF KHURĀSĀN  
PRESENTS HORSES AND MULES  
TO THE SULTĀN

उत्तरशाधिपो<sup>1</sup> मेर्जाओसैदः<sup>2</sup> स महीभुजे ।  
उच्चारववेसरी<sup>3</sup> युक्तं व्यसृजत् सोपधिचरम्<sup>4</sup> ॥ २४ ॥

He, Mirza Abu Sayyid (the ruler of Khurāsān), whose kingdom was situated to the north (of Kashmir) despatched a good number of horses and mules of finest breed to the Sultān along with an accredited emissary.

*Notes*

1. Literally in command of the north. Khurāsān is situated in Central Asia to the north of Kashmir. V.I. मिर्जा (VVRI, p 75). This epithet used here also means 'Kubera'—the god of wealth. It might suggest also that Abu Sayyid had immense riches.
2. Mirza Abu Sayyid—the grandfather of Babar, the first Mughals would use Mirzā with their names connoting of noble descent.
3. Hassan has also recorded that the monarch of Khurāsān Khaqani Sayyid presented swift-footed horses and mules to the Sultān (TAKH, p 200).
4. Literally connotes a spy, the one who kept eye on these presents during their journey from Khurāsān to Kashmir. It might even suggest that an ambassador from Khurāsān was posted in Kashmir.

VERSE 25: THE RULER OF GUJARĀT SENDS WHITE  
WOOLLEN ROBES TO THE SULTĀN

कतेफसोफसस्तात<sup>१</sup> ख्यातवस्त्राद्युपायनैः ।  
महम्मद<sup>२</sup> सुत्राणो गूर्जरीशोऽत्यतुषत् ॥ २५ ॥

By sending the robes called *katefasofasaglāta* along with other presents Mohammed, the ruler of Gujarāt, earned the pleasure of the Sultān.

Notes

1. This word has also been used by Śuka (*SHRT*, II, 84). Actual words in Persian mean fine cloth made of white wool with a border of birds.
2. He is Mohammed Shah IV. Hassan calls him Mahmud (*TAKH*, p 200).

VERSE 26: RULERS OF GILĀN, EGYPT AND MECCA,  
SEND GIFTS TO THE SULTĀN

गिलान<sup>१</sup> मिस्र<sup>२</sup> मक्कादि<sup>३</sup> देशाधीशा हितेच्छया<sup>४</sup> ।  
दुर्लभोपायनैस्तैस्तैर्न<sup>५</sup> के भूयमस्त्रयन् ॥ २६ ॥

The rulers of Gilān, Misra (Egypt) and Meccā and of other (Arab) territories, desirous of forging friendship with the Sultān made him happy by sending zari ties.

Notes

1. Gilān is a province of Persia—an Asian state.
2. It is Egypt.
3. Meccā and other Arab states is meant here.
4. With the intention of doing good, making friends with, developing cordial relations.
5. Not easily available, very scarce.

VERSE 27: CRAFTSMEN FROM AFAR THROG  
TO THE SULTĀN

अनल्पाः<sup>१</sup> शिल्पिनः कल्पवृक्ष<sup>२</sup> कल्पममुं न के ।  
भृङ्गा इवाययुर्दूरगच्छिन्त्यकल्पित कल्पनाः ॥ २७ ॥

Hosts of craftsmen from afar, thronged to him (the Sultān) the wish-yielding tree—like the humble bees (*bhramaras*), with the idea of introducing crafts (here).

Notes

1. Not few but in great numbers.
2. The wish-yielding or boon-granting tree in heaven. The point stressed here is that the Sultān would give them the wages of their choice, i.e., what they demanded.

## VERSE 28: SILK-WEAVING INTRODUCED HERE

काश्मीरिका अथाभ्यास्य तुरीयेमादि चातुरीम् ।  
कौशेयकं<sup>1</sup> वयन्त्यद्य बहुमूल्यं मनोहरम् ॥ २८ ॥

(By the induction of such craftsmen) Kashmiris could skilfully operate the shuttle and the loom and thus weave precious and attractive silk-cloth.

## Note

1. Silk-cloth-weaving was introduced in Kashmir, is the suggestion.

## VERSE 29: PASHMINA INTRODUCED HERE

और्णाः सोफादयो<sup>1</sup> वस्त्रविशेषा दूरदेशजाः ।  
काश्मीरिकाश्च भान्त्यद्य समर्थास्ते नृपोचिताः ॥ २९ ॥

These days (15th century) Kashmiris (using) the special quality of woollen clothes made of white pashmina etc. (actually) of foreign origin, was made available (here) through the courtesy of the Sultān.

## Note

1. Actually 'sūf' in Persian means wool. Long robes of this cloth were used by Persian savants hence called 'sūfis'. But there are suggestions that pashmina weaving was introduced by these craftsmen.

## VERSE 30: ART OF EMBROIDERY COMES TO KASHMIR

विचित्रं<sup>1</sup> वयनोत्पन्नं<sup>2</sup> नानाचित्रलताकृतीः ।  
दृष्ट्वा चित्रकरा येषु जाताश्चित्रार्पिता<sup>3</sup> इव ॥ ३० ॥

On seeing various embroidered patterns woven of creepers and other images in diverse colours, the art of drawing pictures became dumb-founded.

## Notes

1. Of diverse colours, multi-coloured.
2. Through weaving—here embroidered patterns are meant.
3. As if painted in a picture, life-less, i.e. painting itself was put to shame.

## VERSE 31: ROYAL ROBES MADE OF SILK

अनन्ततनुसन्तानं वर्णविच्छित्सुन्दरः ।  
बभौ कौशेयकख्यातो<sup>1</sup> देशो वेशश्च भूपतेः ॥ ३१ ॥

Woven with numerous threads, captivating in (terms of) colour-combination, the silk dress of the Sultān—made the country (producing silk) also very famous.

*Note*

1. Actually Śrīvara has referred to the country named 'Kausheyaka' which means silk robes, cloth, dress also. It may be that silk land (as 'Kashgar' in central Asia here), silk came to Kashmir via the Central Asia in which some parts of China were also included in those days.

VERSE 32: SILK-PRINTING INTRODUCED

नानावर्णविशेषं चित्रकटकात्मकम् सारोचितो<sup>१</sup>  
 विद्यामानन्वैरुजितोऽतिसुखदः कौशेयता खातिमान् ।  
 श्रीमान् नित्यं महोग्ज्वलोऽनुलगुणः सत्तन्त्रसम्पत्तिभूत्  
 एकादेन विशेषतो निजधिया वेशोऽपि देशोऽपि वा<sup>२</sup> ॥३२॥

The illustrious Sultān loudly resplendent with his incomparable qualities (of head and heart) made silken robes printed with accurate pictures of bracelets and designs of other ornaments, in specially various colour combinations—taken to kindly by the elite providing them comfort, very popular, in as much as by his intelligence (the Sultān) got these woven from the finest pick of possible yarn thus gave name and fame to his dress, as also to the country.

*Notes*

1. Silk-printing of various type. Here the ornaments such as bracelets etc. are referred to.
2. Those belonging to the well read class.
3. It made the type of robe as also Kashmir very famous. It might also suggest the country from which silk was imported first (refer notes verse 31). Printing on silk was the ingenuity of the Sultān.

इति जैन राजतरङ्गिण्यां चित्रोपचयं शिल्पं वर्णनम् नाम षष्ठः सर्गः<sup>१</sup> ।

Thus ends the sixth canto of the *Zaina Rājataranginī*, named "Gathering of the Art of Printing".

*Note*

1. The main theme of this canto is that the Sultān started the silken and *pashmina* woollen industry and this made him as well as the country over which he ruled famous.

## WAVE I, CANTO VII

### VERSE 1

दाता भवेत् क्षितिपतिर्यदिसादरोऽयं<sup>1</sup>  
लोकोऽपि दर्शयति त्रतस्वकलाकलापम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
वर्षासु वर्षेति घनो यदि चातकोऽपि<sup>3</sup>  
नृत्यन् मुदा भवति तज्जनरञ्जनाय ॥१॥

If the King is compassionately benevolent; and the people (under his rule) also (reciprocate) by exhibiting their dexterity in (various) arts; if the rains come down in rainy season (with clock-like regularity), the bird *cucculus melanoleucus* (*cātaka*) dancing with extreme joy, entertain, the crowds.

#### Notes

1. With respect, thinking it to be a duty of his, not like crumbs thrown to dogs.
2. The people in his country being economically secure pursue various arts as also show their skill in these.
3. A bird supposed to live on rain-drops.

### VERSE 2

अयोत्तरपथाद्<sup>1</sup> दानख्यात कीर्तेर्महीभुजा ।  
रज्जुभ्रमणशिल्पज्ञः<sup>2</sup> कोऽप्यागात् यवनोऽन्तिकम्<sup>3</sup> ॥२॥

(Drawn by) the fame of the Sultān in rewarding (people) munificently, some Muslims from the North, past-masters in walking over a rope, approached him.

#### Notes

1. उत्तरपथ, meaning the 'northern road', originally meant the northern India only. But it appears that the poet is probably referring to the Central Asian countries.
2. Doing tight rope-walking, like the Naṭtas of Rajasthan today.
3. A foreigner literally. But refers to a Muslim from outside India.

## VERSE 3

विशप्रस्थाधिपे<sup>१</sup> स्थाने कदाचिद् यवनोत्सवे<sup>२</sup> ।  
तं दृष्टुमगमत्त राजा परिवार<sup>३</sup> विभूषितः<sup>४</sup> ॥३॥

Once at the place called Vishem Prastha on a particular festival of Muslims, the Sultān accompanied by his family members in full regalia went to see his (feats).

## Notes

1. Persian historians have taken it to be "Idgāh" (*Bahāristān-i-Shahi* etc.). The place around Idgāh are still called Paristān suffixed with their names viz Kaghth-Paristān, Rang-Paristān etc. May be the Sanskrit *Prastha* changed to Paristān, a Persianised form during the Muslim rule.

2. With the mention of Idgāh, it might suggest the festival of Id when Muslims gather at the Idgāh to offer prayers.

3. परिवार can mean retinue, attendants etc. also.

4. Adorned literally. It might also connote, with pomp and show, in full regalia along with the royal insignia.

## VERSE 4

धनुर्दण्ड<sup>१</sup> शतयामान्तरस्यान् दीर्घं रज्जुभिः ।  
उच्चान् सम्मानबजात् स स्वशिल्पं प्रयनोद्यतः ॥४॥

He, quite ready to demonstrate his feats, tied a long rope with two very tall poles at a distance of two hundred yards in between.

## Note

1. A measure of length equal to four *hastas*—which is the distance from the elbow to the tip of middle finger, roughly 18 inches or 24 *angulas*. Thus the distance between the two poles works at 400 *hastas*—six hundred feet or two hundred yards.

## VERSE 5

अभयंकलुषास्ते ये नागा रज्जुपुण्ड्रिषु ।  
पाथित्वमभक्त भूपाल देहनिष्ठेक्षणादिव<sup>२</sup> ॥५॥

The serpents at village Rajjupura (Razul) and other places, felt exercised as if witnessing (this feat) would presage doom for the body of the Sultān, their devotee.

## Notes

1. *Razul* in the vicinity of Khonmuh—Bilhāṇa has said that in this birth place of his, a Takshaka's spring existed. Takshaka is the serpent-king (*Vikramāṅka-Deva Caritam*, XVIII).

2. They feared lest the tight rope-walker should drop down dead to the ground and under the Muslim law the Sultān shall be forced to lay down his own life



also—tooth for tooth formula; as the show was being arranged at his instance.

The order of this śloka is changed in the VVR/ edition. There it occurs as number 13, where it suits better. It is a part of foreboding disaster,

## VERSE 6

अथो भूभागलग्नैकजुमार्गेण निर्भयः ।  
आरोहमकरोत्तत्र पतत्रीव नभोन्तरे ॥ ६ ॥

Then through the tip of the rope struck in the earth (near the pole) he improvised an ascent to that (the tight rope) as fearlessly as a bird (make a dash) into the sky.

## VERSE 7

निपाता स्खलितां तत्र लोकचित्तानुरङ्गिकाम् ।  
कवितामिव शिल्पेज्यश्चित्रां पदगतिं व्यधात् ॥ ७ ॥

On that (tight) rope (fixed with skill) bereft of irregular step and stumble, as nimble as a (good) poem, he maintained a marvellous (rhythm) between the movement of his feet and entertained the people profusely.

## VERSE 8

अग्नीचवर्तिनस्तस्य<sup>1</sup> ग्रहस्येव<sup>2</sup> फलप्रदा ।  
सुरश्मि<sup>3</sup> राशिगस्यालं बभूवाश्चर्यभूर्नुणाम् ॥ ८ ॥

Like a planet stationed at a place of advantage having entered its zodiac have unhindered, the wonder (displaced by the tight-rope walkers) became rewarding for the people.

## Notes

Herein Śrīvara has exhibited his mastery over both astronomy and astrology.

1. In astronomy the planets have fixed zodiacs high or base eg, the high zodiac of the Sun is *Meṣa*—and its low or base zodiac is *Tulā*—Moon has *Vṛṣabha* as its high zodiac and *Vṛścika* as its low, etc.

2. A planet. These are nine in number—Sun, Moon, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Venus, Mercury, etc.

3. Zodiacs—These are twelve in number.

*Mesha*, *Vṛṣabha*, *Mithuna*, *Cancer*, *Siṃha*—*Leo*, *Kanyā*—*Virgo* etc.

*सुरश्मि* can mean either with brilliant rays or with ease, without any restraints etc.

## VERSE 9

कृत्वा सुखं सुरुचिरं सुचिरं विधाता  
 दुःखं पुनर्जनपदे जनयत्यसह्यम् ।  
 वर्षं प्रदर्श्य जलदः कृषिकर्म<sup>1</sup> हेतुं  
 नेतुं फले वितनुते करकाविकारम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ९ ॥

The Lord having showered most charming happiness for long, in course of time, generates unbearable calamities for the country. The cloud for ploughing the land showers rain but to take away its fruit (that every cloud) projects its change of temper by (sending down) hail.

## Notes

1. V.I. हर्ष हेतु (VVRI, p 78).
2. This word connotes change of temper, attitude, drifting from natural course etc. It also means a malady, a disease etc.

VERSE 10: PORTENTS APPEAR FOREBODING  
BAD DAYS AHEAD

सौख्यसुखिते देशे नरेशे निरुपद्रवे<sup>1</sup> ।  
 अकस्माद् दुःसहान् जातानुत्पातान्<sup>2</sup> ददृशुर्जनाः ॥ १० ॥

In this country the people quite happy with benevolent rule and an undistressing Sultān, suddenly began to witness unusual phenomena foreboding calamity very hard to put up with.

## Notes

1. Not oppressing, teasing or distressing his subjects.
2. Portents giving advance notice of some calamity such as famine, war, earthquake, etc.

## VERSE 11

इत्यातङ्गागमे<sup>1</sup> सेतुर्हेतुः सर्वजन क्षये ।  
 अथोत्तरदिशा रात्रौ धूमकेतुरदृश्यत<sup>2</sup> ॥ ११ ॥

During the night from the northern direction a smoke-bannered meteor was witnessed as if it was a bridge between disaster and terror, a veritable instrument for general annihilation.

## Notes

1. These षडैति are said to be six:  
 (1) Excessive rain; (2) draught; (3) locusts; (4) rats; (5) earthquakes; and (6) foreign invasion (*Mālvikāgnimitram*, v, 20; cf, *MW*, p 170).
2. A meteor discharging a train of smoke. It is treated as inauspicious. May be it was Halley's comet.

## VERSE 12

दीर्घपुच्छोच्छलत्कान्ति तत्केतुकपटात् ध्रुवम् ।  
कालेन दुष्णं<sup>1</sup> क्षिप्तं<sup>2</sup> क्षयायेव महीक्षिताम् ॥ १२ ॥

Surely under the pretence of emitting fleeting flashes from the tip of the long tail, the god of death had thrown down a blazing hatchet for the destruction of the kings.

## Notes

1. A club, mace, axe etc.
2. Dropped down, thrown below. The long tailed comet is likened to the sharp blade of a hatchet which the god of death had thrown down from the heaven.

## VERSE 13

मासद्वयं स्फुरन्नासीत् स व्योम्नि विमले सदा ।  
सदये हृदयेराशचिन्तौघोऽनिष्टशङ्कया ॥ १३ ॥

For two months it (the comet) flashed across the cloudless sky (thereby) making the compassionate heart of the Sultān heavy with myriad misgivings of (impending) misfortune.

## VERSE 14

अदृश्यन्त सदा श्वानो<sup>1</sup> विक्रोशन्त. पुरान्तरे ।  
शुचेव रुदिताक्रन्दा भाविविघ्नेक्षणादिव ॥ १४ ॥

Dogs were seen crying, weeping and whining without any break in the city on smelling the coming disaster.

## Note

1. It is believed that dogs foresee the impending calamity likely to befall and serve its advance notice by crying and whining unusually.

## VERSE 15

एकपक्षेऽभवच्चन्द्र<sup>1</sup> सूर्यग्रहण संस्थितिः ।  
एकपक्षमिवादात्<sup>2</sup> राज्यं राजविपर्ययात्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १५ ॥

As if to hand over the government to the one to be favoured through a coup, the solar and lunar eclipses were poised in the same fortnight.

## Notes

1. Lunar eclipse occurs on the full moon night, ie, Purnamāsī, while the solar eclipse takes place on the last day of dark fortnight, ie, Amāvasyā. Usually the two

eclipses do not occur in the same fortnight. This is very rare that the fortnight begins with an eclipse and also ends with an eclipse. This is considered very inauspicious—rather a warning about impending famines or untimely rains etc.

2. One side, preferred exclusively, partial, inclined to be favoured etc.

3. Change of government, coup d'état etc. The suggestion being that the government of the Sultān might be thrown out of power by force etc., or death.

#### VERSE 16

सूर्य संक्रान्तयः<sup>1</sup> क्रूरदिनेष्वाप्तास्तदा<sup>2</sup> विशाम् ।  
भाविक्कूरफलोत्पादसादचिन्तनं भीतिदाः ॥ १६ ॥

During these days the sun flitted from one zodiac house to the other on inauspicious days, (thereby presaging) unto people the terrifying thoughts of impending unsalutary effects (of this).

#### Notes

1. The Sun entering various zodiacs' signs such as Leo, Virgo, Saggitarius, Pisces, Gemini etc., which are twelve.

2. On the days thought to be inauspicious according to astrology.

#### VERSE 17

मन्निर्माताक्षयं यास्यत्ययं किमिति दुःखिता ।  
राजधान्यं<sup>1</sup> रुदच्छ<sup>2</sup> व्रतलोलूक<sup>3</sup>ध्वनिच्छलात् ॥ १७ ॥

"My architect would be no more" tormented with this (thought), the metropolis was in tears under the pretext of owl's howling under the (royal) umbrella.

#### Notes

1. The capital is Zaina Nagari here (cf. I, 5, 4).

2. It might denote umbrella like dome of the royal palace or a garden-umbrella. It might also suggest a place where, a safe perch was available. Howling of an owl is not taken to kindly by the people. It foretells devastation.

3. The owl is supposed to live in deserted and dilapidated old building and hence it predicts destruction.

#### VERSE 18

दृष्टोऽम्बरे द्वितीयस्यां<sup>1</sup> सुधांशुस्तत्र तैर्जनेः ।  
उत्तान इव भूपेशमन्यं सूचयितुं विशाम् ॥ १८ ॥

The people there (in Zaina Nagari) caught a glimpse of the dilated streak of the moon in the sky on the second day of the bright fortnight (in voluntarily) giving advance notice of another king (occupying the throne) to them.

## Note

1. Sighting the moon on the second day of bright fortnight is forbidden by astrology at least in some parts of the country. It forbodes disaster of every kind. However, this must be a local superstition as counting of the fortnight was always from the 2nd to the full moon and therefore sighting was essential.

## VERSE 19: FAMINE IN CENTRAL ASIAN KINGDOMS

अत्रान्तरे महाघोरमनावृष्टिकृतां भयम् ।  
उदभूदन्यदेशेषु<sup>1</sup> दुर्मिक्षोपद्र<sup>2</sup> वावहम् ॥ १९ ॥

In the meanwhile, the terrible scare, engendered by drought became the harbinger of the national distress in terms of famine and violence in other countries.

## Notes

1. In 1469 AD Central Asia was plagued by unprecedented famine.
2. An outrage, violence, a national calamity perpetrated by the ruler or famine, etc.

## VERSE 20

भिक्षुकानन्य देशीयान् प्रेतरूपानिवागतान्<sup>1</sup> ।  
दृष्ट्वापृच्छन्पस्ते च वार्तां तस्याब्रुवन्निति<sup>2</sup> ॥ २० ॥

Observing the people from distant countries asking for food hovering here in the form of ghosts, the Sultān-interrogated them and they had to unfold this (sad) tale to him.

## Notes

1. In the form of ghosts, the dead. One is referred to as a ghost, when for want of food one's body has been reduced to a skeleton.
2. V.l., इमाम् for इति, VVRI, p 79.

## VERSE 21

राजन् देशेष्वनेकेषु वृष्ट्याभावात् समन्ततः ।  
सर्वान्तकृतकाल इव दुष्कालः समुपस्थितः ॥ २१ ॥

O Sultān: on account of the rain playing truant in countries, more than one bad times are rife as if the God of Death has destroyed everything.

## Note

1. Central Asian kingdoms are probably referred to here

## VERSE 22

दुर्धिक्षेण प्रभवता मणीनां<sup>1</sup> सा महार्घता ।  
नीता नीचेन<sup>2</sup> साधूनामिव सर्वोपयोगिनाम् ॥ २२ ॥

Occurrence of famine depreciated the real worth of the gems as that of altruistic and virtuous souls is reduced by the low born.

## Notes

1. The gems prior to this famine used to be very precious, but now due to the non-availability of food even gems could not buy as much food as would suffice a starved person. Their real value had depreciated in terms of food.

2. Just as base—persons misrepresent or minimise the altruistic attitude of pious people.

## VERSE 23

भुञ्जते श्वादयोऽन्योन्यं पिशितं क्षुदुपद्रुताः ।  
तत्तच्छून्य गृहान्तः<sup>1</sup> स्थ निःशेषित शवव्रजाः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २३ ॥

The dogs and other (carnivorous beasts) distressed by acute hunger having swallowed the heaps of the dead bodies to the last in deserted houses, (now) began to eat the flesh of each other.

## Notes

1. The people had either moved to other places in search of food, or had died within their houses due to starvation. Hence the houses were deserted, as nobody was living in these.

2. The people died in vast numbers for want of food.

## VERSE 24. HINDUS WERE LIVING IN CENTRAL ASIA THEN

स्पृष्टोच्छिष्टतया दृष्ट प्रायश्चित्तादिनिष्ठिताः<sup>1</sup> ।  
क्षुधा द्विजवरा<sup>2</sup> देव प्रयाताः सर्वभक्ष्यताम् ॥ २४ ॥

O Sultān, the best of Brahmins seen (earlier) undergoing expiation and other rituals with steadfast devotion, for being polluted by mere touch, (now) feeling famished are taking everything that comes their way.

## Notes

1. Expiation, atonement for the sins committed, knowingly or unknowingly. In ancient Bhārata sacred injunctions existed about religious rites to be performed for the atonement of sins committed eg. murder, killing a cow, taking a forbidden food and other heinous crimes not having religious or social sanctity etc. (*Agni Purāna*, chapters 183, 184).

2. Puritans amongst the Brahmins are referred to here. It seems that Hindus with their castes intact, lived in the Central Asian countries in those days.

## VERSE 25

क्वापिविप्रस्त्रियस्तत्तदभक्ष्यान्वीक्षणाक्षमाः ।

पक्वान्नं सविषं भुक्त्वा स्वमन्यांश्च व्यसूनव्यद्युः<sup>1</sup> ॥ २५ ॥

At some places, the Brahmin ladies not inclined even to look at the forbidden victuals, committed suicide along with others by taking cooked food, mixed with poison.

## Note

1. Ladies are generally more orthodox than the men, hence they preferred death to taking food not permitted by the scriptures. Garlic, onions, red turnip, and mushrooms, etc., are often forbidden (*Manusmṛiti*, V, 5-15).

## VERSE 26

अवृष्टया वसति<sup>1</sup> त्यक्त्वा गते क्वापि मृते<sup>2</sup> जने ।

शून्या केन पुरग्रामा दृष्ट्वा<sup>3</sup> गजन् पदे पदे ॥ २६ ॥

Forsaking their habitats due to drought, or on account of (starvation) deaths; O Sultān: which ever town or village was not seen deserted (by us) at every step.

## Notes

1. In search of food going from place to place.
2. Death, actually due to starvation.
3. Seen, while on our way to seek asylum here in Kashmir.

## VERSE 27

प्रीति स्नेहं च दक्षिण्यं पत्न्यां पुत्रे पितर्यदि ।

कुक्षिभरिः<sup>1</sup> क्षुद्रतप्तो विस्मरत्ययनौ<sup>3</sup> जनः ॥ २७ ॥

The gluttons, tormented by hunger, forgot love for their wives, affection for the son and even uprightness for the parent in that (part of the) globe.

## Notes

1. Those used to or fond of eating to their fill, the gluttons.
2. Totally becoming negligent towards their wives, progeny and parents—whether they had taken anything or not. It may also mean that whatever little they had for food, these gluttons callously snatched from them.
3. यवनैः: would mean the foreigners. Apparently all this was happening in the Central Asian countries adjacent to Kashmir.

## VERSE 28: THE KING OF KHURĀSĀN ATTACKS IRAQ

खुरसानावनी शक्ने विक्रान्त्या<sup>1</sup> शत्रुभूमिगम्<sup>2</sup> ।

अन्नाभावाद्भवन्मित्रमपिषेणेन<sup>4</sup> निर्गतम् ॥ २८ ॥

The Lord of Khurāsān, your friend due to non-availability of cereals set out valiantly to subjugate his enemy militarily.

## Notes

1. With valour, bravery, boldness etc.
2. Iraq is probably meant here (cf, verse 29).
3. Sultān Buḡshāh's friend (cf, verses 1, 6, 22).
4. Approaching with an army, attacking.

## VERSE 29: SULTĀN OF KHURĀSĀN KILLED BY THE KING OF IRAQ

मेर्जासोसैदनामनं सुरत्राणं रणान्तरात् ।

इएक भूपतिर्बद्धावधीत्<sup>2</sup> कोटिबलान्वितम् ॥ २९ ॥

Mirza Abu Sayyid, the Sultān (of Khurāsān) (despite) his having an immense army was taken prisoner during the battle and then killed by the ruler of Iraq.

## Notes

1. The ruler of Iraq was Turkman, Hassan Beg, according to Persian chroniclers.
2. The date was AD 1469 as evidenced by Persian historians.

## VERSE 30

तस्यदुर्योधनस्येव<sup>1</sup> बद्धस्य हरणक्षणे ।

अभूत् संख्यान्तरेऽसंख्य तुरुष्क नृपतिक्षयः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३० ॥

Bound (in chains) like Duryodhana, at the time of his (Sultān of Khurāsān) being taken captive, innumerable Turks and chiefs laid down their lives in battle-field.

## Notes

1. Duryodhana was taken prisoner on the last day of the Mahābhārata battle—when Bhima injured his thighs with his mace (*Mahābhārata*, LXII, 4, 6).
2. Presumably Abu Sayyid's personal guards or vassals.

## VERSE 31: POLITICAL INSTABILITY IN CENTRAL ASIA

देशेबुद्धमूत दुष्काल बलाबलविपर्ययात्<sup>1</sup> ।

अन्योन्य नृप युद्धेन विघ्नो देव पदे<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३१ ॥



O! Sultān: by dint of sovereignty and servitude, (power and weakness) changing hands, very bad times have visited our country. The feuds of Sultāns with one another have multiplied impediments at every step.

*Notes*

1. Most unpredictable times. **when nobody** is sure whether the ruler might not be dethroned, killed etc. Yesterday's serf might seize the throne today. There was no political stability in Central Asia.

2. Freedom of going from one place to the other is restricted. **nobody** could say definitely in which Sultān's territory he was today and what would be his fate tomorrow.

VERSE 32: REFUGEES FROM CENTRAL ASIA COME  
TO KASHMIR

सुखप्रदं भवद्देशं श्रुत्वानादि समृद्धिभिः ।

आगतांस्तत्क्षमापाल रक्षास्मान् विक्षतान् क्षुधा ॥ ३२ ॥

Therefore, O! compassionate Sultān: having heard that your domain can provide all amenities (to us) due to its (glut of) food as also other sorts of affluence, we afflicted with hunger have come hither; (kindly) extend protection to us.

VERSE 33: REFUGEES GRANTED STATE-SUBJECT RIGHT

श्रुत्वेति वार्तामातां तां जानन्निवनिजप्रजाम्<sup>1</sup> ।

द्रव्यकोटि<sup>2</sup> ददौ राजा तदर्थैकरूणाकुलः ॥ ३३ ॥

Having lent ear to their tale of woe, the Sultān moved to pity for this very reason, treating them as his own subjects offered relief in cash and kind.

*Notes*

1. Treating them as his own subjects can also mean conferring on them all the rights as enjoyed by Kashmiris, Sultān's own subjects.

2. This word means substance, matter as well as money. Relief was offered to these refugees in kind—making the grains available, also in cash for purchasing other amenities.

VERSE 34: SOPORE COMPLETELY GUTTED

अत्रान्तरे स्वयंसिद्धकृतं<sup>1</sup> स्वय्यपुरं महत् ।

समस्तं बहिना दग्धं शून्यारण्यमिवाभवत् ॥ ३४ ॥

In the meanwhile, the big town of Swayyapur (Sopore)

founded by the great Suyya (perfected by his own self—the Sultān) was completely gutted by fire reducing it to a desolate forest.

*Notes*

1. This phrase can be explained in two ways:

(a) Suyya, the accomplished (*Siddha*) engineer, had founded this town (*KLRT*, v, 118). Reference to many supernatural beings (*Siddhas*) having come down to Kashmir during the reign of King Avanti Varman, is stressed by Kalhaṇa (*KLRT*, v, 66).

(b) It might also suggest that the town was perfected (*Siddha*) by the Sultān himself (स्वयं). From whatever shortcomings it was suffering earlier, were removed by the Sultān.

2. This town was built by Suyya in the time of King Avanti Varman (AD 855-883) christening it with his own name (*KLRT*, v, 118).

VERSE 35: REPOSITORY OF RECORDS GUTTED

क्रमारज्य<sup>१</sup>स्फुटत्प्राज्यराज्य तन्त्र<sup>२</sup> क्रियाकृतम् ।

भूर्जपाण्डादि<sup>३</sup> तत्रस्थं समस्तं भस्मसादभूत् ॥ ३५ ॥

The repository (of records) in which very important birch-leaf documents about the performance of the administrative (machinery) at Kramarajya were deposited, along with other relevant (offices) were completely reduced to ashes.

*Notes*

1. Sopore was the headquarter of Kramarajya hence every kind of administrative and other records of that district might have been deposited, in repository or record office there.

2. Administrative execution, performance, activity etc.

3. It seems that either the birch-leaf was still in use for writing, or very important information inscribed on birch-leaf was lying there for being preserved. May be it was a sort of record office.

Here *Bhāṇḍa* which means a container, a vessel, a treasure etc., can be taken as *Bhāṇḍāgāra*—a treasure-house of repository, etc.; as record office.

VERSE 36: IN ZAINAGIRI 1/7 OF PRODUCE FIXED AS REVENUE

प्राद्योजैनगिरि<sup>१</sup>क्षेत्रे सप्तमांशोऽत्र<sup>२</sup> भाविभिः ।

इतिताम्रमये पट्टे कल्पं यस्यां व्यधान्पः ॥ ३६ ॥

Future (monarchs) should receive one seventh (of the produce) as the revenue in this Zainagair region. The (content) of that royal edict was inscribed on a copper-plate in this manner.

## Notes

1. Jona Râja gives notice of this Puri—a minor city and says that it was founded on the pattern of Sopore (*JRRT*, verse 872).

2. Here the revenue was fixed at 1/7 of the produce. Apparently it was a favour, as at other places the revenue was levied at the rate of 1/4 of the produce (*TABAK*, pp 443-665).

Hassan does not describe this fire at Sopore but writes that Pandu Chak—the chief of Chaks, at Trehgam set the royal buildings in Zainagair to fire (*TAHS*, Persian, pp 193-194).

## VERSE 37

श्रीमाज् जैनोत्ताभदीनो ययाचे  
सर्वान् भूपान् भाविनो जैनगिर्याम् ।  
कष्टोत्पोट्य<sup>2</sup> स्वैर्धनैर्भूम्यात्र  
तस्या ग्राह्यः सप्तमांशो भवद्भिः ॥ ३७ ॥

“Illustrious Zain-ul-‘Âbidin would entreat the future Sultāns of his line that I have got the land levelled here and making it fit for cultivation from my own funds. (Therefore) you should take one-seventh of it (as revenue).”

## Notes

1. Literally means his own, belonging to Kashmir of his line. V.I तेशो याचे for ययाचे सर्वान् (*VVR1*, p 81). Both the readings fit the context.

2. The uneven land was bulldozed and consequently levelled by the Sultān so that crops would be sown in it. He also fed this reclaimed land by a network of water canals from Zainagair canal (cf. verse 38). It seems that there was a special concession in levying taxes on this land. Taxes on other property were different. Jona Râja writes that the Sultan requested the future Sultāns to impose 1/6 as the tax on the gold reclaimed from the sandy banks of rivers etc. (*JRRT*, verse 886).

## VERSE 38: ZAINAGAIR CANAL IMPROVISED

जलावतरणं<sup>1</sup> कृत्वा गिरीनुल्लङ्घ्य मत्कृतः ।  
पुण्यं<sup>2</sup> केतुरयंसेतुर्वर्धनीयः शुभेच्छया ॥ ३८ ॥

I have brought down water (to Zainagair) caring least for the (difficult terrain) of mountains. This water-way improvised by me (representing) the highest water-mark of virtue should be patronized with the desire of doing good (to the people).

## Notes

1. It means descent, coming down from a height. Here this Zainagair canal was carved through the mountains and brought down to levelled land of Zainagair pargana.

2. Offering water to living beings, manes and land is a righteous act. Accordingly, the instructions (given by the Sultān) were drafted by Bakhsheesha and inscribed on a copper plate which was not consumed by the fire at Suyyapore the seat of administration.

#### VERSE 39

इत्थं ताम्रमये पट्टे श्रीवक्त्रा<sup>1</sup>शीशनिर्मिता ।  
प्रशस्तिरासीत्ता<sup>2</sup> राजधानीवह्नी<sup>3</sup> ररक्ष च ॥ ३९ ॥

In this manner, instructions (given by the Sultān) were drafted by Shri Bakasheesha and inscribed on a copper plate containing the Royal proclamation which could not be consumed by the fire at the capital.

#### Notes

1. Obviously these guide-lines had to be elaborated in Persian hence the name Bakasheesha might be *Bakhsheesh* (a Persian word for charity). It could have been the department of *waqf* or charities, or he might have been holding the office of an order-writer at the Royal Court (*Farman Navees*).

2. It means an eulogy, praise, panegyric, guide-lines, instructions etc. which suits the context here.

3. Fire is treated as the god to whom oblations are to be offered first (*Rgveda*, 1,1,1). It enjoys prerogative over other gods. It might also connote the Sultān's awe inspiring effulgence which would compel everyone to submit to it. It might suggest that the draft was authenticated by the Sultān. It became a royal *Farman* issued from the capital for the information of all and sundry in general and future Sultāns in particular. The fire did not consume this copper plate, more so, gave it protection. Here the word राजधानी would suggest the seat of administration or headquarters, or government offices, etc.

#### VERSE 40: THE FIRE DID NOT SPREAD TO GOVERNMENT OFFICES

प्रदीप्तः<sup>1</sup> सुकुतोत्कर्ष इवास्यैव महीपतेः ।  
अरक्षद् राजधानीं तां मध्यस्थामपि<sup>2</sup> पावकः ॥ ४० ॥

As if (gaining) effulgence through the eminence of Sultān's good actions, the fire, did not engulf this seat of administration (government offices) though (the building was) within its full grasp.

#### Notes

1. Though being a galloping fire, it did not spread to the headquarters.

2. The town was in middle, within the reach or grasp of the fire. The repository was only burnt, other offices were saved.

## VERSE 41: SOPORE GIVEN A FACE-LIFT IN THE WAKE OF FIRE

श्रुत्वादग्धं पुरं<sup>1</sup> राजा शुचा दग्धो विदग्धधीः ।

अचीकरन्नवं<sup>2</sup> तूणी<sup>3</sup> चारु दारुमयैर्गृहिः ॥४१॥

The Sultān of chastened intellect, having heard that the town (Sopore) was consumed by fire, (hence) tormented with grief, adorned it immediately with beautiful houses made of wood having given it a face-lift anew.

## Notes

1. Sopore town is meant here.
2. Adorned, embellished, gave a face-lift.
3. Immediately: not wasting any time so that people do not suffer for want of accommodation.
4. The houses, presumably barracks, made of wood could be constructed easily without any delay. The building material used in the medieval times in Kashmir, the land of forests, was wood, while in the ancient Hindu period it was stone.

## VERSE 42: SEAT OF ADMINISTRATION SHIFTED FROM BARAMULLA TO SOPORE

राजावराह<sup>1</sup> मूलीयां राजधानीं पुरकृताम्<sup>2</sup> ।

आनीय<sup>3</sup> विदधे तत्र राजवासं<sup>4</sup> नवं महत् ॥४२॥

The Sultān shifted the earlier seat of administration at Varāhmūla (Baramulla) (to Sopore) and built a spacious and brand new royal residence there.

## Notes

1. It is Baramulla of today. It was known as "Varāha Kahetra" also (*KLRT*, vi, 186).
2. Baramulla represented the Dvār, Gate-way to Kashmir, hence was a very important town strategically during Hindu period and later on also.

It seems that the Sultān had continued with the old practice of stationing administrative offices of the district there. But now to forestall the danger posed by "Chaks" he shifted these to Sopore. It was nearer to their haunt "Trehgam" than Sopore.

3. Brought, shifted etc. The headquarter of the pargana were shifted from Baramulla to Sopore, the central place of this whole district.

4. It might either mean the royal residence, the guest house for the Sultān when he would visit this district, or the buildings housing the administrative departments of the district.

The serial number of this verse should have been thirty three, since Śrīvara treats Sopore as the seat of authority, from verse thirty four onwards.

## VERSE 43: THE NEW SECRETARIAT BUILT THERE

तन्त्रायक<sup>1</sup> नृपागारं<sup>2</sup> सेतु<sup>3</sup>मत्तोष्णितं नवम् ।

क्रमराज्यत्रियो हारं सारं<sup>4</sup> सुव्यपुर् व्यधात् ॥४३॥

(The Sultān) made Suyyapur the crest-jewel of the necklace of the goddess Lakshmi presiding over Kramarājya (Kamraza) renovating the (old) bridge and (constructing) a secretariat for administering (this whole district).

*Notes*

1. For administrative purposes, for governing, ruling etc.
2. It might suggest the royal quarters Shēh-Ghadi or the secretariat in modern parlance.
3. The old bridge over the Jhelum connecting both sides of Sopore might have given way, so a new more strong bridge was constructed in its place.  
It might suggest that the new secretariat was located on the other side of the river on way to Handwara, hence the bridge—a link with it needed to be renovated.
- Perhaps we can safely infer that previously administrative offices at Sopore were situated on this side of the river. The Sultān during the fight with his son Ādam Khān stationed his troops on this side of the river for this very reason, so Ādam Khān had to cross the river to confront royal forces (cf, I, 3, 91).
4. Essence, the source of power etc., Sopore as district headquarters is meant here.

VERSE 44: SECRETARIAT BUILT ON THE OTHER SIDE  
OF THE RIVER AT SOPORE

सेतु मत्तोम्बिते तत्र गृहश्रेणि मणिब्रजे ।  
राजधानी स्फुरच्छत्रा धत्ते मध्यमणिश्रियम् ॥ ४४ ॥

There (on the other side of) the newly constructed bridge, the rows of buildings like the jewels sent forth a shine in between which the dome of the district headquarters attained the stature of central magnet.

*Note*

1. It will connote a magnet here to which every one was drawn. It might suggest that just where the bridge touched the otherside, the secretariat was built being the middle of Sopore situated on both sides of the river.

VERSE 45

मानुष्यकं<sup>1</sup> नववसन्तमिवाप्य हृद्यं  
लोका लता इवा लसन्ति नवे वनेऽस्मिन्<sup>2</sup> ।  
तद्बान्धवा रुचिकरा इव पुष्पपूगाः  
स्थित्वा दिनानि कति चिच्चतुरं<sup>3</sup> प्रयान्ति ॥ ४५ ॥

The people donning mortal frame like the cherished vernal season having arrived afresh, emulate the (behaviour of) creepers lending lustre to this garden quite new to them. Its (creeper's) near

and dear ones in the form of captivating wealth of flowers, give it company for a few days and then wither away quickly.

#### Notes

1. Human form, manhood, manliness, mortal frame, etc. It is essentially ephemeral, not ever lasting.
2. In this world people resemble short-lived flowers in a garden.
3. Instantly, quickly, without losing any time.

#### VERSE 46

विहगेष्विवजात पक्ष' पुगः  
 पुरुषेषु प्रभवेद् कुटुम्बवर्गः ।  
 सुखगत्युचितोऽपि तत्प्रतिष्ठो  
 न चिरं तिष्ठति कार्यकष्टदायी<sup>2</sup> ॥ ४६ ॥

The progeny of people multiplies like the growing plumes of birds. Their aching body though favourably and firmly inclined towards happiness, does not last long.

#### Notes

1. The family of a man grows like the plumes of a bird is also very dear to him.
2. The old though having every convenience at their disposal they have to quit after all. Senility in respect of people and losing feathers in respect of a bird grown old. Herein Śrīvara tries to build a background for describing the worries of the Sultān prior to his final exit.

#### VERSE 47: SENIOR QUEEN BREATHS HER LAST

अत्रान्तरे दिवं याता<sup>1</sup> सा बोधा<sup>2</sup> खातोनमिषा ।  
 श्रीमत्सेदान्वयोदन्वच्चन्द्रिका<sup>3</sup> नृपतिप्रिया ॥ ४७ ॥

During those very days Bodhā Khātoon, the veritable moonshine of the ocean of illustrious lineage of Sayyids, beloved of the Sultān, departed for heaven.

#### Notes

1. Persian historians give 870 Hijri—1465 AD, as her date of death. She died five years before Buḍshāh.
2. According to Persian chroniclers, *Bahārīstān-i-Shāhi* and Hassan she was the daughter of Sayyid Muhammed Bahiqi and her real name was Tāj Khatoon. On becoming the queen she was called Makhdoom Khatoon meaning the Head Queen or the queen in whose service every body was. This does not sound her actual name but an honorific expression. Herein Śrīvara gives her name as "Bodhā Khātoon"—which seems to be a title rather than the actual name. *Bodhā* might be "Boḍ" (Kashmiri) the senior queen or in Sanskrit बृद्ध (senior-most). As also on the analogy of her husband Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn being called "Boḍ Shāh" or Buḍshāh—the tallest of the Sultāns.

Her grave, located in Mazāri Bahāud-Dīn Sāhib at the foot of Hari Parbat carries an epitaph which works out to the date 870 Hijri, ie, 1465 AD. Ziarat of Mukhdoom Sāhib is quite above this grave on the hill itself. May be, she was a disciple of this saint and earned the name *Makhdoom* on this score.

3. Sayyids came to Kashmir along with Sayyid Alī Hamdāni having fled from Central Asia due to the fear of Taimur the Lame (*TAHS*, II). Later one more clan of Sayyids called *Bahiquis* entered Kashmir in the reign of Sultān Sikandar (1389 to 1413 AD) along with Šyed Mohammad Hamdāni. To this Bahīqi clan of Sayyids, Bodha Khātoon belonged [*Bahāristān-i-Shāhi* (*MES*)]. Joṇa Rāja has said that the Sultān married two daughters of the Raja of Madra (*JRRT*, verse 85)—Sialkot, Jammu. Śrīvara writes that the Sultān married only one daughter of Madra Rāja, she was the sister of Manak Deva. She gave Ādam Khān, the eldest prince, to the Sultān. Ādam Khān did not succeed Budshāh due to his follies.

May be being of the Sayyids origin she, Bodha Khātoon, commanded more respect.

4. Darling of the Sultān, very much loved by him.

#### VERSE 48: QUEEN'S DEATH UNBEARABLE FOR THE SULTĀN

यत्संयोगं सुखं प्राप्य सोऽज्ञासीत् सफलं वयः ।  
तद्वियोगाद्दिदग्धाङ्गः सर्वं शून्यमिवाविदत् ॥४८॥

Having derived extreme pleasure in her company, he (the Sultān) could realize that his life had become rewarding (but) on being separated from her, with his body in agony, he did experience an all-pervading vacuum (confronting him).

#### VERSE 49: QAYUM-UD-DIN MADE RULER OF LĀR

न्यस्तो राजेन्दुना सिन्धुदेशे<sup>1</sup> यो गुणसुन्दरः<sup>2</sup> ।  
स्वत्राणेन<sup>3</sup> सुरत्राण पदे प्राणाधिक<sup>4</sup> प्रियः ॥४९॥

The moon among Sultāns (Budshāh) for his own safety, also being very dear to him than his own life, had conferred Sultānship of the territory of Sindh, on whom for his beauty of virtues.

#### Notes

1. Presumably the territory of Lār *parganā* wherein Sindh flows.

2. Beauty of virtue.

3. This territory has been always a source of trouble for the central authority at Srinagar. In the later Hindu period the chieftains over there had become very strong (*JRRT*, verse 81).

Perhaps to quell their insurgence he sent the most dependable relation of his to that place.

4. Obviously the Sultān's nephew (sister's son) (cf, verse 50), hence very dear to him.



## VERSE 50

श्री क्यामदेन<sup>1</sup> सिन्धीशं भागिनेयं सुतोषमम् ।  
एवग्रहिम<sup>2</sup> नाम्नातं हतं युद्धेऽशुणोन्नुपः ॥ ५० ॥

That illustrious Qayūm-ud-dīn, the ruler of Sind, the Sultān's nephew, like a son to him, was killed by one Ibrāhīm in the battle. This report reached the Sultān.

## Notes

1. Some historians have taken it to be Qayām-ud-Dīn (Dr R. N. Singh, *Śrīvara in Hindi*, p 197).
2. Actual identity of this person has not been made very clear here.

## VERSE 51

परमाशवासनोपायः सुखे दुःखे च योऽभवत् ।  
तदा तन्मरणं राजा भुजच्छेदमिव विदत् ॥ ५१ ॥

He (Qayūm-ud-dīn) was an expedient for procuring highest kind of solace (to the Sultān) in his joy and sorrow. Hence, his death was (as painful) to the Sultān as the amputation of an arm.

## VERSE 52: DEATH OF DARYĀ KHĀN

दर्यावखानादि<sup>1</sup> मृतौ यामून्मन्त्रि सभा नवा ।  
लीलामित्रैः<sup>2</sup> समं सर्वा सा ययौ स्मरणीयताम् ॥ ५२ ॥

(Consequent upon) the death of Daryā Khān, the newly constituted council of ministers could only be remembered (as the host) of toy-friends.

## Notes

1. Daryā Khān has been mentioned by Jona Rāja also (*JRRT*, verse 963). He seems to have been favourite of the Sultān.
2. Pretending friendship, but not actually the Sultan's well wishers.

It might also connote that new council of ministers was devoid of talent, as this word can be translated as Toy Friends also. They were only meant for playing with and not for giving counsel in any case.

## VERSE 53: DEATH OF MĪR KHUSH AHMED

त्सन्मदो विभुप्राप्त कार्योत्पादित सौहृदः ।  
तत्कालं प्रमये यातो दाता मेखुरासदः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५३ ॥

The generous Mir Khush Ahmed, revelling in his pride, becoming a pet (of the Sultān) by his performance, at the height of power, died during those very days.

*Note*

1. No other reference to his name is available from anywhere else. He seems to be a favourite counsellor of the Sultān.

**VERSE 54: THE SULTĀN FEELS VERY MUCH DEJECTED**

दुर्वर्तिमन्वहं मृण्वन्नातौ जननिजां प्रजाम् ।  
स्वसुतान्योन्यं वैरेण चिन्तातप्तो नृपोऽभवत् ॥ ५४ ॥

Hearing bad news every day, knowing the plight of his subjects, the Sultān felt all the more exercised over the animosity of his sons for one another.

**VERSE 55**

अतीतान् बान्धवान् भृत्यान् सखीन् प्राण समानस्मरन् ।  
स्वात्मानमविदद् राजा यूथप्रष्टमिव द्विपम् ॥ ५५ ॥

Remembering the dead relatives, attendants and friends who were as dear to him as his life-breath, the Sultān thought himself to be an elephant having been isolated from its herd.

**VERSE 56: HĀJĪ KHĀN HAS BLOOD PRESSURE**

अत्रान्तरे राजसूनोर्हान्यखानस्यरक्तजम् ।  
अस्वास्थ्यमुदभून्नित्यं मद्यपानाति सेवनात् ॥ ५६ ॥

During those days Hājī Khān the prince, due to excessive and non-stop drinking, was afflicted with sickness born of blood (pressure).

*Note*

1. Excessive drinking resulted in high blood pressure. *Tabdāt-i-Akbari* holds that Hājī Khān was afflicted with malignity (pp 444-669).

**VERSE 57**

शौर्यादायीनिधेः सूनोरति प्रियतयातया ।  
रान्यसौख्यलता' राज हृदयाने फलाचिता ॥ ५७ ॥

Due to the extreme fondness for his son a repository of valour

and forbearance—the creeper of the secure government had borne fruit in the heart-like garden of the Sultān.

*Note*

1. The Sultān was confident that the kingdom would be safe in the hands of Hājī Khān who would prove a worthy successor to him.

**VERSE 58: HĀJĪ KHĀN IN THE GRIP OF  
MALADY**

तदाभून्नीरस प्राया तदस्वास्थ्यदवाग्निना ।  
अथानीयान्तिकं दृष्ट्वा सविकारं भृशं कृशम् ॥ ५८ ॥

Then his (Hājī Khān's) not keeping good health blighted (that very heart-like garden) as if with a forest-fire. So the Sultān calling him (Hājī Khān) to his presence seeing him very much emaciated and infested with disease.

**VERSE 59**

स्नेहादित्यग्रवीत् राजा पुत्रं मन्त्रिसभान्तरे' ।  
अहोपुत्रफलं लब्धं दोषासक्तेन पानजम् ॥ ५९ ॥

The Sultān in the presence of council of ministers out of affection addressed his son thus: "Alas my son, you have reaped the consequences accruing from addiction to excessive drinking."

*Note*

1. The Sultān gave this piece of advice to his son in the presence of his ministers, so that it could have double effect on him.

**VERSE 60**

येनेदृशी-दशा प्राप्ता चन्द्रेणैव क्षयावहा ।  
स्वायपिक्तीहितःकोऽपि भृत्यस्ते' नास्ति रक्षकः ॥ ६० ॥

Which has reduced you to a state of the waning moon. None of your sycophants serving their own ends had been good to you, (and now) cannot save you (also).

*Note*

1. Those who lived on the charity of Hājī Khān and also flattered him with the sole purpose of pleasing him or satisfying his ego.

## VERSE 61

पानव्यसनसंसक्तं यस्त्वामुपदिशत्यलम् ।  
कियन्तो वत न भोगाश्चमत्कारकरास्तव ॥ ६१ ॥

(Otherwise) they, (the sycophants) should have exhorted you to desist from this evil of excessive drinking. Alas! whichever pleasures working wonders, were not at your command.

## VERSE 62

किमेकेनभवान् ग्रस्तो विषयेण पतङ्गवत्<sup>1</sup> ।  
अस्मिन् जन्मनि सामग्री येयं प्राप्तान्यदुर्लभा ॥ ६२ ॥

Why are you obsessed with this sole sensual pleasure like a moth, (as if) you are in possession of such a commodity which is not available to others.

## Note

1. Like the foolhardy infatuation of a moth for a flame which costs it life.

## VERSE 63

प्राप्ता नैवेदृशी भूयो<sup>1</sup> यदि दुर्व्यसनो भवान् ।  
किं चिरन्तनवृत्तान्तैर्वृष्ण्यादीनां<sup>2</sup> समीरितैः ॥ ६३ ॥

If you persist in your questionable habits, you will never avail of the position you have presently gained. What use can be there by reiterating emphatically the age-old tale of *Vṛṣṇis* and others.

## Notes

1. The inference being that Hāji Khān would die and never succeed the Sultān.
2. Reference being to Yādavas who due to excessive drinking were exterminated (see also ZRRT, I, 298).

## VERSE 64

मघेनातनुधूपाला दृष्टनष्टा विचार्यताम् ।  
तथाहिसबलारातिगणतुल समीरणः ॥ ६४ ॥

Ponder over (the fate) of such a host of kings whom you have seen getting annihilated by drinking just like a host of very strong enemy or dishevelled cotton by the wind.

VERSE 65: JASRATHA KHOKHAR DIES EARLIER THAN  
THE SULTÂN

मल्लेकजस्रथो<sup>1</sup> योऽभून्मद्रज्याप्तिनिधानभूः ।

तेनापि दृष्टं दृष्टं प्राङ्<sup>2</sup> नात्याक्षीत् तत् स्ववञ्चकः ॥ ६५ ॥

Malik Jasratha who was the valued foreground for my attaining Sultânship, sometimes back signed his death warrant by not desisting from drinking though aware of its bad effects.

Notes

1. Jona Rāja has referred to him as a collaborator of Shāhi Khān in snatching the throne from Sultān Āli Shāh (JRRT, verse 732).

Śrīvara mentions him as having killed Sultān Āli Shāh thus making Shāhi Khān's ascent to the throne possible (ZRRT, I, 3, 107).

2. Earlier, some time back etc., which means Jasratha died before the Sultān. N.B. The nine ślokas numbering 57 to 65 above, have been printed in the VVR/ texts (pp 84-85) as ślokas 57 to 64 (eight only). Both no 57 and 64 have 3 lines each instead of 2. The editor there has probably done so, for the sake of convenience in understanding the meaning.

VERSE 66

तस्य पुत्रोऽभवच्छाहिमसोदः<sup>1</sup> प्रमये पितुः ।

सर्वहारितवान्<sup>2</sup> क्षीवः कुर्वन्नुन्मत्तचेष्टितम् ॥ ६६ ॥

His son Shāh Masud addicted to drinking and indulging in frantic activities was obliged to lose everything after the death of his father.

Notes

1. The son of Jasratha Khokhar, Shāh Masud by name.

2. He did not succeed his father. Malik Gul snatched the throne from him in 1446 AD when Jasratha died. Jasratha breathed his last some 25 years before Sultān Budshāh (Tabaqāt-i-Akbari, III, 434).

VERSE 67

सप्त प्रकृति<sup>1</sup>धात्वादयं तन्मल्लेकंपुरं<sup>2</sup> महत् ।

कुपुत्रव्यसनाद् यातं देहवत्<sup>3</sup> स्मरणीयताम् ॥ ६७ ॥

That mighty city or state of Malik (Jasratha) which was a conglomeration of seven constituents, could only be remembered as ephemerally as the mortal body, because of the vices of the unworthy son.

Notes

1. Constituents, basic components.

2. The comparison has been made between the human body and the city or the state. The body is made up of seven constituents, ie, (i) Chyle or lymph; (ii) blood; (iii) flesh; (iv) fat; (v) bones; (vi) marrow; (vii) semen (*Amara Koṣa*, III, 3, 64). Elsewhere the seven constituents enumerated are as: (i) earth; (ii) water; (iii) ether; (iv) fire; (v) air; (vi) mind; and (vii) intellect (*Vijñāna Bhairava*). However, the Śaivas (and Śrīvara was a Śaiva), added *ego* to these seven, and called it *Aṣṭavagraha* (*Tantrāloka*).

On the other hand the metropolis or the state is also supposed to contain seven constituents, which have been enumerated as: (i) suzerainty; (ii) continuity; (iii) multiplying friends; (iv) treasury; (v) people; (vi) forts; (vii) army (*Manusmṛti*, VII, 155).

In this context alternate rendering can be:

That mighty empire of Malik Jasratha (conforming) in abundance to seven constituents (for preservation of the kingdom) tottered only to be remembered as a (mortal) body due to the vices of his unbecoming son.

3. Body is mortal, only the soul within it is immortal (*Gīta*, II, 18).

#### VERSE 68

मद्यं यल्लोहितं वर्णं बिभर्ति चषकान्तरे ।  
जाने पानं प्रवृत्तानां हृद्भक्तेनैव जायते ॥ ६८ ॥

Wine on assuming red-colour in a goblet contains, forsooth, the mixture of the blood coming from the heart of such addicts.

#### VERSE 69

न मद्येनामुनातुल्यः शत्रुस्ति हि देहिनाम् ।  
सेवितो हितकृच्छ्रमृषं हन्यति सेवितम् ॥ ६९ ॥

For those endowed with a body, this wine is unequalled enemy. A foe properly handled turns into a friend, but wine excessively fondled (taken) brings death.

#### VERSE 70

मैरयमदमत्ता' यां कुर्वन्त्यनुषितां क्रियाम् ।  
उन्मत्तोऽपि न तां कुर्याद् यत् स तस्मात् पलायते' ॥ ७० ॥

Having lost their head by (taking) this intoxicating beverage (the tipsy) indulged in such improprieties which even a lunatic will not own, since he would like to shun these (too).

#### Notes

1. Wine, intoxicant. *Surd* and *meraya* are liquor, often mentioned in Buddhist literature (*PED*).

2. The point made here is that becoming tipsy is superlunacy.

## VERSE 71

मद्य रूपेण वेतालः<sup>1</sup> प्रविश्य हृदयं क्षणात् ।  
न केषां हरते प्राणान् सहासरदित<sup>2</sup> क्रियम् ॥ ७१ ॥

In the form of wine, the devil (*vetāla*) enters the heart and instantly despatches everybody to death with his (alternating) outbursts of laughter and wailings.

## Notes

1. A ghost occupying a dead body, a goblin, a devil (*MW*, I, 14).
2. Wailing when the person is dead, laughter when he still possesses breath. Even the vice-versa can also be true. Because the ghosts are said to utter full-throated laughter when a person dies, as it means another abode for them.

## VERSE 72

विषेण वामुना पुत्र पीतेनाप्तेदृशीदृशा<sup>1</sup> ।  
पाहि स्वं त्यज सावद्यं मद्यमद्यप्रभृत्यतः ॥ ७२ ॥

O my son: you have attained this state (of health) by drinking this poison (known as) wine. Be careful about yourself and from today renounce taking this unwholesome drink.

## Note

1. Hassan has also alluded to this unrelenting addiction of Hājī Khān to liquor (*ZAHS*, Persian, p 205).

## VERSE 73

न चेत् त्यजसि मूढस्त्वं व्यसनार्पितमानसः ।  
अचिराद् वञ्चितो लक्ष्म्या प्रक्षीणायुर्भविष्यसि<sup>1</sup> ॥ ७३ ॥

If you do not abjure this (drinking), you will act like a fool with your mind pinned on vice; before long you will be jilted by royal prowess, and will be cut short in life.

## Note

1. This prediction of the Sultān proved correct when Sultān Haider (Hājī Khān) in consequence of heavy drinking slipped on the pavements, was confined to bed and finally died (*ZRRT*, II, 169, 170).

## VERSE 74

श्रुत्वेति राजपुत्रः स खपितुः संमता गिरः ।  
लवदाशा<sup>1</sup> विना मद्यं पिबामीत्युत्तरं व्यधात्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ७४ ॥

The prince having heard the well-meaning words of his parent gave this reply: "I shall not take to drinking without your orders".

*Notes*

1. *VVRI*, p 86, gives v.l. which reads: एजत्रच प्रपूति न etc. "O king! from today onwards, not..."

2. But Hājī Khān did not keep his word (cf, note on verse 73 above).

VERSE 75

दीप्युज्झितं क्षीणदशं मन्दमस्नेहभाजनम् ।  
सुतं दीपमिवैश्यापूद् भूपो मोहत'मोहतः ॥ ७५ ॥

On seeing his son, devoid of effulgence, looking like a lamp with a shrinking wicker, a faint flicker and bereft of oil, the Sultān was enveloped by a darkening embarrassment.

*Note*

1. The Sultān could not make up his mind as to what his future course of action would be, like the *Moha* of Arjuna (*Gita*, II, verse 52).

VERSE 76

उपदेशगिरोऽप्रियाः श्रुतौ  
गतभाग्येषु भवन्ति जन्तुषु ।  
विपदभ्युदये पुनः स्मृता  
न मयाश्रावि किमित्यरुन्ददाः ॥ ७६ ॥

For those whose stars are inauspicious, the words of advice sound unsavoury. (But when) the troubles raise their head, they once again bring this (advice) to their mind, and feel out of sorts for not having lent their ears to it (at that time).

VERSE 77

अथस्वावसथं गत्वा सोऽपिबद् यन्त्रितोऽपि सन् ।  
विषवद् व्यसनान्धानामुपदेशो निरर्थकः ॥ ७७ ॥

Then repairing to his apartment, he (Hājī Khān) though restrained, yet took to drinking. For those blinded by venomous vices, advice is of no avail.

VERSE 78: ĀDAM KHĀN IS CALLED TO KASHMIR  
BY MINISTERS

तावता<sup>1</sup> स्नेहमाशङ्क्य राजपुत्रेऽतिमन्त्रिणः<sup>2</sup> ।  
आदम खानमानिन्युर्गूढ<sup>3</sup> लेखैर्दिगन्तयत्<sup>4</sup> ॥ ७८ ॥



Smelling lack of affection for the heir-apparent (Hāji Khān) the ministers for this much (intransigence of his) going too far called Ādam Khān back from the outer periphery (of Kashmir) through secret messages.

#### Notes

1. This much intransigence on the part of the prince not to pay any heed to the advice of the Sultān.
2. It can connote, "transgressing their usual duties", going to extreme etc.
3. Actually without the knowledge of the Sultān, keeping him in dark, secretly, surreptitiously (cf, *TABAK*, pp 444-670; cf, *TAHS*).
4. From the kingdom on the outer periphery or boundaries of Kashmir ie, Rajouri, Bhimber, Lorin, Poonch etc. The author tells earlier that Ādam Khān had fled to Sind Valley (*ZRRT*, I, 3, 114). It seems he went to Poonch from there (cf, verse 81 later) since Prince Hassan (son of Hāji Khān) for giving him fight went to Poonch from Rajouri.

#### VERSE 79

अनुजागमनत्रासाद् यथायातोऽग्रजः पुनः<sup>1</sup>  
तथाग्रजागम त्रासादनुजो याति देशतः ॥७९॥

"On arrival of the younger brother earlier, as the elder, out of fear, had fled (the country), in the same way, when the elder brother has appeared on the scene, the younger will leave the country because of his fear.

#### Note

1. Reference is to the battle of Sopore when the Sultān called Hāji Khān back from self-exile and Ādam Khān bolted away for fear of him (*ZRRT*, I, 3, 113-114).

#### VERSE 80: ĀDAM KHĀN IS NOT RESTRAINED FROM ENTERING THE STATE BY THE SULTĀN

एतत्कलहनिश्चितः<sup>1</sup> प्राप्स्यत् स्यां निजमण्डले<sup>2</sup>।  
इति बुद्ध्या प्रवेशेऽस्य कृतोपेक्षो नृपोऽभवत् ॥८०॥

Feeling complacent by this feud (between the two brothers), "I shall not move from my metropolis". With this notion in mind, the Sultān did not mind his (Ādam Khān's) entry (into the state).

#### Notes

1. The Sultān thought that one of two brothers will leave out of scare for each other. Hence he did not feel disturbed. Actually the Sultān was not in favour of their collusion with each other. It would pose a formidable threat for him. His

strategy was to play one brother against the other so that he would remain unscathed.

2. So, the Sultān did not move out from his capital, to cry halt to the advance of Ādam Khān into the state.

VERSE 81: PRINCE HASSAN COMES TO POONCH  
FROM RAJOURI

हज्यखानात्मजः श्रुत्वा तं पितृव्यं समागतम् ।

युयुत्सुः<sup>1</sup> प्राप पर्णोत्सं<sup>2</sup> त्यक्त्वा राजपुरीं<sup>3</sup> ततः ॥८१॥

Then the son of Hājī Khān (Prince Hassan) having heard that his uncle had arrived, desirous of giving him battle, came to Poonch having left Rajapūrī.

Notes

1. Since Hājī Khān would lose heir-apparentship now, his son Hassan wanted to check his uncle Ādam Khān from entering Kashmir.

2. This can be construed in two ways: either Prince Hassan came to Kashmir via Poonch, or Ādam had been there in his self-exile and Hassan wanted to nip the evil in the bud by cutting off his reinforcement etc.

3. Prince Hassan might have been at Rajouri for a holiday. Relations between the Sultan at Kashmir and Hindu ruler at Rajouri were very cordial (ZRR, 1, 3, 40).

VERSE 82: NEPHEW AND UNCLE FIGHT  
AT ANDERKOT

आन्दोट 'कोटमात्रित्य प्रातृपुत्रपितृव्ययोः<sup>2</sup> ।

कश्मीरगमनद्वेषादभवद् युद्धमुद्धतम् ॥८२॥

Out of avarice for his (Ādam Khān's) having repaired to Kashmir, a fierce battle took place between the nephew and the uncle (both) having camped at Anderkot.

Notes

1. Śrīvara have used the Kashmiri equivalent of *Abhyantara*—Ander—here. Ādam Khān had by now reached Anderkot—the old capital of Kashmir. Prince Hassan swooped upon him while coming from Poonch for giving Ādam Khān a hot chase.

2. Nephew is Prince Hassan and uncle is Ādam Khān.

VERSE 83: TACIT APPROVAL OF THE SULTĀN FOR ARRESTING  
THE ADVANCE OF ĀDAM KHĀN

दृष्टं हसनखानस्य क्षमित्वं बलशालिनः ।

विना पैतामहीमात्रां<sup>2</sup> नगाद् देशोत्सुक्येऽपिसन् ॥८३॥

The forbearance of valourous Hassan Khan was appreciated though being eager (to preserve the integrity) of his country, he

did not confront (Ādam Khān) without the (prior) approval of the Sultān.

*Notes*

1. Hassan Khān was not rash in taking such step, though the circumstances warranted that he should act very quickly.

2. It seems that the Sultān in order to foment trouble between the two brothers did tacitly order Hassan to give a fight to Adam Khān. That had been the virtual game for his survival. In verse 80 above we learn that he did not involve himself directly in this fight.

VERSE 84 TACTFUL HĀJĪ KHĀN EMPLOYS THE POLICY  
OF APPEASEMENT TOWARDS  
ĀDAM KHĀN

अग्रजेऽभ्यन्तरं<sup>1</sup> प्राप्ते द्वारस्थे लक्षितेऽपितुः<sup>2</sup> ।

हाज्यखानोऽनुजयतो युक्त्या साम प्रयुक्तवान्<sup>3</sup> ॥८४॥

Hājī Khān in the company of his younger brother (Behram), for purposes of expediency employed the policy of appeasement, on having noticed that the eldest brother (Ādam Khān) had been admitted into the inner apartments (of the palace) and while standing on the threshold was being probed by the father (Sultān).

*Notes*

1. Gaining admittance into the private apartments of the palace meant that Ādam Khān had the support of the Sultān at his back.

2. The Sultān wanted to ascertain first as to what his intentions were.

3. Hājī Khān seeing the father and his eldest brother in collusion, opted for appeasing Ādam and were not quarrelling with him. This gesture from tactful Hājī would eventually frustrate the designs of the Sultān to play one brother against the other. It was more or less a virtual defeat for the Sultān.

VERSE 85

दिव्यं मौसुलदेवेन<sup>1</sup> ते कृत्वापि परस्परम् ।

नात्यजन् हृदयाद् वैरं कार्ण्यमौणा<sup>2</sup> इवांशुकाः ॥८५॥

Even though taking a solemn oath of Prophet Mohammed between themselves they could not banish animus from their (respective) hearts like blackness from a woollen garment.

*Notes*

1. The *Deva* of Muslims (ie, the Prophet Mohammed) is meant here. He alone possesses the tallest position in Muslim hierarchy—presumably *Deva* of Hindu conception.

2. It is not possible to wash off black colour or blots from woollen garments. It

is a common saying in Hindi that a black cloth can never be washed white and dyed in any other colour.

VERSE 86

अहो गुहायामेकस्यां<sup>1</sup> प्राप्ता सिंह चतुष्टयी<sup>2</sup> ।  
एतदन्योन्यवैरोत्यो<sup>3</sup> नाशोऽयं समुपस्थितः ॥ ८६ ॥

“Oh! four lions have appropriated the one and the only one den. The destruction emanating from their malice towards each other is waiting in the wings (for us).

Notes

1. The den is capital here. No two lions can afford to live in the same den. They will fall out and try to eject each other.
2. The four lions are the three brothers and the Sultān.
3. All the four are at logger heads with each other as has been made sufficiently clear earlier.

VERSE 87: FRIENDSHIP OF CONVENIENCE ON THE PART OF SULTĀN AND HIS THREE SONS

गङ्गो देशस्यखानानां परिवारस्य मण्डले ।  
सर्वीस्तान् मिलितान् दृष्ट्वा प्रोवाच<sup>1</sup> सकलोजनः ॥ ८७ ॥

Having observed, the Sultān, the country, the Khāns (three brothers) and their family-circles all united with one another—the people reacted without any exception (thus).

Note

1. The people by this friendship of convenience on the part of the Sultān and his sons could easily infer that this seeming friendship will explode into disastrous enmity very soon. They felt that this apparent friendship of theirs will not presage good for the country. Their innate animus will surface any day.

VERSE 88: THE SULTĀN WOOS HIS YOUNGEST SON BEHRAM

अत्रान्तरे द्वयोर्दृष्टं कनिष्ठं श्रेष्ठमात्मजम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
विचार्यानीय<sup>2</sup> बहाम् खानं स विजनेऽब्रवीत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ८८ ॥

In the meanwhile (the Sultān) thinking his youngest son Behrām Khān to be averse to both (Ādam and Hājī) and the best (among the three) called him to a (meeting) in camera and addressed him thus:

Notes

1. The best amongst the three brothers, who would listen to him and also act according to his wishes.

2. Having considered this, having pondered over it. The strategy was now to play the youngest against his two elder brothers, or at least have one on his own side.

3. In his private chambers where none was around, no retinue, no advisers or ministers etc. The Sultān wanted to keep this a guarded secret from others for reasons quite understandable.

## VERSE 89

बहाम ज्येष्ठोभ्राता यं द्विष्टो दुश्चेष्टितैःकृतः<sup>1</sup>।  
स्मृतपूर्वापकारेऽयं हितो जातु न ते भवेत्॥८९॥

O Behram: this (your) elder brother (Hājī) through his unbecoming actions has turned a vicious profligate. Bring to (your) mind the wrongs (done by him) in the past, he can never be your well wisher.

## Note

1. His drinking and fighting with father are alluded to here.

## VERSE 90

अन्यं<sup>1</sup> यं सेवसे भक्त्या दुष्टशाग्रस्त मानसः<sup>2</sup>।  
स कथं त्वं सुतं त्यक्त्वा कार्ये<sup>3</sup> त्वां समपेक्षते॥९०॥

(Your) mind seems obsessed with false hopes since you have elected to serve somebody (Hājī) other than your ownself with devotion. How will he consider you (for the responsible) jobs overlooking his own son (Hassan).

## Notes

1. The Sultān wants to make Behrām realize that he should serve his own ends and not be a tool in the hands of Hājī.
2. Behrām is sustaining himself on wrong notions, false hopes that Hājī will give him proper treatment.
3. Responsible posts of authority can be inferred from this.

## VERSE 91: BEHRĀM ADVISED TO PIN HIS FAITH ON THE SULTAN ALONE

तस्माद् त्वं पैशुनाचारं<sup>1</sup> मा कुर्या भविदुःखदम्।  
मदेकं शरणं भूत्वा कालं नय ततोऽचिरात्॥९१॥

Therefore, do not indulge in bad conduct which will turn to be an investment for future trouble. Go on passing time taking me as your sole refuge, thereby very soon...

## Note

1. पिशुन means carrying tales from one quarter to the other. But it also means bad, foolish, Nārad like activities.

VERSE 92: BEHRĀM EXHORTED TO BE EQUIDISTANT  
FROM HIS BROTHERS

प्राप्स्यन्ति संपदः सर्वा न्यायमार्गस्थितस्य<sup>1</sup> ते ।

अन्यथा तैल तप्तायः<sup>2</sup> कटाह फरणीनिभः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ९२ ॥

Treading this path of justice will endow you with the every kind of wealth and riches. Otherwise you will resemble the half-burnt fish in an iron frying pan bubbling with boiling oil.

## Notes

1. Herein the Sultān wishes that his third son Behrām should stick to decorum and fairplay while dealing with his brothers. He should not indulge in calumny and injustice.

2. V.I. तप्ततैलमयः instead of तैलतप्तायः (cf, VVRI, p 88).

3. Perhaps this word presumably not of Sanskrit origin. "Fer" connotes partly burnt fish in Kashmiri. Such kind of fish as also "dry fish" Hogada are relished by the Kashmiris.

Partly burnt fish will take no time in getting consumed in the pan bubbling with red-hot oil. Such would be the case with Behrām also. The prophetic words of the Sultān did come true eventually when Behrām was blinded and thrown into the prison along with his son Yusuf by Hassan, son of Hājī. Behrām died in that very prison. Later on Yusuf was also done away with (ZRRT, III, 99, 107).

## VERSE 93

तद्वैरानल मध्यस्थो मुग्ध दग्धो<sup>1</sup> भविष्यति ।

श्रुत्वेति स पितुर्वाक्यं मुग्धधीरब्रवीदिदम् ॥ ९३ ॥

"O Simpleton: Sandwiched between their (Ādam and Hājī's) enmity, you will be roasted completely". Having heard the words of his father, the Simpleton replied thus:

## Note

1. Behrām was actually between the devil and the deep sea, hence had to be very prudent and not act like a fool.

## VERSE 94

देव मे पितृषत् स्नेहं ह्यज्यखानः करोत्यलम् ।

रोष्यः स एव मे भाति तं त्यजे नैव जातुचित् ॥ ९४ ॥

"O Sultān: Hājī Khān has given enough affection to me like a

father. I feel that he deserves to be served. Hence I shall never forsake him.

## VERSE 95

रक्षिष्यति<sup>1</sup> स मां काले कोऽन्योऽस्मदधुनाबली ।  
श्रुत्वेतिभूपः प्रोवाच कुन्दस्तं कृतनिश्चयम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ९५ ॥

“He (Hājī) will extend protection to me at the (opportune) time, who else is now as powerful as he?” Having listened to it, the Sultān cut to quicks and replied with firm determination.

## Notes

1. Actually Hājī on becoming Sultān Haider bestowed a Jagir on Behrām (ZRRT, II, verse 10).
2. The Sultān having made up his mind, goes on condemning his third son, since cajoling him had been of no avail.

## VERSE 96

हा धिक त्वां मां<sup>1</sup> परित्यज्य पिताऽन्योऽङ्गी<sup>2</sup> कृतस्त्वया ।  
दृष्टिर्<sup>3</sup> विहिता मूढ प्रोत्सङ्ग्य कचनं मम ॥ ९६ ॥

“Alas: Fie on you having discarded me, you repose confidence in some one else as your father; O! fool transgressing my words, the observation you have made...

## Notes

1. The Sultān. Behrām's real father.
2. Some one else is, Hājī Khān.
3. This word has been used with a purpose. It means observation, conclusion, attitude etc. as also the ocular power, eyesight also. Śrīvara prepares the reader in advance about Behrām losing his eyes (cf, ZRRT, III, 107).

## VERSE 97

तस्या नाशोऽचिरेणैव<sup>1</sup> भविष्यति न संशयः ।  
इत्युक्त्वा प्रतिमुच्यामुं स्वान्तरेवमचिन्तयत् ॥ ९७ ॥

“Will without any further delay get destroyed, there is no doubt about it”. Having addressed (Behrām) thus, he (the Sultān) dismissed him from his presence, (but) began to ruminate over this (waywardness of his sons) in his mind.

## Note

1. “You will before long lose your eyesight” can be another entendre of this line.

Actually Śrīvara has reproduced verbatim this dialogue the Sultān had with Behrām when the latter was thrown into prison and also blinded by Hassan, son of Hājī later (III, verses 88-97).

**VERSE 98: THE SULTĀN BEMOANS  
THE WORTHLESSNESS  
OF HIS SONS**

अहो प्रदीप्तोन्मत्तोऽमी जाता विसदृशाः सुताः ।  
त्रयोऽमी दहनागारादिव हा भस्ममुष्टयः ॥ ९८ ॥

What a wonder that such unseemly sons could be born to me, who am endowed with lustré. All the three (sons of mine) are handfuls of ashes got out of a burning oven.

**VERSE 99: THE SULTĀN SCARED  
OF HIS SONS**

अयोम्या दीप्ति रहिताः काष्ठाः<sup>१</sup> कृत्यवनिष्ठिताः ।  
कदाचिद् विजने राजा सुतानिष्ट विराङ्कितः<sup>२</sup> ॥ ९९ ॥

Once the Sultān when alone had anticipated the harm his sons—worthless, devoid of brilliance, as (life-less) as a (dry) piece of wood standing in a ploughed field—would do to him.

*Notes*

1. In a ploughed land the quality seed comes to life immediately but dry and unqualified pieces of wood though standing for long there in the ploughed land can never show any sign of life in them.

2. The Sultān felt scared about his sons who would do him any wrong any time.

**VERSE 100**

अधुना करणीयं किं मयेति व्यक्तमब्रवीत्<sup>१</sup> ।  
तत्समक्षं बुधा<sup>२</sup> येऽपि तत्प्रसङ्गाद् बभाषिरे ॥ १०० ॥

“In these circumstances, now, what should be my strategy?”—thus (the Sultān) said aloud. Whoever men of wide experience and (worldly) knowledge were there in front of him, he asked thus in that very context (of his sons).

*Notes*

1. Within the hearing, aloud.

2. The Sultān sought the opinion of his counsellors who were in know of ups and downs of the life.



VERSE 101: MINISTERS REPORT THE SULTÂN TO  
NOMINATE A SUCCESSOR AMONGST

रजन्नुत्साद्यते<sup>१</sup> देशो राज्यलुब्धैः<sup>२</sup> सुतैस्तव ।  
एकस्यैव निजं राज्यं किं नार्पयसि योहितः<sup>३</sup> ॥ १०१ ॥

O Sultân: the country is losing its image through the (internecine confrontation) of your sons coveting to take over the sovereignty. Why do you not bestow this kingdom on any one of **those whom** (you might think) your well wisher?

*Notes*

1. Going down, destroyed etc.
2. Each one of his three sons would like to become Sultân.
3. Whom the Sultân thinks to be his friend, well wisher, etc.

VERSE 102

व्याकुलत्वं<sup>१</sup> विशां येन तव न<sup>२</sup> स्याच्चभूपते ।  
तत्रापि माणिक्यदेवः<sup>३</sup> श्रुत्वासुं प्रबलं श्रिया ॥ १०२ ॥

O Sultân: by (this unbecoming conduct of your sons) the country feels distracted; why not you also? Having heard this Māṇikya Deva (said), "that among those (of your sons) the one who possesses irresistible prowess...

*Notes*

1. The country is in tight jacket, despondent, etc.
2. This will naturally make the Sultân also sad, since he was very benevolent towards his subjects.
3. Presumably one of the counsellors from non-Kashmiri stock. He might have been from Mādra—Jammu—Sialkot, a relation of the Sultân from his wife's side (JRRT, verse 857).

VERSE 103

वैरो स्याद्येन<sup>१</sup> देशस्य सर्वनाशोऽचिराद् भवेत् ।  
इति श्रुत्वाब्रवीत् पुत्रस्वभावेक्षणदक्षधीः<sup>२</sup> ॥ १०३ ॥

"For this very reason will turn out to be the enemy of the country presaging total doom very soon." Having heard this (the Sultân) of sharp intellect observing the behaviour of his three sons replied thus:

*Notes*

1. The one having edge over other brothers in terms of valour, riches etc will

be a formidable contender for the throne and might even oust the Sultān, thus spelling doom for the country.

2. The conduct, behaviour, attitude etc. of his sons.

**VERSE 104: THE SULTĀN'S VERDICT: THAT BEING IMBECILE  
ĀDAM KHĀN CANNOT RUN THE GOVERNMENT  
EFFICIENTLY**

ज्येष्ठः श्रेष्ठोऽस्तित्वस्य कार्पण्यं<sup>१</sup> येनसेवकाः<sup>२</sup> ।

न सन्ति तादृशा<sup>३</sup> येषां राज्यं दाढ्यमवाप्नुयात् ॥ १०४ ॥

The eldest (Ādam Khān) is the tallest (of the three) but being imbecile, he cannot avail of (the services) of each (devoted) civil servants who would make the kingdom secure and firm.

*Notes*

1. This word has many shades of meanings. It means compassion, pity as in the *Gita*, 7. It also connotes imbecility, rashness, undependability etc.

2. Civil servants administering the state.

3. Such devoted organs of government machinery. The point being that Ādam Khān's attitude being unpredictable, no civil servant would give his best to the government.

**VERSE 105: HĀJĪ KHAN IS SPEND-THRIFT**

मध्यमोऽतीव दातास्य प्रद्युम्नाचलं<sup>१</sup> संनिभम् ।

शुभ्रं चेत् स्याद् व्ययान्तस्य कर्ममात्रोऽवशिष्यते<sup>३</sup> ॥ १०५ ॥

The intermediate (son) Hājī Khān is spend-thrift of the highest order. If he be in possession of (heap) of riches (as towering) as the Pradyumnāñcal (Hari Parbat) through (indiscriminate) spending he shall not spare even a penny (to fall back upon).

*Notes*

1. This word can also convey the sense of being generous, over-zealous in giving aims etc.

2. प्रद्युम्नाचल, this is another name for Sharika—Shaila or Hari Parbat.

3. "Karṣa" is a weight of gold or silver equal to 16 *Mashas*.

Herein we shall have to allude to the Kashmiri saying for a spend-thrift who has burnt his boats—"He has not laid by anything even to scratch with". *Karṣa* means to scratch also.

May be Śrīvara had this saying in mind here.

**VERSE 106: BEHRĀM KHĀN IS EVIL MINDED**

कनिष्ठो दुष्टधीः<sup>१</sup> पापनिष्ठोऽस्मादभिरात् ।

निव्य स्यात् तत्तुष्टश्रेष्ठं कने कर्मणि नोक्तिम् ॥ १०६ ॥

The youngest (Behrām Khān) has evil intentions and is given to vice, and through him this (kingdom) will be written off in no time. (Hence) I do not consider any one of my sons brilliant enough (to be) eligible (to become the Sultān).

*Note*

1. The Sultān's spite for Behrām Khān is quite understandable. He had tried to woo him to his side (cf, verses 88-93 earlier) but he did not oblige.

VERSE 107: THE SULTĀN DISMISSES THE IDEA  
OF HANDING OVER SULTĀNSHIP  
TO ANYONE OF HIS SONS

मया तावत् स्वयं राज्यं कस्मा अपि न दीयते ।

गते मयि बलं' यस्य स प्राप्नोत्विति मे मतम् ॥ १०७ ॥

My considered opinion is that I shall not hand over myself the Sultānship to any one (of my sons) and shall (rule) myself for the time being (till I am alive). After I am gone, the one (who) possesses strength will acquire it, this is my opinion.

*Note*

1. The one brother who can prevail upon his other brothers—equal contenders for throne—with his might will naturally become the Sultān.

VERSE 108: THE SULTĀN CONFIDENT OF PRESERVING  
HIS REPUTATION BY CONTRAST  
TO THE (MIS)RULE  
OF HIS SONS

महवो न मरिष्यन्ति' यदि तन्मम को गुणान्' ।

शसिष्यति यतः स्थित्वा द्वयोर्भेदो'हि लभ्यते ॥ १०८ ॥

If there be no general massacre in consequence of the adverse conditions (engendered) by the two (brothers), obviously at logger heads with each other, then only my (Sultān's) virtue will be recounted.

*Notes*

1. When the two brothers along with their forces will confront each other for appropriating the throne, people will definitely die in great numbers. The Sultān has Adām and Hājī—two brothers in his mind.

2. The virtues of the Sultān were his utmost concern for his subjects, to provide them every comfort and convenience. The Sultān thinks that he will regain his stature by contrast to the bad rule of his sons. People will only then appreciate as to what he was doing for them. They will pine for the days when he was their Sultān.

3. Disunity, falling-apart, animus, etc.

VERSE 109: DARKNESS BY CONTRAST MAKES  
THE LIGHT ALL THE MORE  
LOUDER

ध्वान्तं पतेद्यदि न दिक्षु जनस्य दृष्टि-  
र्नश्येन चेद्यदि मुषन्ति न तस्कराद्याः ।  
सङ्कोचमेति गुणवान्<sup>1</sup> यदि नाम नासौ  
जानाति यो दिनमणिं<sup>2</sup> परलोक्यातम् ॥ १०९ ॥

If the darkness does not prevail on all sides, if the eye-sight of the people is not impaired (by the darkness), if the robbers and other (vandals) do not indulge in theft (under the cover of darkness), then only people will realise that the jewel of the day (the Sun) has set.

*Notes*

1. It can be rendered like this also:

"If the virtuous do not feel diffident"—since during night they shall have to contend with many bad things. During bad-rule the advice from the men of eminence is not taken seriously by the self-centred sovereign, hence they elect to keep away from such an unworthy ruler for fear of being insulted etc.

2. The day with the effulgence of the Sun, all round gains in prestige takes place in contrast to the darkness of night. Good rule-shines all the more in the background of bad rule.

VERSE 110

स्वकीर्येणार्जितं राज्यं योजितं स्वधिया मया ।  
कुपुत्रैर्नाशितं सर्वं परस्परविरोधिभिः ॥ ११० ॥

I (the Sultān) have gained this kingdom with my own valour, have harnessed it (to the welfare of people) by my own intellect. My unworthy sons not seeing eye to eye with each other, have ruined it beyond repairs.

VERSE 111

सप्ताङ्गं<sup>1</sup> धातु संबद्धं<sup>2</sup> राज्यं देहमिवोर्जितम् ।  
दोषैरिवैतैः पुत्रैर्मै त्रिभिः<sup>3</sup> संदूषितं नु यत् ॥ १११ ॥

Like the body fully saturated with the (seven primary) elements, I have carved out my kingdom with seven essential supplements (in full attendance). (But) these three sons of mine have contaminated it (body) with three ailments.

*Notes*

1. The seven essential departments of a kingdom are: (i) The sovereign; (ii) the

council of ministers; (iii) state; (iv) forts; (v) treasury; (vi) army; (vii) allies (*Kautilya Arthashastra*, VI, 1). The Sultān's kingdom was in perfect health, along with these seven essential requirements.

2. Refer I, 7, 67 notes.

3. The three ailments are Wind, Phlegm, and Bile (*Daśa Kumāra Caritam*, 160). When these three invade the body simultaneously, it can be destroyed without delay.

VERSE 112: MINISTERS OF THE SULTĀN ARE  
THIRD RATE PEOPLE

तत्त्वास्थमासादयितुं शक्ताः पथ्यचिकित्स्या<sup>1</sup> ।

मन्मन्त्रिणोऽगदंकर<sup>2</sup> न सत्त्यद्यतने<sup>3</sup> क्षणे ॥ ११२ ॥

Such physicians who are proficient in restoring it (kingdom) to health by prescribing dietic-treatment, (or) my ministers offering (good) advice, are not available to me at present.

Notes

1. पथ्य is proper diet. By regulating diet of the patient—what to eat and what not to eat, thus banishing the ailment. *Pathya* also means an advice, a counsel etc. also.

2. Ministers of such high calibre as to advise the Sultān on matters of government would have saved the kingdom from disintegration. Such well meaning ministers were a very rare commodity then. That is the lament of the Sultān.

VERSE 113: THE SULTĀN HAS NO REGRETS  
AT THE FAG END OF  
HIS CAREER

पोकता घोगाशिषरं शास्त्रीतकव्यविनोदनेः ।

वयः सफलतां नीते कार्यं किमपि नास्ति मे ॥ ११३ ॥

I have for long enjoyed the entertaining diversions offered by scriptures, poetry and literary treatises. I have successfully lived my life and nothing is in arrears for me (now).

VERSE 114

देशस्य यावत्पुत्पत्तिर्नवा तत् त्रिगुणा<sup>1</sup> मया ।

संपादिता प्रजास्नेहात् कुल्याकर्षण<sup>2</sup> युक्तिभिः ॥ ११४ ॥

Out of my affection for the people I have made the produce of the country grow three fold than that it was before, by improvizing (a network of) canals.

Notes

1 Jona Rāja has also referred to the glut of food and other necessary articles

during the reign of the Sultān (*JRRT*, verse 817). He has used the word *Subhikhya* for it which is still used by Kashmiris in that very connotation.

2. Both Jōṇa Rāja and Śrīvara refer to the canal-system for irrigation purposes introduced by the Sultān.

VERSE 115: LAND GRANTS FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES  
MADE BY THE SULTĀN

सर्वदर्शनरक्षायै<sup>1</sup> पात्राण्या<sup>2</sup>लोच्य सर्वतः<sup>3</sup> ।

प्रतिपद्य शुभेकाले भूर्नवा<sup>4</sup>धर्मसात्कृता<sup>5</sup> ॥ ११५ ॥

For giving (meaningful) protection to all (religious) philosophies, having made a hunt for such deserving persons (of eminence) all over, on an auspicious hour, I have made an endowment of land grants for religious purposes to keep these (religious institutions) going.

Notes

1. The point of view, way of life, attitude, these all emanating from religious injunctions. For Muslims institutions of *Waqf* and for the Hindus *Dharmārtha* respectively were started.

2. The talented persons who were qualified to nurse such institutions.

3. Having made a survey all around, within and outside Kashmir.

4. Land grants, endowments in terms of land which would plough back regular income to such institutions for keeping them healthy. नव will mean 'new'. These institutions should not suffer for want of funds.

5. धर्मसात्कृता for the Muslims *Waqf* and for the Hindus *Dharmārtha* are meant here obviously.

VERSE 116

सच्छिद्रमधुना<sup>1</sup> राज्यं वदने रदनोपमम् ।

तुदति प्रत्यहं तस्मात् तत्त्यागेन सुखं मम ॥ ११६ ॥

Now, this kingdom has developed fissures like the cavities of the teeth in a mouth which give excruciating pain every day. Therefore my happiness (hinges) on renouncing it (kingdom).

Note

1. Integrity and solidarity of the country has suffered a jolt. Its ruination is on cards, so to say. The kingdom is in the threat of being **dismembered**.

## VERSE 117

चौराणामिव<sup>1</sup> दीपोऽहं येषामक्षिगतोऽस्म्यहम् ।  
अचिरान्मद् गूढस्थित्या<sup>2</sup> ते स्युस्तुशयार्दिताः ॥ ११७ ॥

I am as if a lamp for the thieves, having penetrated into their very eyes. They will be stung with penitence very soon, (on remembering) the solid state of affairs (during my rule).

## Notes

1. The exploiters, those who want to make hay while the sun shines do not like the Sultān's rule, since he does not allow them to indulge in such bad practices.

2. In course of time when there will be quarrels, a free for all, even such exploiters will be put to harm, looted etc. Hence they will yearn for the days when the Sultān was on the throne and there was justice and fair-play everywhere. Their life and property was safe.

## VERSE 118

स्थास्यन्ति<sup>1</sup> न चिरं तेऽपि मद्द्विष्टा ये सुतादयः<sup>2</sup> ।  
सकलाः<sup>3</sup> प्रलयं यान्ति भुक्त्वा धान्यफलं न किन् ॥ ११८ ॥

My sons even along with their (respective factions) swearing enmity for me will not get established (here) for all time to come. Do not all perish after enjoying the fruits of their affluence?

## Notes

1. The Sultān feels grieved that his line may not survive through the bad actions of his inimical sons.

2. 'Others' will mean here the faction loyal to each brother.

3. V.I. सकलाः (VVRI, p 92).

This will mean locust and the sentence will read as follows: "Do the locust not bring in destruction (*pralaya*) after eating the grain and fruit?"

## VERSE 119: THE SULTĀN FED UP WITH HIS LIFE

युक्त्या<sup>1</sup> निर्याणमेवास्य जीवत्येच्छामि साम्प्रतम् ।  
येन सर्वे भविष्यन्ति पुत्राः पूर्णं मनोरथाः ॥ ११९ ॥

In these (adverse) circumstances, I would like that my life should ebb away under one pretext or the other, by which (alone) my sons will feel their ambitions rewarded in full.

## Note

1. The Sultān would like to convey that he would like to die such a death which would not imply that he yielded to the pressure of his sons. It should not seem death by design but a natural one due to illness, senility etc.

## VERSE 120

श्रुत्वेत्युक्तिं सद्दुःखस्य नृपतेस्तेऽब्रुवन् पुनः ।  
देवेदं चेन्मते तत्किं कोशोऽयं<sup>१</sup> रक्ष्यते महान् ॥ १२० ॥

Having heard this pathetic plaint of the Sultān, they (the courtiers) enquired again, O! Sultān: if this be your considered view, then why do you guard your great treasure (so vigilantly)?

## Note

1 The accumulated wealth which the Sultān did not wish to part with or divide amongst his sons.

## VERSE 121

परलोकस्य पाथेयं<sup>१</sup> कुरु जीवन् स्वयं व्ययम्<sup>२</sup> ।  
तदाकर्ण्यैव विद्राजा युक्तमुक्तमिदं वचः ॥ १२१ ॥

While living spend it as you like (serving you) as the virtual kitbag for (journey to) the other world. Having heard this, the Sultān exclaimed that a very apt query had been posed to him.

## Notes

1. This word means 'provisions for the journey', provender, money and provisions for a journey. Actually Śrīvara has translated the Persian word *Zadi-Rāh* into Sanskrit here, which connotes water and food taken for a journey.

2. Spending in charity, for giving alms to the deserving, etc., by which the Sultān would amass virtue which will stand him in good stead on his way to the other world. *Savāb* عَزَاب he would earn by mitigating the 'Azāb عَزَاب of the masses with his benevolence, charity, generosity, etc., towards them.

## VERSE 122

किन्तु नृण्वन्तु मे हेतुं यत् कोशोऽयं धृतोभूतः<sup>१</sup> ।  
मयि प्रमीते मद्राज्यं यत्पुत्रः कोऽपि चेत्स्तमेत् ।  
मत्संचयेन<sup>२</sup> तृप्तः स प्रजायाः स्वत्यजिष्यति<sup>३</sup> ॥ १२२ ॥

Notwithstanding (your assertion) please lend your ear to the reason (which goads me on) to stand guard over my coffers during my life time. On my breathing the last, some son of mine will seize the kingdom, feeling satiated with what I have hoarded, he will not snatch riches from the people.

## Notes

1. While the Sultān holds his body, is alive.

2. The wealth amassed in heaps by the Sultān.

3. One of his sons as the next Sultān will not fleece the people, snatching their



wealth, belongings, etc. It may also mean levy exorbitant taxes etc. which would be beyond the means of the people. This is one of the nicest ideas in the mind of the Sultān. He is not worried about his own provisions for the journey, rather about the well-being of his subjects.

VERSE 123: SUBJECTS MORE DEAR TO THE SULTĀN  
THAN HIS SONS

पुत्राधिका प्रजेयं मे रक्षणीया विधाति या ।  
तस्याः पीडां भविष्यन्ती<sup>१</sup> हरिष्ये संचयादतः ॥ १२३ ॥

Since I feel that my subjects are more dear to me than my sons, hence these heaps of wealth will mitigate their future troubles.

*Note*

1. The future troubles will mean the harrassment, the Sultān's successors will inflict for the people by extorting money from them (cf. verse 122 supra).

VERSE 124

पूर्णो विलासान् कुरुते प्रजेशो  
रिक्तः प्रजापीडनमातनोति ।  
तृप्तो मृगेन्द्रो रमते गुहान्त-  
र्भुङ्क्ते क्षुधार्तो वनजन्तुवर्गम् ॥ १२४ ॥

The lord of the people (the king) feels exceedingly relaxed (when) in full possession (of untold riches) but when empty (handed), multiplies the worries of his subjects; (just as) the Lord of the beasts (the lion) with full (belly) revels in his den, but vexed with hunger devours the wild-creatures in legions.

VERSE 125

मत्संचयोपकारेण भाविमिः पीडनोष्णितैः ।  
आयतिङ्गं<sup>१</sup> वदन्निमी करिष्यन्ते न<sup>२</sup> गर्हणाः ॥ १२५ ॥

Through the benefaction of my hoarded (wealth), the people, relieved of their future miseries and those in know of the (mood of) the times in the offing will acclaim (my provident nature) and not heap cavil on me.

*Notes*

1. Those who can feel the pulse, know in advance as to what is going to happen
2. The Sultān is sure that his people will always adore him for what he did for them even after his death.

## VERSE 126

पूर्णाद्राजगृहादने पूर्णाः स्युरुपकारकाः  
नयन्त्यब्धेर्न चेतोयं भूमौ वर्षन्ति किं घनाः ॥ १२६ ॥

From the royal residence (with wealth) to its fullest capacity, other benefactors should also feel gratified. How could clouds shower rain on the earth, had not these clouds carried water from the ocean?

## VERSE 127

इयं या सामग्री भवति नृपतेः सर्वरुचिरा  
घनेनैकेनैव प्रभवति चिरं स प्रभवता ।  
फलं पत्रं पुष्पं समुदयति यद्यद्विट्पिनो  
घरण्यन्तर्भूतो जनयति तदेको रसगुणः ॥ १२७ ॥

The most pleasing tools of a king are the wealth accumulated for long, contributing (meaningfully) to his (king's) authority (over the people). Fruit, foliage and flowers whatever the trees display, is (actually) the product of the one and the only one edifying property of sap generated within the earth.

## VERSE 128

सुदीर्घं दर्शिनो वाक्यं श्रुत्वेति पृथिवीपतेः ।  
आसंसत्त्वोद्य'कर्तारस्तदग्रे ते निरुत्तराः<sup>२</sup> ॥ १२८ ॥

Having heard such words from the Sultān endowed with immense foresight, those managing the affairs (of the kingdom) at his (the Sultān's) bidding, (the counsellors) could not say anything in reply to him.

## Notes

1. The exact purport being that these ministers were appointed by the Sultān at his pleasure and for his convenience. They had to execute what the Sultān would like them to do.

2. Hence out of reverence for the Sultān they did not prolong the argument. It might also suggest that the Sultān's defence of guarding his riches for a nobler end in view (verse 123) convinced them thoroughly. But it also must not be forgotten that the Sultān's argument was very weighty. This argument of Sultān totally silenced them. Also it indicated that the Sultān was more solicitous about his subjects and less about himself.

## VERSE 129

राजवेश्मनि पयोनिधौ च या  
 वाहिनीभृति<sup>1</sup> पदार्थ पूर्णता<sup>2</sup>  
 जीवना<sup>3</sup>पूजनयाचकाचिता<sup>4</sup>  
 सैव तस्य सुषमा<sup>5</sup>समाहिता ।। १२९ ।।

To the king's quarters, repairs a **fullfledged** army, and to the sea, repair the rivers (and empty themselves in it). In this capacity for fulfilling the needs, to which repair the supplicants, wanting the maintenance of their lives, is concentrated the beauty (of the two).

## Notes

This is rather a complicated verse. There is a **स्लेष** (double entendre), on the word वाहिनीभृति, one standing for the river and the other the army. The capacity for fulfilling the needs (पदार्थ पूर्णता) of the people, is the object of the verse and it is in that, that is concentrated the beauty of the two, the king's house (राजवेश्मनि) and the sea (पयोनिधि).

1. It means an **army** in the context of royal quarters, and it is a river in the context of the sea.

2. पदार्थपूर्णता is the capacity to fulfill the needs of those who come to it, its adjuncts.

The adjuncts of an army division, and one division has 81 elephants, 81 chariots, 243 horses, and 405 foot soldiers. Obviously it marched in formations of nine. A **fullfledged** army consisted of many such divisions.

The adjuncts of the river are the life-giving fish, the irrigation facilities, and transport etc.

3. Maintenance of the life.

4. Harnessed, collected, gathered.

5. सुषमा is beauty, splendour, etc.

The point made here is that the king gives protection to his subjects by protecting them from foreign aggression by his army, and the rivers serve the society in many ways.

The greatness of these two, army and the river and sea, lies in their services to the people. And in this lies their beauty.

## VERSE 130

यद्यदुक्तं नरेन्द्रेण स्मृत्वा तत्तत् फलेक्षणात् ।<sup>1</sup> ।  
 न कःशंसति शोकार्तस्तदीयां दीर्घं दर्शिताम् ।। १३० ।।

Whatever was said by the Sultān, recapitulating that on witnessing its aftermath; who will not painfully admire his (acumen of) being far-sighted.

## Note

1. Reference to Haider Shāh's (Hājī Khān) and the rule of other Sultāns is obvious here when anarchy, communal tension reigned supreme here (in Kashmir).

## VERSE 131

सचिवाः सेवकाः पुत्रमित्र सम्बन्धिबाण्डवाः ।  
दुःखापनोदं कुर्वाणः केऽपि नासन् महीभुजे ॥ १३१ ॥

The counsellors, civil servants, sons, friends, relatives and kinsmen (all these) tried to use various means for mitigating the despondency of the Sultān.

## VERSE 132

राजा गर्भगृहान्तः स्थः शृण्वन् पुत्रस्थितिमिथः ।  
कृतकप्रेमवैराद्यां न बहिर्निरयाद्रिया ॥ १३२ ॥

Reports of the means replete with avarice (employed) by his sons feigning artificial love, would reach the Sultān in the sanctum sanctorum (of his palace); (so) out of fear, he would not (dare) come out (of it).

VERSE 133: THE SULTĀN SPENDS NIGHTS IN  
LEARNING THE MEANS OF  
FINAL EMANCIPATION

संसार दुःखशान्त्यर्थं मत्तो व्याख्यानवेदिनः ।  
अशृणोद् गणरात्रं स श्री मोक्षोपाय संहिताम् ॥ १३३ ॥

For cultivating complete indifference towards worldly ailments, he (the Sultān) heard from me—the ace-interpretor— (lessons) from the manual (dealing with) the means of final emancipation for several in succession.

## Note

1. Since the manual was in Sanskrit hence for explaining its inherent import the services of a scholarly interpreter were imperative. Śrīvara gives this honour to his own self. The Sultān was also very close to him hence he must have preferred him to other scholarly pandits for his own pleasure and also safety. May be, another pandit would have come under the influence of his adversaries and would do any harm to him (the Sultān).

A well arranged treatise, a manual, a compilation. Probably there was a book bearing the title *Moekshopāya*. This is not extant now. Actually it will mean the collection of sermons on obtaining final emancipation. May be it was culled from various Sanskrit books on theology—*Rāmāyana*, *Mahābhārata*, *Yogavāsishtha*, *Bhagvad Gītā* etc., and the various philosophical treatises etc. It might have been compiled by Śrīvara himself for the use of the Sultān to which we get a hint in the next verse.

## VERSE 134

स्वकण्ठस्वरभङ्ग्याहं<sup>१</sup> तद् वृत्त<sup>२</sup> परिवर्तनैः ।  
व्याख्यानमकरवं येन निःशोकोऽभूत्<sup>३</sup> नृपः ॥ १३४ ॥

I, modulating my own voice, after making a change in the (sequence) of narratives, (recited) interpreted (the means of attaining final emancipation), by which the Sultān regained equanimity of mind in no time.

## Notes

1. Śrīvara was a connoisseur of music and a master musician (cf. I, 4, 34-35). Hence, he recited these narratives by modulating his own voice. He would sing a verse and then explain its purport to the Sultān just as professional sermonisers (*Kathā Vācakas*) or those who recite tales from ancient scriptures—do even to-day.

2. The sequence of detail was not kept in tact by Śrīvara. He would only recite that much which befitted the occasion and then pass over to another episode. It seems that he had compiled such a manual himself containing such narrative culled from various religious treatises, etc.

3. The Sultān's distraction was removed, he regained his former self.

## VERSE 135

भ्रमस्य<sup>१</sup> जाग्रतस्तस्य जातस्याकाशवर्णवत्<sup>२</sup> ।  
अपुनः स्मरणं साधोर्मन्ये विस्मरणं वरम् ॥ १३५ ॥

An awake and virtuous person should (treat) this kind of hallucination confronting him, as the (varying) colours of the space. It is better to forget about it than to remember it occasionally.

## Notes

1. Taking unreal as real, *Māyā* of the Vedāntins, obduration, delusion, etc.

2. Like the varying colours of the sky-grey, blue, black, etc. Actually the space is colourless but through ocular delusion such colours are perceived in it. The idea seems to have been borrowed from the well-known stand taken by *Vedānta*:

सत्यं ब्रह्म जगत् मिथ्या ।

The impersonal Supreme Being is real and ever existant, Cosmic world is unreal and transitory (*Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya* on *Vedānta-Sūtras*)

## VERSE 136

दीर्घं स्वप्नोपमं विद्धि<sup>१</sup> दीर्घं वा प्रियदर्शनम् ।  
दीर्घं वापि मनोरज्यं<sup>२</sup> संसारं रघुनन्दन ॥ १३६ ॥

O Sultān (emulating Śrī Rāma) know this world to be a long dream, very beautiful to look at persistently; (it is actually) the over-all authority of mind (which brings about this kind of delusion).

## Notes

1. Vedantins take this world to be a waking dream which exists only in the mind of a man (*Gauḍa Pāda Kārika*, II, 17).

2. Actually it is the thinking which makes the world look like so 'Ignorance or false-thinking (*avidyā*) hides the truth and at the same time misrepresents it. (*Saṅkara Bhāṣya*, I, 4, 3).

The use of this epithet reserved for Śrī Rāma may have been used by the author to denote:

a) That the Sultān was as just and benevolent as Śrī Rāma was. His rule could be equated with Rāma Rājya.

b) The style of narration as adopted in *Yoga Vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa* wherein doubts in the mind of Śrī Rāma have been removed like those of the Sultān here. Śrī Rāma has been addressed there as Raghunandana—'the darling of Raghus' dynasty.

## VERSE 137

यदि जन्म जरा मरणं न भवेत्  
यदि चेष्टवियोगप्रयं न भवेत्  
यदि सर्वमनित्यमिदं न भवेत्<sup>1</sup> —  
इह जन्मनि<sup>2</sup> कस्य रतिर्न<sup>3</sup> भवेत् ॥ १३७ ॥

Had there been no birth, decay and death, if there had not been the scare of separation from dear ones, had this all (world etc.) not been impermanent, everybody would have felt fondness for his own birth in this world.

## Notes

1. It seems to be a leaf from the *Gīta* (II, 67, xvi, 12, etc.).

2. Here, in the world in which we are born.

3. Towards the close of his life man rules the day when he was born, hence he has always prayed for being relieved of birth and death-emancipation.

## VERSE 138

यतो यतो निवर्तेत<sup>1</sup> तत्सतो विमुच्यते<sup>2</sup> ।  
निवर्तनाद्भिः सर्वतो<sup>3</sup> न वेत्ति दुःखमण्वपि<sup>4</sup> ॥ १३८ ॥

From whatever (objects of sense) one withdraws his self, he is consequently liberated from those. Verily by virtue of being liberated from all quarters (ties), he does not feel any pain at this.

## Notes

1. Withholds, abstains, desists etc. The objects of sense bind a person, he develops attachment for these. These are actually the fetters enchaining a person of limited perception (*Kulārnava Tantra*, p 241).

The *Gītā* has also projected this attitude in a forceful manner, *Bhagavad Gītā* II, 55, 67, etc.).

2. The attachment for such objects of sense vanishes ultimately. Hence Śaivism calls such a person shorn of such bondages a शिवः, a super soul (*Śiva Sūtra*, I).

3. From all quarters—sensual pleasures, worldly enticements, concern for near and dear ones etc.

4. He does not then pine for the pleasures, comforts, etc. He had enjoyed while attached to these. He has no regrets for abjuring these. He is blessed with perennial bliss (परम आनन्दः), v.l. सुखमप्यपि for दुःखमप्यपि in some MSS.

VERSE 139: THE SULTĀN RECITES VERSES FROM  
SANSKRIT MANUALS ON  
THEOLOGY

महावाक्याश्रवणाध्यस्तान् स्वावस्थामुचकान्बहून् ।

इत्यादिकान् स्वयं श्लोकानपठत्<sup>1</sup> स महीपतिः ॥ १३९ ॥

The Sultān who used to hear religious discourses from me, recited many verses betraying his (mental) state as also others (lamenting the transitory nature of the world).

Note

1. Obviously, the Sultān recited these verses by rote as he had heard these from Śrīvara or any others many a times.

VERSE 140

योक्षोपाये श्रुते मत्सत्तत्त्वपदार्थमावनात्<sup>1</sup> ।

अथैकदाब्रवीद्भ्राजा विबुधान्तिक<sup>2</sup> स्थितान् ॥ १४० ॥

Having heard from me about the means by which final emancipation could be obtained (and) being inspired by the form and content (of verses recited by me), once the Sultān addressed the learned scholars sitting besides him thus:

Notes

1. Actually this compound word connotes पदार्थ verified form, and अर्थ its purport (cf. Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśam*, I, 1).

2. Wise men, scholars, sages, godmen etc. First two meanings suit the context here.

VERSE 141

किमर्थं स्वसुतस्नेहं करोष्येक्रे<sup>1</sup> न ते हितः ।

इत्येष वक्ति मे नूनं कर्णोपात्तगतो<sup>2</sup> जनः ॥ १४१ ॥

Why do you love your sons, none of these is your benefactor, this is what the people coming close to my ears have confided in me.

## Notes

1. V.I. करोषि को (VVR I, p 95). The form करोषि एको also fits in well.
2. The people who have had a bitter taste of their sons having made their parents very inconvenient, though having been so dearly loved by them.

## VERSE 142

अस्थिदन्तादिभिर्भङ्क्त्वा मांसं मांसेन भुज्यते ।  
रक्तबीजमये<sup>1</sup> भोगे भ्रमोऽयं न व्यवैति म ॥ १४२ ॥

Bones are relished after being broken (into pieces) by the teeth, (we thus) eat flesh with the (help of) flesh. This kind of abduration (in terms of enjoying) wordly pleasures sullied by blood (with blood at their roots) does not leave me.

## Note

1. Literally it will connote the pleasures having their roots in blood. This might also mean demoniac food as explained in *Gita* (XVII, 10). Rakta-Bija was a demon born of drops of blood (*Durgā Saptasatī*, IX).

## VERSE 143

अहो मयि मृदौ सर्वसुखदे छिद्रकारिणः ।  
नाशायामी सुता जाता रंकवे क्रिमयो यथा ॥ १४३ ॥

How painful it is: that such sons picking holes (in others) destined for annihilation were born to me who am soft and giving comfort to everybody, like the pests in a woollen garment.

## VERSE 144: THE SULTAN LAMENTS THE DEATH OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

यैः समं सवयोनीतं तेऽवशिष्टा न केचन ।  
आजीवनं चलत्येषा तद्वियोगविषयथा<sup>1</sup> ॥ १४४ ॥

None of those with whom I passed my years is living now. The venomous pain of their separation will go on (giving me pin-pricks) throughout my life.

## Note

1. This reference may pertain to Śrīya Bhaṭṭa, the minister of justice and his friend, and Bodhā Khātoon, his queen and others (*JRRT*, I, 7, 47, etc.).



## VERSE 145: THE SULTÂN FED UP WITH HIS LIFE

देहोदजमिदं जीर्णं केशतृणगणाकृतम् ।

सच्छिद्रं<sup>1</sup> रोचते नाद्य दुर्दिने<sup>2</sup> मन्मनो<sup>3</sup> मुनेः ॥ १४५ ॥

During these unpropitious days, this broken body enveloped with dense hair, like a dilapidated hut surrounded by foliage, weak and senile, does not commend itself to my old mind.

## Notes

1. Attended or accompanied by every kind of faults, weakness etc.
2. a) Bad days, not salutary atmosphere, etc.; b) Cloudy day.
3. मुनिः can be taken as one of the seven sons of the Sun also. He had been given precedence over his other sons (*Sabda Kālpadruma*—749). It seems that Śrīvara has used this word in the context of a cloudy or rainy day. Hence concluding lines of the translation can mean also this:

“Does not commend itself to my old body like the crest fallen sun on a cloudy day.”

## VERSE 146: THE SULTÂN WISHES TO ABDICATE

भुजगैरिव दष्टानि गुन्यागांनि<sup>1</sup> सुतैर्मम ।

तस्यागोपाय<sup>2</sup> एवैको युक्तो मे नान्यथासुखम् ॥ १४६ ॥

My sons like the snakes have bitten every department of government. I feel that only one course left to me, which is proper (in these circumstances) as of renouncing (the Sultānship), otherwise I shall have no (mental) peace.

## Notes

1. Cf, note (1) verse 111 earlier.
2. This word can mean ‘renouncing the sons or the Sultānship’. Persian chroniclers have mentioned that the council of ministers suggested to the Sultān to abdicate in favour of one of his sons (*TABAK*, pp 444-670 etc.).

But this proposal was not agreed to by the Sultān (*Cambridge History of India*, III, 284).

Śrīvara also is silent over this since this suggestion could not have been taken kindly to by the Sultān for obvious reasons.

VERSE 147: THE SULTÂN COMPOSES “SHIKĀYAT”  
IN PERSIAN VERSES

इत्यादि चिन्तयन् राजा पारसीभाषया व्याधात् ।

कव्यं शीकयताच्छे<sup>1</sup> स सर्वं गर्हाय वर्जयम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ १४७ ॥

While ruminating over this and other (matters) the Sultān composed a book of verses in Persian language entitled *Shikāyat* with the purpose of heaping censure on every body (around), a veritable also (on their face).

## Notes

1. The Sultān had composed two books in Persian verse—the one on fire-works, the title of which is not given and the other *Shikāyat*.
2. This word also connotes a blow with the flat of the hands, a slap, etc.

VERSE 148: THE SULTĀN'S TRUSTED MEN DEFECT  
TO HĀJĪ KHĀN

राज्ञो धात्रेय<sup>१</sup> पुत्राद्याः प्रमेयैरपिसत्कुताः<sup>२</sup> ।  
भूपपक्षं परित्यज्य ह्यज्यखानमुपागमन् ॥ १४८ ॥

The Sultān's highly honoured and trusted (lieutenants), the sons of the wet-nurse (Thākurs) and others, forsaking his side, crossed over to Hāji Khān.

## Notes

1. Evidently Thākurs are meant here (ZRRT, I, 1, 154).
2. Those whom the Sultān considered his most trusted men.

VERSE 149: DOUBLE DEALING INDULGED IN BY COURTIER

किमन्यद्वयक्तमेवाहि ये दृष्टा नृपसन्निधौ ।  
अलक्ष्यन्त निशि स्वैरं ते खानाग्रे गतत्रपाः ॥ १४९ ॥

What more may be said (about this double-dealing) when those shameless people seen ostensibly during the day with the Sultān, would, out of their own accord, be seen in front of (Hāji) Khān during the night.

VERSE 150: THE SULTĀN LOSES INTEREST IN  
ADMINISTERING THE COUNTRY

ताटस्थेन स्थिते<sup>१</sup> राज्ञि तद्भृत्यानां<sup>२</sup> परस्परम् ।  
तत्तदाक्षेपतो-देशे कोऽप्यजृम्भत विप्लवः ॥ १५० ॥

Owing to the posture of neutrality adopted by the Sultān, the government officials would heap blame on one other foreboding some form of calamity (engulfing) the country.

## Notes

1. It seems that the Sultān could not sufficiently assert himself hence had lost interest in ruling his land.
2. All power was concentrated in government officials who were plagued by mutual bickerings.

May be the Sultān had become too old or physically too weak to assert himself and hence the government was just dragging itself.

## VERSE 151

भविष्यन्निव साम्राज्यस्यार्धं भागी न कस्तदा ।  
तत्पुत्रेष्वनुरक्तोऽभून्न तु रञ्जि सुखस्थिते ॥ १५१ ॥

During those days when the position of the Sultān (seemed) vulnerable, who did not pin his faith in his sons as if heirs to half of the kingdom.

## Note

1. The point made here is that influential people even forsook the Sultān and went over to the side of either Ādam Khān or Hājī Khān—the two contenders for royal throne. These people thought if the worst would happen these two brothers would divide the kingdom into two parts and each of them would rule the half; hence these sycophants would share the rule of the half with either of these two princes.

## VERSE 152: THE SULTĀN FEELS DEJECTED TOWARDS HIS COLLATERALS

इत्थं स्वभृत्यसंचारदुराचारविचारणात् ।  
परिवारान्निजात् सर्वान् निर्विण्णोऽभून्महीपतिः ॥ १५२ ॥

In this way, pondering (painfully) over the misconduct of the people in his service, (living at his charity) in terms of (their) defection, the Sultān felt dejected towards the whole lot of his family.

## Notes

1. Literally it means movement, communication etc. Here it may connote movement from royal camp to the side of the princes, obviously defection, leaving the Sultān alone.

2. It means a family, a retinue, entourage, etc. The people from royal blood are meant here.

## VERSE 153: PEOPLE CHANGING LOYALTIES EVERY MINUTE

अद्य मे स्वान्तिके दृष्टाः प्रातः खानान्तिके श्रुताः ।  
दाढ्यं कुत्रापि नो प्रापुःसारसा इव सेवकाः ॥ १५३ ॥

Those (servants), never steadfast anywhere, like the cranes, were seen at his side today and were reported to be with Hājī Khān in the morning.

## Note

1. The times were unpredictable to such an extent that the people changed their loyalties every minute.

## VERSE 154

हृद्गदो वर्ण्यति यस्मै तादृगाश्वासभाजनम् ।  
तत्कालं सेवकोपकृतो दृष्टः कोऽपि न धूधुजा ॥ १५४ ॥

During those days the Sultān could not discern any such devoted person in his service, to whom he could unfold the feelings of his heart and thus become his confidant.

## VERSE 155: UNWARANED RUMOURS AFLOAT

यन्नोक्तं यच्च न दृष्टं यच्छ्रुतं वा कदाचन<sup>१</sup> ।  
निर्यन्त्रणो<sup>२</sup> जनः प्रोचे प्रत्यहं राजमन्दिरे ॥ १५५ ॥

Irresponsible people carried (such) tales to the palace everyday which had not been said, seen (happening) or heard.

## Notes

1. It seems that rumour mongering was rife at that time. In such adverse times when the fate of the Sultān hung in balance many concocted stories were carried from and to the palace. May be it was also a strategy adopted by the princes to demoralize the Sultān and to usurp the throne.

2. Uncontrolled literally, actually, irresponsible, loose tongued: Those who did not have any qualms of conscience and would act as agent-provocateurs.

## VERSE 156: BEHRĀM KHĀN AT THE ROOT OF THIS TROUBLE

स्वभ्रातृकलहैकाग्रस्तत्त्वैशुन्य<sup>१</sup> कर्मणा ।  
बहामखानोऽनर्यानां कणोभूलमिवाभवत् ॥ १५६ ॥

Behrām Khān, engrossed in (fanning) enmity between his (two) brothers, and accordingly running vicious errands, was at the root of such unbecoming acts like Karna.

## Notes

1. We know already that Behrām Khān was on the side of Hāji Khān (cf. verses 94-95 earlier). Hence, he would gladly undertake many unworthy assignments at Hāji Khān's bidding. He might have been spying on the Sultān and Ādam Khān and reporting back to his brother Hāji Khān. This was actually hitting below the belt to which Śrīvara has referred here.

2. Karna the son of Kunti was half brother to the Pāṇḍavas. He could not see eye to eye with Arjuna the ace-archer at that time. He later defected to the side of Duryodhana, the enemy of Pāṇḍavas. Had not Karna been with Duryodhana, the latter would not have risked a war with the Pāṇḍavas (*Mahābhārata*, I, i, 110 etc.).

The same was the case with Behrām who being with Hāji made the latter more powerful than the Sultān or Ādam Khān.

VERSE 157

स्निग्धोऽयमित्यवगते<sup>1</sup> यदि काष्ठखण्डे  
 दत्त प्रदीप पदवी परिदीपिताशे ।  
 किं स ज्वलन्पि करोति चिरं प्रकाशं  
 दोषं न कं वितनुते निजकज्जलौघैः ॥१५७॥

It is complimentary to know that a piece of wood if elevated to the position of a lamp, brightening the (four) quarters, while ablaze sending forth a shining, long glow—also produces a host of faults by its mass of soot.

Note

1. This word can also mean smeared with grease, fats, oil or ghee.

VERSE 158: ADAM KHÂN COMES UNARMED  
 TO DEFEND THE SULTÂN

प्राप्तस्त्राणाय<sup>1</sup> राज्ञोऽसावित्याशा यन्निवेशिता ।  
 अभूदादमखानः स वित्राणोऽप्यात्म<sup>2</sup> रक्षणे ॥१५८॥

"Having come to give protection to the Sultân", this hope pinned in Ādam Khân (was proved false) (since) being unarmed he could not even defend his own self.

Notes

1. Persian historians have recorded that Ādam Khân was called secretly from his exile to Kashmir when the counsellors perceived that the kingdom was in a shambles.

2. It seems that Ādam Khân had been called to the palace alone without his army or bodyguards. He had to sneak into the palace stealthily for fear of his brothers Hâjī and Behrām.

VERSE 159: ADAM KHÂN PLEADS WITH THE SULTÂN

भ्रात्रा समं जिघांसुमी बहामो द्वैधनिष्ठुरः<sup>1</sup> ।  
 अहमेकोऽबलस्तन्मे गतिः कान्या त्वया धिना ॥१५९॥

Callous Behrām Khân indulging in double-dealing (along) with his brother (Hâjī Khân) wishes to kill me. I am alone and powerless, hence whom else should I approach excepting you?

Note

1. The one given to duplicity, double-dealing, etc. Ādam Khân would like to convey to the Sultân that collusion between Hâjī and Behrām Khân is only skin-deep. It is a marriage of convenience. Behrām would kill me first and then lay his hands upon Hâjī for his ulterior motives of usurping the throne.

He is using the same language which the Sultān had used earlier in reference to Hāji Khān while admonishing Behrām (cf. verses 90-93).

#### VERSE 160

नास्त्वस्मान्मे स्वजीवाणां तत् स्वात्मा रक्ष्यते वि ।  
त्वयि जीवति राज्यस्ये<sup>2</sup> भयं मम न विद्यते ॥ १६० ॥

O! All powerful Sultān, I do not therefore concern myself for my life, but you should protect your own. I am now firmly established on the throne while alive. I shall have no fear of you.

#### Notes

1. Ādam Khān wishes to convince the Sultān that he is not as much worried for his own safety as for that of the Sultān. He would like to convey that he had written his own self off.

2. Ādam Khān would not like that the Sultān should transfer power to either Hāji or Behrām during his life time. The Sultān should rather put his foot down on this suggestion as long as he was alive.

By inference it can be presumed that Ādam tries to assure the Sultān that he does not harbour any ill-will towards him and does not want to snatch the throne also.

#### VERSE 161

कुर्वन्त्यन्ये तदास्कन्दमद्यान्योन्य<sup>1</sup> रणोद्यताः ।  
इत्यादिवातीशृण्वन् स बभूव भय<sup>2</sup> विह्वलः ॥ १६१ ॥

"Others are threatening our security by making one confront the other", lending his ear to this plaint (of Ādam Khān) he (the Sultān) became highly agitated.

#### Notes

1. The father and his sons at war with each other, falling foul of one another is the purport here.

2. The Sultān had every reason to feel panicky. Had he agreed to rehabilitate Ādam Khān, Hāji and Behrām would attack the palace which would imperil his own life. Hence, he wanted to get rid of Ādam Khān at the earliest possible moment.

#### VERSE 162

इत्यमादम खानेन कदाचिज्ज्ञापितो नृपः ।  
अचेतं नास्ति मे लाभो राज्ये वा निज जीवने ॥ १६२ ॥

In this manner Ādam Khān having made his submission to the Sultān one day, he (the Sultān) retorted back, "I am not eager to retain my kingdom or my life."

VERSE 163: THE SULTÂN GIVES COLD SHOULDER TO  
ĀDAM KHÂN

गच्छ कापुरुषाव स्व विघ्नार्थं किमिहागतः ।

इत्थं निर्भर्त्सितः पित्रा कुसदीनपुरीं गतः

अन्यात्कन्दभातोऽभूत् स्वशय्या कृतक्षणः ॥ १६३ ॥

"Be off, O coward! have concern for your own safety. Why did you come here to disturb me"? Being slighted by his father in this manner, the Ādam Khân repaired to—Qutub-ud-Din-pura, quite scared about his own safety, for fear of an attack from his younger brothers.

*Note*

1. Hassan has also referred to Ādam Khân's repairing to Qutub-ud-Din-pura for maintaining distance with his brothers (*TAHS*—Persian, p. 205).

V.I. कुददीनपुरी instead of कुसदीनपुरी (*VVRI*, 97)

VERSE 164

लब्धेऽमुष्मिन् भवति हि सुखं सर्वदेशेतिबुद्ध्या

यः संहर्तुं सिपुकृतभियो रक्षणीयोऽवभाति ।

तत्तन्त्रस्थो' यदि भवति स स्वात्मरक्षास्वशक्तो ।

भाण्डा त्रासादिव तुरगतः प्रत्युतोपद्रवः स्यात् ॥ १६४ ॥

On obtaining him (when this) pre-monition dawns that every thing would be all right and the threat from the enemies would be driven away (the precondition for this being) that he should be very well disciplined, (if otherwise) he cannot even defend himself, and like a horse scared by the (booming sound) of the canon will only create hurdles.

*Note*

1. The Sultân spurned the offer of help from Ādam Khân because he could not be depended upon. He lacked discipline.

VERSE 165

पित्रास्मदर्थमानीतो ज्येष्ठो दिष्टो भयाय नौ ।

इति क्रुद्धौ सुतोऽश्रुत्वा चकितः' स नृपोऽभवत् ॥ १६५ ॥

"Our inimical elder brother (Ādam Khân) has been called (to the palace) by the father (simply) to keep us both in (constant) fear." Learning about such kind of wrath (displayed) by his two sons (Hāji and Behrām) the Sultân felt amazed.

## Note

1. The Sultān has every reason to be surprised over this kind of thinking indulged in by Hāji and Behrām. Ādam had not been called by the Sultān, more so, his help was even-spurned by latter (cf, verse 163).

## VERSE 166: SUSPICION REIGNS SUPREME IN THE PALACE

राजा च राजपुत्राश्च तदमात्य पुरोगमाः  
अन्योन्याशङ्किताः<sup>१</sup> सर्वे न निद्रामुपलेभिरे<sup>२</sup> ॥ १६६ ॥

The Sultān, the princes, above all their (respective) counsellors were suspicious of one another, (hence) all did not get (proper) sleep.

## Notes

1. In this atmosphere surcharged with enmity and suspicion, when everybody would suspect that the other party was working against him.
2. This kind of distraction naturally makes sleep impossible.

## VERSE 167

भोगो<sup>१</sup> पचारं<sup>२</sup> संत्यज्य तत्कालं तेषुसेवकाः ।  
यत्तज्जिह्वोपकारेणारजन्<sup>३</sup> स्वामिनो निजान् ॥ १६७ ॥

At that time, the service-class throwing governmental obligations and country to winds, flattered their (respective) masters with lip-service (only).

## Notes

1. भोगः means important officers. This word also connotes utility, advantage, governance, government. The day-to-day work of the government seems to have been paralysed completely.
2. Amongst various meanings it also connotes service, worship, politeness, courtesy or civility. The civil servants, became insolent and shirked their usual work.
3. They seem to be the proteges of either the Sultān, or the princes, or the ministers. Such three factors in their ranks were perceivable. Hence, instead of vowing allegiance to the central authority, and doing their work honestly they revelled in flattering their respective masters with tongues in their cheeks.

## VERSE 168: THE SULTĀN AFFLICTED BY FORGETFULNESS

कर्तव्यमादिशत् किञ्चिद्यत् स भृत्यान् क्षणान्तरे ।  
अवोचत् कृतकर्तव्यान् किमुक्तं न स्मराम्यहम् ॥ १६८ ॥

Whatever orders, he (the Sultān), would issue to the civil-authorities, on being executed, would say, "Did I say this? I do not recollect?"



## Note

1. Probably one of the reasons of the governmental work coming to a halt, was this. The Sultân was becoming forgetful.

**VERSE 169: THE SULTÂN VERY WEAK  
TO AFFIX HIS SIGNATURE  
EVEN**

स्वहस्ताक्षर<sup>1</sup> सम्पन्नां त्यक्त्वा रीतिं पुरतनीम् ।

ज्ञात्वाप्रकृति<sup>2</sup> वैगुण्यं चक्रे तन्त्रं स मन्त्रिणात् ॥ १६९ ॥

Abjuring the age-honoured convention of affixing his own signatures (on the papers), he the Sultân having realised that his bodily humours were not in order, transferred all the administrative (burden) to his ministers.

## Notes

1. Usually Royal seal or signatures are affixed to authenticate an order, a document or government papers. This was the traditional practice with every king.

2. "Natural state of health being impaired" can be the other rendering disorder of humours affects the soundness of mind. It seems that the Sultân's (their king's) power had given way.

## VERSE 170

यैरस्मत्सदनेक्षितः सोऽयं वैरानलः खलैः ।

तच्छमाय कृतोपेक्षा तैस्तैरुभय वेतनैः ॥ १७० ॥

"I erred in bringing to bay such crooks, drawing pay from both sides, who have set my house afire with animus.

**VERSE 171: THE SULTÂN DRAWS A BLANK  
AGAINST HIS MINISTERS  
AND SONS**

मद्वर्धितास्ते नश्यन्तु मन्त्रिणस्तनयाश्च मे ।

ये मन्नाशेन तुष्यन्ति राज्यलुब्धा जिघांसयः ॥ १७१ ॥

Let my ministers and my sons, brought into prominence by me, go to dogs! These cut-throats, having vulturous eyes on the kingdom, are gloating over my extinction.

VERSE 172: THE SULTĀN PREDICTS FALL  
OF SHAHMER DYNASTY

इत्युद्विग्नो महीपालः श्वसन् जपपरायणः<sup>1</sup> ।

प्रपद्यु सोऽशयन् सर्वं मन्यन्त इति श्रुत्वा मुनिः ॥ १७२ ॥

He is related in this manner, the Sultān while absorbed in chanting the name [of the Lord] continuously and becoming very and being extremely uncomfortable, pronounced this verse: "Everything will be reduced to memory only."

Notes

1. जप is chanting the name of the lord while telling the beads of a rosary. Muslims also indulge in telling the beads. Srivara informs us that the Sultān's lips were in motion chanting the name of the Lord, while he was about to breathe his last (ZRRT, I, 7, 218).

2. Abul Fazal has recorded that Sultan Budshāh had predicted that after the rule of Chaks, Kashmir will no longer be a sovereign state (A/NAK, p. 439).

VERSE 173: PEOPLE FEELING INSECURE

स्वामी विरक्तस्तत्पुत्रा मिथोवैरपरायणाः ।

किमुजीवविधेयं नः कष्टमापतितं महत् ॥ १७३ ॥

"Our Lord has lost interest (in administration). His sons are solely engrossed in fighting with one another. How will we pass our days? A great calamity has befallen us."

VERSE 174: THE SULTĀN WOULD RENOUNCE  
MEAT DURING THE MONTH OF  
RAMZĀN

इत्थं पौरजनः सर्वश्चक्रोशातितरां तदा ।

यवनव्रतमासाप्तौ त्यक्तमांसाशनो<sup>1</sup> नृपः ॥ १७४ ॥

In this manner, then the entire population began to cry vehemently. The month of fasts for the Muslims having arrived, the Sultān gave up meat eating.

Note

1. "Āin-i-Akbarī mentions that the Sultān was vegetarian (p. 439). On the testimony of Srivara this assertion is only partly correct, as corroborated by *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (pp. 439-657) wherein it is stated that the Sultān would not take meat during the month of Ramzan". *Cambridge History of India* notes as under:

"He (the Sultān) prohibited hunting during the month of Ramzān and in this period he would not touch meat" (III, 282). It seems that by listening to Hindu scriptures, he had developed Vaishnava attitude to life to some extent

## VERSE 175

स दध्यौ च कुपुत्रोऽयं<sup>१</sup> यैः नीतोदिगन्तः<sup>२</sup> ।  
तैः स्वात्मानं सयं रुदं मे वत नाशिनः<sup>३</sup> ॥ १७५ ॥

(The Sultān began to murmur: Those who called back my unworthy son (Hājī Khān) from foreign countries for their self-interest, have treacherously, snatched the march-knife of the whole kingdom.

## Notes

1. Reference is to the unseemly behaviour of his younger sons.
2. Snatched back (brought) now his younger sons were recalled by interested courtiers.
3. The above three verses are split up into two verses only in the VVR texts (pp 98-99).

## VERSE 176

एकतः सबलौ पुत्रौ नगरं मिलितौ मिथः ।  
एकतः पुत्र एकाकी<sup>२</sup> तन्निष्ठा मन्त्रिणः<sup>३</sup> शठाः ॥ १७६ ॥

On one side are arrayed (my) two sons (Hājī and Behrām) in collusion with each other, along with their armies (with the additional advantage of) being at the headquarters, against (my lonely son Ādam), on the other, reposing faith in the wicked counsellors.

## Notes

1. Ādam Khān had to come from Qutub-ud-Din-pura for giving them a fight. Hājī and Behrām were in 'Zaina-nagari'—the seat of authority. They could snatch power as soon the Sultān would expire (ZRRT, I, 7, 163).
2. Alone.
3. He was depending on the good-will of counsellors to provide him an army, but they were unreliable and wicked and would let him down any time (ZRRT, I, 7, 158).

VERSE 177: THE SULTĀN HAS MORE LOVE FOR  
ZAINANAGARI THAN FOR HIS ERRING SONS

पुत्रा युद्धं करिष्यन्ति कष्टमापतितं महत् ।  
किं तु दूये पुरी<sup>१</sup> सेयं पाल्याकुलवधूरिव ॥ १७७ ॥

It will be a great calamity that my (sons) will measure arms in a battle; but I grieve (more) for this city to afforded protection like a woman of good family and character.

## Note

1. 'Zaina Nagari' is obviously meant here.

## VERSE 178

मयि जीवति नश्येच्चेत् किं कार्यं जीवितेन<sup>1</sup> मे ।

धक्ता शक्ता गता भृत्याः<sup>2</sup> किं पृच्छामि करोमि किम् ॥ १७८ ॥

“If it gets destroyed during my life time, then my being alive will have no meaning. Those devoted and resourceful courtiers of mine have gone away. Whom should I consult (now) what am I to do (now)?”

## Notes

1. The Sultān's first lō/s was his newly founded capital—Zaina Nāgari. He would never wish that this metropolis is destroyed by the infighting of his sons (ZRRT, I, 5,4).

2. We may take this word to mean *Musahib* (courtiers) whom the Sultān would have profitably consulted in the predicament. Some amongst them had died and some had changed their loyalty (ZRRT, I, 7, 47-55).

## VERSE 179: THE SULTAN'S HEART BEGINS TO SINK

इत्यादिविन्तासन्तापजाताधिव्याधि<sup>1</sup> बाधितः ।

विमुक्तगज्यनिर्बन्धः<sup>2</sup> सनिःस्पन्द<sup>3</sup> इवाभवत् ॥ १७९ ॥

Hence, afflicted by mental and physical ailments—produced by the agony of myriad anxieties, he (the Sultān) relinquished his obligations (ruling) towards the state, and he became nearly lifeless.

## Notes

1. The Sultān was upset mentally as well as physically.

2. He renounced the duties which bound him to the affairs of his state.

3. Actually became motionless, lost movement of his limbs. It may also connote that his heart began to sink or his body became stiff.

## VERSE 180: DISORDER IN THE CITY

सबालवृद्धं नगरं क्षुब्धत् तत्तत्कुवार्तया ।

सोऽमूढबिभिवोदकुतं समास्थापयितुं क्षमः ॥ १८० ॥

With such disheartening news, the entire city, including young and old, felt exercised, like an agitated ocean. He (the Sultān) could not bring it (the city) back to normalcy.

## VERSE 181: THE SULTAN REFUSES TO EAT

भोक्षतव्यं यन्मयाभुक्तं किं भोक्ष्येऽद्य नय द्रुतम् ।

आनीतभोज्यमन्येषुः शिवपट्टः<sup>1</sup> कुघात्रवीत् ॥ १८१ ॥

When on the following day Śiva Bhaṭṭa brought the prescribed diet to him, (the Sultān) angrily addressed him "whatever I had to take, has been eaten by me. What use taking this (Śiva Bhaṭṭa's prescribed diet) now? Take it away immediately."

*Note*

1. Śiva Bhaṭṭa, obviously a Brahmin, seems to be a royal physician (*JRRT*, verse 812) after the death of Śirya Bhaṭṭa as described by Joṇa Rāja.

VERSE 182: THE SULTĀN WRITES HIMSELF OFF

अतिचिन्ताकुलो राजा छायायामप्यविश्वसन् ।  
दुष्टक्षन्<sup>1</sup> सचिवाञ् श्रुत्वा श्रद्धे न स्वजीवितम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ १८२ ॥

Extremely perturbed, the Sultān did not even repose trust in his own shadow. Having heard about the (nefarious activities of) hostile ministers, he lost all hope for his survival.

*Notes*

1. The ministers scheming the Sultān's downfall. Now, the Sultān felt forlorn. No body was with him.
2. He could very well divine that his adversaries—sons as well as ministers—might do away with his life even though he would recover from his illness.

VERSE 183: THE SULTĀN LOSES HIS CONSCIOUSNESS

गतसंविदिष स्थित्वा दिनानि कतिचिन्निवै ।  
स पृष्टोऽप्युत्तरं राजा न कस्मा अप्युदेत्यत् ॥ १८३ ॥

The Sultān lost his consciousness for some days and on being addressed by his nearest kins did not respond to any one.

VERSE 184: THE SULTĀN REBUFFS HIS MINISTERS

पृष्टः प्रकृतिभिः<sup>1</sup> कार्यं संभाष्यानर्थक<sup>2</sup> वचः ।  
रुजार्तं इव शय्यायां स सुष्वपेकदालसः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १८४ ॥

He (the Sultān) retorted back in very incoherent words (when) one day the counsellors asked him about their (respective) assignment. Spent up, he fell flat on his couch as if in great pain due to the ailment.

*Notes*

1. Among other meanings it means counsellors, ministers also.
2. May be very much frustrated on account of the duplicity employed by his ministers, the Sultān might have abused them—given them a bit of his mind. It might

also connote that his words being incoherent could not be understood by the ministers. He might have been out of mind.

3. Indolence, laziness, exhaustion, etc.

#### VERSE 185: THE SULTĀN LOSES HIS APPETITE

नाविदंस्तद्रुजो हेतुं लक्षणं तच्चिकित्सकाः ।  
जानेऽवाच्यां शुचं हतुं बभूवानशनव्रती<sup>1</sup> ॥ १८५ ॥

The physician could neither diagnose the cause of his (Sultān's) ailment nor (could interpret correctly) its symptoms. As if to atone for his indescribable distress, (he) had taken to fasting.

#### Note

1. The Sultān had obviously lost his appetite and the physicians treating him could not either diagnose the cause of the disease or its symptoms. He was, so to say, left to the care of god.

#### VERSE 186: THE SULTĀN AFFLICTED WITH PAINFUL INFLAMMATION OF JOINTS

अत्युन्नतान् सुफलदान् विततोच्चशाखान्  
ख्यातान् द्विजप्रियतया शुभमार्गं संस्थान् ।  
धाता निपातयति सर्वजनोपयोग्यान्  
पृथ्वीधरांस्तरुवरानिव दुष्टवातः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १८६ ॥

This *śloka* has a double meaning, one with regard to the Sultān and the other with regard to a tree.

A) How is it that such a sovereign who is tall in stature, showering benevolent rewards, quite accommodating and of noble descent, well known for their affection towards the learned Brahmanas, steady in doing good to all the people on this earth, is sent to death by the Creator through painful inflammation of the joints?

B) How is it that a tree towering in stature, bearing plentiful fruit, quite extensive and having tall branches, famous for being a perch for the egg-laying birds, standing on an important road, and of great use to public on this earth, be destroyed by the Creator through a violent gale?

#### Note

1. It seems that the Sultān suffered from gout or rheumatism which gave him no rest due to pain in the joints.

VERSE 187: THE THREE PRINCES BUSY IN  
NEFARIOUS ACTIVITIES

अत्रान्तरे त्रयः पुत्रा दोषा इव महोत्पन्नाः<sup>१</sup> ।

धातुवद्<sup>२</sup> दूषयामासुर्देशे<sup>३</sup> प्रकृति सप्तकम् ॥ १८७ ॥

In the meantime, the three sons (of the Sultān) like the (three) irremediable elements (pertaining to phlegm, bile and wind) contaminated the seven-fold health of the country as if (a body) with (imbalance) of humours.

Notes

1. उत्पन्न is thick mucus or blood, especially phlegm. The reference here seems to be to ailments born of phlegm, wind and bile.
2. The essential fluids which build the body (see supra, v 110).
3. V.I. देश for देशे (VVRI, 100).
4. The solidarity of the country and the body hinges on the seven constituents discussed earlier.

VERSE 188

मूकप्रायं नृपं तादृगवस्थं द्रष्टुमन्वहम् ।

सरसूक्तस्तमुपाजम् रजपुत्रो<sup>१</sup> भटोत्पन्नाः<sup>२</sup> ॥ १८८ ॥

The prince, suspecting (foul play) along with their fierce body-guards, approached the Sultān, (who) more or less, had lost the power of speech, everyday, for keeping an eye on his state (of health).

Notes

1. The princes were more concerned with learning about the death of the Sultān than with enquiring after his health or in medication of the patient. They would like to know when the Sultān breathes his last so that they could declare themselves as the next Sultān. It might be also possible that the princes thought that the news of the death of the Sultān might be held back by the ministers till they in collusion with any one amongst the (princes) make all the arrangements to offer the throne to him. The other two shall have to bite the dust then. So all of them remained cross-fingered.
2. Intrigues in the royal court made them, the princes, very wary about their personal safety, hence they came to see the Sultān with their respective body-guards.

VERSE 189: THE SULTĀN KEPT IN THE OUTER  
PORTICO (DARBĀR-I-'ĀM)

उजात्तरङ्गा<sup>१</sup> सत्पुत्रपीत्यै<sup>२</sup> तादृग्दर्शं नृपम् ।

हृत्प्रेमे<sup>३</sup> स्थापयामासुः सर्वदर्शनं<sup>४</sup> दित्तया ॥ १८९ ॥

Intimate relatives of the Sultān out of fear for the princes as also

for affording a view of (the Sultān) in that state of health to everybody, placed (his bed) in the outer portico.

*Notes*

1. Those very near to the Sultān in whose charge he must have been.
2. These relatives of the Sultān did not want to offend the princes for obstructing their surveillance over the Sultān. Had the Sultān been kept in the inner court the princes at times and their spies every time would have experienced much difficulty in gaining access there.
3. The outer court, porch or portico is meant. It might connote 'Darbār-i-Ām' of the mughal times.
4. Excuse for this was made out that people wanted to have the Sultān's last glimpse.

VERSE 190: THE SULTĀN APPEARS TO BE  
RECUPERATING

स्वस्तिवादध्वनि<sup>1</sup> श्रुत्वा स बाह्याभ्यन्तर जनाः  
घितीयेन्दुमिवाद्वाङ्मुः<sup>2</sup> सानन्दादर्शनागतः ॥ १९० ॥

Having come to steal a look (at Sultān) the people belonging to his inner circle or those from out side after listening to the musical recital heralding the weal (for the Sultān) saw the (Sultān) as the digit of the moon (prior to waxing) on the second day of the bright-fortnight, with extreme pleasure.

*Notes*

1. The bards were employed to announce in (companionment of music, *shehnai*—etc.) that the Sultān had recovered, or was gaining health. Such *Shehnai* recital, in the morning everyday were the usual ritual with the kings of yore. It seems that the Sultān's intimate relatives wanted to avoid confrontation with his sons. They wanted to gain time, set their house in order first and then announce the passing away of Buḡshāh.

*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* corroborates this inference (pp 445-670).

2. The moon on the second of the bright fortnight is on way to wax day by day by the 15th. It might suggest that Sultān was on way to full recovery. Perhaps he was made to look as such for reasons given above.

VERSE 191

श्रुत्वा बहामखानोऽयं चकितो<sup>1</sup>ऽस्तिकमागतः<sup>2</sup> ।  
सत्वरं<sup>3</sup> लगणैर्ज्ञात्वा घृणं भ्रात्रेऽजयीदिति ॥ १९१ ॥

Having heard (the announcement) Behrām Khān quite dazed, coming quite close (to the Sultān) could divine from symptoms that he (the Sultān) would not survive, so conveyed this message to the brother (Hājī Khān).



## Notes

1. Behrām was quite surprised to hear the announcement that the Sultān was making progress in his health.
2. Hence, to ascertain the precise condition of the Sultān's health, he came very close to his bed.
3. Behrām could very well discern that the Sultān would pass away, as his health had deteriorated beyond remedy.

VERSE 192: BEHRĀM MOTIVATES HĀJĪ TO  
GRAB THE THRONE

जीवत्यस्मत्पिता नैव मिथ्यैवोन्थाप्यते<sup>1</sup> विटैः<sup>2</sup> ।  
द्वाराग्रात्पतितो<sup>3</sup> भूमौ मूकप्रायो विचेतनः ॥ १९२ ॥

"Our father will not live, the rogues are raising (the hopes of people) quite falsely. He (the Sultān) had fallen on the ground at the very threshold of outer-court. He has more or less lost his self consciousness.

## Notes

1. This can have another shade of meaning also. Since the Sultān had fallen on the ground, the sycophants were lifting him up to his **bed** only to delude the people that the Sultān was all right. It was a make-believe so to say.
2. This epithet is used profusely in Sanskrit dramas wherein it is suggested to mean a pimp, a tout or a panderer to a dissolute prince (cf. *Sāhitya Darpana*). It also connotes a rouge, a parasite or sycophant (cf. also *MW*, 961).
3. At the front portico, or at the threshold of the **outer-court**.

VERSE 193: BEHRĀM ADVISES HĀJĪ TO MAKE  
A SURPRISE ATTACK  
ON THE PALACE

तदुत्तिष्ठ वयं यामः ससंनाह<sup>1</sup> नृपाङ्गनम् ।  
हरामस्तत्तुरंगादि<sup>2</sup> बद्ध्वा<sup>3</sup> दुष्टांश्च मन्त्रिणः ॥ १९३ ॥

Therefore, get up, let us march to the Imperial Courtyard in full harness, capture the vile counsellors and (let us) take the horses

## Notes

1. With full battle-equipment or dress, fixing up armour etc. Behrām wants to induce Hāji Khān to make a surprise attack on the palace.
2. The horses being the quickest possible means of transport then, the royal guards would not be able to give a chase or overpower Hāji and Behrām without this kind of fast transport. Hence Behrām suggests that horses should be taken away.
3. It might mean even tying or binding the ministers not allied with these two brothers, with ropes, etc.

## VERSE 194

नौ सेतुबन्धं<sup>१</sup> छेत्स्यामस्तेन नश्यति तेऽग्रजः ।  
श्रुत्वेति सोऽभ्यधानैवं वक्तुं युक्तं<sup>२</sup> ममाग्रतः ॥ १९४ ॥

We shall cut asunder the (improvised) bridge of boats which will sound the death knell of an elder brother (Ādam Khān). Having lent his ear to this attentively (Hājī Khān) said—"It is not proper for you to say this to me."

## Notes

1. It seems that to cut short the distance through Zaina Kadal between localities Outub-ud-Din-pura and Zaina Nagari an improvised boat-bridge as a temporary measure might have also been constructed over the Jhelum connecting these two directly. It is to this bridge Behrām refers.

2. Hājī Khān was perhaps biding his time and was sure about succeeding the Sultān. Hence, he did not want to indulge in such precipitate action (cf. verses 198-199 later).

VERSE 195: HĀJĪ KHĀN IS DIPLOMATICALLY  
MORE AGILE THAN  
BEHRĀM

स्वनेऽप्यनिष्टं<sup>१</sup> यस्याहं नेच्छामि स्वामिनः पितुः ।  
तच्छ्रुत्वैकां निशां यावत् तदग्रे सोऽनयच्छुचा<sup>२</sup> ॥ १९५ ॥

I do not think of doing any harm to the Sultān, my father, even in my dreams (at sub-conscious level). No sooner had he (Hājī Khān) heard this (advice of Behrām) than he spent one night mourning beside him (the Sultān).

## Notes

1. It seems that Hājī Khān being sure of becoming the Sultān through underhand diplomatic channels did not want to tarnish his image as a wayward insolent son of the Sultān. He wanted to build up public-opinion in his favour so that he is accepted as the Sultān without any murmur by the people also.

2. This action of his also confirms the inference given above.

VERSE 196: ĀDAM KHĀN COMES  
TO ZAINA-NAGARI

तावन्मुमुक्षुं तं श्रुत्वा पितृराज्यजिहीर्षया<sup>१</sup> ।  
आदमखानः श्रौजैननगरं सबलोऽभ्यगात्<sup>२</sup> ॥ १९६ ॥

By then Ādam Khān hearing that he (the Sultān) was about to die came to Zaina Nagari along with his forces to grab the royal authority.

## Notes

1. Ādam Khān wanted to become the next Sultān by using force unlike Hājī Khān.
2. Ādam Khān had his troops also with him. He planned to besiege the metropolis and dictate terms subsequently.

## VERSE 197

भटसंनाह सामग्रीं प्रापय्य<sup>1</sup> पथिगोपिताम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
अवसत् स निशामेकां राजधान्यन्तरालये<sup>3</sup> ॥ १९७ ॥

Having obtained arms and fighting men, he concealed them on way to (Zaina Nagari) and then spent one night in a hide out at the capital.

## Notes

1. Ādam Khān had earlier come to see his father without any army (verses 162-163). Now Ādam Khān seems to have collected his fighting men, may be from some faction amongst the royal courtiers.
2. Like Behrām he also concealed his arms outside the city. He had sent his fighting men in plain-clothes into the city and would smuggle arms to them for killing the high-ups there (JRRT, verses 150-151). Ādam Khān perhaps wanted to adopt that very strategy.
3. It might even connote a house in the centre of the city.

## VERSE 198: HASSAN KUCHAI DEFECTS TO HAJI KHAN

तावद्दस्सनकोशेशः स्वार्थान्धो मोहयन्<sup>1</sup> परान् ।  
गृहीतदिव्यः<sup>2</sup> श्रीहाज्यखानपक्षं समाश्रयत् ॥ १९८ ॥

By then, Hassan Kośeśa (Kuchai) blinded by self-interest, flinging stunning surprise on others (ministers) took refuge in Hājī Khān's camp under an oath (of unswerving-loyalty).

## Notes

1. Perhaps the other ministers had thought him to be a very faithful counsellor of the Sultān or out of expediency he had posed to be such. He stupefied the other counsellors by his defection to Hājī Khān. It might also suggest that he snatched the initiative from his adversaries and made them bite the dust.
2. Hājī Khān welcomed him to his camp only when he had taken a solemn oath to be loyal to him. It is called *Baiyyat* in Arabic which means to be at the disposal of some eminent person for all time to come, through thick and thin. Conversion to Islām is preceded by such *Baiyyat* to the Prophet Mohammad and subsequently recitation the *Kalima*.

VERSE 199 ROYAL COUNSELLORS ADVISE ĀDAM KHÂN  
TO REPAIR TO QUTUB-UD-DIN-PURA

अथनिष्कासितोऽन्येद्युः<sup>1</sup> सचिवैः सबलोऽग्रजः ।

कुहदीनपुरं गत्वा धियाभाग्याश्रयोऽञ्जितः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १९९ ॥

Next day the elder brother (Ādam Khān) was sent away along with his army by the royal counsellors. Having repaired to Qutub-ud-Din-pura, he (Ādam Khān) was jilted by his statesmanship and dame luck.

*Notes*

1. The ministers under the leadership of Hassan Kuchai and in league with, Hājī Khān played a trick with Ādam Khān by advising him to go back to Qutub-ud-Din-pura and not risk a battle at that time when the Sultān was still alive.

2. Śrīvara comments that Ādam Khān showed bankruptcy of statesmanship in believing what the ministers had told him, which consequently eclipsed his career. Śrīvara elaborates this lapse on the part of Ādam Khān in the following verses.

VERSE 200: ĀDAM KHÂN MISSES THE OPPORTUNITY TO STRIKE

ज्येष्ठोऽप्यभूत् कुशलधीरपिभृत्ययुक्तः

शूरोऽप्यनन्यसदृशोद्यमधैर्ययुक्तः ।

प्राप्ते क्षणे<sup>1</sup> किमपि साधु न कर्म कुर्यात्

पुण्यैर्विना<sup>2</sup> नहि भवन्ति समीहितार्थाः<sup>3</sup> ॥ २०० ॥

The elder brother (Ādam Khān) also possessed dexterous intellect, had forces also at his command, was also brave par-excellence, and possessed uncommon effort and fortitude, (but) faltered in taking right action at the right hour. (Verily) without the propitious luck, people can not reap the desired dividends.

*Notes*

1. Śrīvara likes to convey that Ādam Khān could have struck while the iron was hot and thus got the throne.

2. Merits, good deeds. It is believed that whatever good luck is there, it flows from the good deed, done in the past.

3. Hence, he could not attain the desired object of being the next Sultān.

VERSE 201: ĀDAM KHÂN DEVOID OF BOTH PLUCK AND LUCK

स चेत्तन्निशि हत्वैकमहरिष्यत्<sup>1</sup> तुरङ्गमान् ।

अलभिष्यद् ध्रुवं राज्यं बुद्धिः कर्मानु<sup>2</sup>सारिणी ॥ २०१ ॥

Had he (Ādam Khān) during that night killed one and taken away the horses, he would certainly have grabbed the kingdom. (It is

well said) that plans mature only when proper action to that effect is taken (in time).

*Notes*

1. Having killed one—either the keeper of the royal stables or Hāji Khān.

2. This word (कर्म) can also connote प्राप्य कर्म or destiny. Plans can mature only if destiny follows these, acts accordingly.

VERSE 202: HASSAN KUCHAI AND BEHRĀM  
WORK UP HĀJĪ KHĀN  
TO ACT

अत्रान्तरे हाज्यखान कोशेशानुज चोदितः ।

राजधान्यङ्गनं गत्वा तुरङ्गाद्यहरत् पितुः ॥ २०२ ॥

In the meanwhile, Hāji Khān worked up by (Hassan) Kośeśa and the younger brother (Behrām), entered the compound of the royal palace and made away with the horses and other (paraphernalia) belonging to his father.

VERSE 203 ADAM KHAN'S LEGIONS FIGHT A BATTLE

यद्वार्तया विनिर्धैर्या येऽभवन् सुत<sup>१</sup> सेवकाः ।

विविशुक्ले समंनाहाः समदाः काल<sup>२</sup> पर्ययात् ॥ २०३ ॥

On (being apprised) of this event, those in service of the son (Ādam Khān) lost patience, but not having taken time by forelock, entered the (royal court) fully armed and (displaying) arrogant demeanour.

*Notes*

1. Obviously the legions of Ādam Khān whom he had kept in hiding along with their arms in metropolis (cf. verse 196).

2. Due to their having missed the bus, 'as Ādam Khān could not strike at the opportune moment. It might mean an account of the disorderly times prevailing then' also.

VERSE 204 ADAM KHĀN'S FORCES REPULSED BY A  
ABHIMANYU PRATIHĀRA (PADAR)

अभिमन्यु<sup>१</sup> प्रतीहारमुखा निन्द्यं यदब्रुवन् ।

तदुत्पिञ्जे<sup>२</sup> तत्फलं तैरचिरेणानु<sup>३</sup> भूयते ॥ २०४ ॥

During that chaos whatever invectives they (Ādam Khān's soldiers) had hurled upon Abhimanyu the chief of Pratihāra clan, the aftermath of that they did experience instantly.

## Notes

1. It is the present day clan of 'Padar' in Kashmir (consult notes, verse, I, 1, 88). Persian historians have given his name as Ibn-i-Badr (*TABAK*, pp 445-446). Kalhana has also given notice of their extraordinary power, that they claimed to be king-makers (*KLRT*, v, 128 etc.).

2. The times were unpredictable, chaotic, replete with confusion.

3. The inference being that these soldiers of Ādam Khān were instantly done to death.

VERSE 205: HĀJĪ KHĀN CAMPS OUTSIDE THE  
PALACE

तद्दिने हाज्यखान स सबलो बहिरास्थितः ।  
नाशकजनकं द्रष्टुं सोत्कोऽपि द्रोहशङ्कया<sup>1</sup> ॥ २०५ ॥

That Day Hājī Khān camped outside, (the palace) along with his forces. Though eager to pay a visit to his father, he could not do so anticipating treachery (from his allies).

## Note

1. Hājī Khān remained all along with his troops fearing that his absence from them might induce them to defect to other side. He stood guard over his troops as his fate was hanging in balance. Any laxity on his part would have spelt ruin for him. He also wanted to offset any attack from Ādam Khān on the metropolis.

VERSE 206: ĀDAM KHĀN FLEES THE COUNTRY VIA  
BANIHAL RANGE

तद्दार्ताकर्णनाम्नीतो<sup>1</sup> निराशः सपरिच्छदः ।  
आदमखानो वित्राणो<sup>2</sup> विषुलाटाध्वना<sup>3</sup> ययौ ॥ २०६ ॥

Being scared to hear about these developments Ādam Khān having lost hope, along with his retinue, quite defenceless, took the route via Visulāta pass for fleeing—Kashmir.

## Notes

1. These developments eg. Abhimanyu Padar having annihilated his (Ādam Khān) forces inside the metropolis, and Hājī Khān camping outside the palace. Ādam Khān could very easily divine that it could not be possible for him to reach the royal palace in these circumstances hence suspecting any foul play, decided to leave the country.

2. Without any defence in terms of self-defence. He had only a handful of retinue left with him.

3. Dr Stein has identified this place at the foot of the Banihal pass. It is, according to him, to the left of the stream Vichlari, and to the right of 'Divisar' pargana. Later flowing through Pogal-paristan on the other side of Banihal it joins the Chinab, some six miles to the west of Rāmban (*STR7*, I, 317; VIII, 177, etc.).

VERSE 207: ĀDAM KHĀN NEGOTIATES TĀRABAL  
PASS

स तारबल<sup>1</sup> मार्गेण गच्छन्निज जनावृतः ।  
अन्वागतानुज<sup>2</sup> भ्रातृ वीरलोकक्षयं व्यधात् ॥ २०७ ॥

Under the escort of his dependable retinue, he (Ādam Khān), while going out through Tārabal pass killed the host of brave soldiers pursuing him with his younger brother (Behrām) in the lead.

Notes

1. Joṇa Rāja has also referred to this mountain pass in the Banihal range when Dulcha went out of Kashmir through this (JRRT, verse 159).

This pass is evidently located over the Vishalata basin as given in the previous verse.

2. Obviously Behrām Khān is meant here.

VERSE 208: ĀDAM KHĀN SHOWS EXEMPLARY  
VALOUR

अभिमन्यु प्रतीहार मुख्याः शौर्यममानुषम् ।  
दृष्ट्वा दम खानस्य सान्वर्धभिषमूचिरे<sup>1</sup> ॥ २०८ ॥

Abhimanyu and other chiefs of the Pratihāra clan, on perceiving the superhuman valour of Ādam Khān, declared that he was true to his name.

Note

1. This Persian name means—'The lord of men', ie, he deserved to rule over men on account of his extraordinary valour.

VERSE 209

यावान् सुय्य<sup>1</sup> पुरे तेन कृतो लोकक्षयः क्रुधा ।  
तावानेव कृतस्तत्र सङ्कटे गिरिगङ्गेरे<sup>2</sup> ॥ २०९ ॥

Being enraged, whatever massacre of people he had indulged in at Sopore, in that very manner he did the same in this narrow pass of the mountain gorge.

Notes

1. Refer I, 3, 91-96.

2. *Saikata* means a narrow pass also. It was situated in the Banihal range of mountains.

VERSE 210: PRINCE HASSAN KHĀN ARRIVES  
BYE-PASSING POONCH

तावद्धस्सन खानोऽपि राजपुत्रो गुणोज्ज्वलः ।  
तूष्णं पर्णोत्समुल्लंघ्य<sup>1</sup> कश्मीरान्तरमाययौ ॥ २१० ॥

By that time, Prince Hassan Khān, possessing lustrous eminence after bye-passing Parnotsa (Poonch) in hot haste came within (the territorial jurisdiction of) Kashmir.

*Note*

1. Herein Śrīvara quite unambiguously states that Prince Hassan did not come through Poonch to Kashmir. He crossed it over, ignored or by-passed it. He might have taken the route via Darhal in Rajouri to save time and confront his uncle (Adam Khān) direct on the Peer Panchal range in which Banihal is also situated. It is the same route which his father Hāji Khān took while fleeing to Rajouri after his defeat at (Mallashīla) (cf. vs I, 1, 169). If we go by what Śrīvara has mentioned here then what Persian historians one and all have said that he came from Poonch does not sound as correct. Moreover, had he come via Poonch, he would have had to negotiate Banihal via Srinagar—a longer route taking more time. Hence he took the shortest possible route to be on the Panchal range.

VERSE 211

प्रीष्मोष्मशोषिततनुर्विरसश्चिरं य—  
च्छयोज्झितो मरुतरु<sup>1</sup> पथिकैर्निरस्तः ।  
वर्षाप्तं सेकं महिमा जनतापशान्त्यै  
सेव्यः स एव बत पत्रविचित्रशोभः ॥ २११ ॥

The desert tree quite dried up from root to top by the summer-heat, devoid of sap for a long time, deprived of (affording) shade and avoided by the travellers, (that very hedge) on being sprayed with the showers (of water) during rains, with its myriad affluence of foliage, is surprisingly resorted to by the people for alleviating (the prickly) heat.

*Note*

1. The point here is that when fortune smiles over a person even without any talent, he does receive recognition. Hāji Khān's coming to power substantiates this very truth.

VERSE 212

सदृशैवावहन्मध्ये या द्वयोस्तटयोरिव  
एकपार्वगता<sup>1</sup> सर्वा तदाभूद्वाज्यनिम्नगा ॥ २१२ ॥

At that time, as if the river of sovereignty flowing equidistant



between two banks, (suddenly) took a full tilt towards only one bank.

*Note*

1. Srivara has euphemistically said that Hājī Khān's becoming the next Sultān was imminent. Adam Khan had forfeited his claim by running away.

VERSE 213

इत्थं भ्रातृद्वयस्थित्या विजयावजयक्रमः ।

अन्यथा कल्पितः<sup>1</sup> सर्वैरन्यथाभूद्विधेर्वशात् ॥ २१३ ॥

In this manner, the position of the two brothers with defeat and victory alternating in between (them), what the people in general had guessed in correctly, under the influence of destiny was (proved) otherwise (correct).

*Notes*

1. The people might have thought that Hājī Khān was no match for Adam Khān in valour and dash, so Hājī Khān would never get the throne. But luck intervened in the other's favour and the people were proved wrong.

2. The same word अन्यथा has been used here in two contexts.

VERSE 214

पुत्रः स्यान्नु कदेति शोचति पिता जातेऽति हर्षाकुल—

स्तद् वृद्धयै यततेऽन्वहं विधियशतैश्चिन्तां स्तदीयां वहन् ।

वृद्धो विघ्नमिव स्वकं सजनकं जानाति लोभान्वित—

स्ताद्विज्ञप्तिधिया मरिष्यति कदेत्यन्तः सदाचिन्तयन् ॥ २१४ ॥

The father grieves as to when he would be blessed with a son! On a son being born to him he very happily toils night and day adopting various means with anxiety for him, uppermost (in his mind) in bringing him up. On coming of age (that very son) out of greed, scheming to usurp his (father's) riches, treats his own father as an impediment and is always concerned within his mind as to when he (the father) would die.

VERSE 215

अस्मिन्वसरे राजा कियद्भिः सैवकैर्वृतः ।

श्रुतमश्रुतवत्<sup>1</sup> कर्तुं स निश्चिन्त इवाभवत् ॥ २१५ ॥

At that hour, the Sultān surrounded by a handful of his servants, making the heard as unheard, became almost free of worry.

## Note

1. The news of the fight between his two sons must have been conveyed to the Sultān but he elected at the last hour of his life not to get involved in it. He had earlier prophesied that whoever will be the stronger of the two will get the Sultānship, hence had not nominated any successor (cf. verse 107 supra). *श्रुतमश्रुतवत्कर्तुम्* is a typically Indian phrase meaning "ignoring what he had heard".

## VERSE 216: THE SULTĀN AFFLICTED WITH APHASIA

दर्शितास्वास्थ्यवाग्बन्धस्त्यक्तपेयाद्युपक्रमः<sup>1</sup> ।

नृपेन्द्रो विरुचिः क्षीणकलाचन्द्र इवाभवत् ॥ २१६ ॥

Displaying failing health through aphasia (loss of speech) renouncing to accept the prescribed schedule of taking (medicine) in liquid form, the Sultān became devoid of lustre, like the faint orb of the moon.

## Note

1. It seems that the throat of the Sultān was affected. He could neither speak nor gulp down anything.

## VERSE 217: THE SULTĀN BEGINS TO SINK

प्रजाभाय विपर्यासात् सर्वायासायविच्छ्रवि ।

कल्पान्तरविवत्सोऽस्त<sup>1</sup> गन्तुं प्रावर्ततातुरः ॥ २१७ ॥

Due to the adverse fate of the subjects, causing discomfiture to one and all, the helpless Sultān began to sink as the sun sets at the dissolution of the world at the end of an aeon.

## Note

1. कल्प = an aeon. At the end of the aeon the world is supposed to dissolve.

## VERSE 218: THE SULTĀN BREATHES HIS LAST WHILE RECITING SACRED VERSES

कम्पितोष्ठपुटज्ञातमन्त्रपाठः<sup>1</sup> कवेर्दिने<sup>2</sup> ।

द्वादश्यां ज्येष्ठमासस्य मध्याह्ने जीवितं जहौ ॥ २१८ ॥

(The Sultān) with quivering and closed lips, indicating recitation of sacred verses, on Friday, the twelfth of the month of Jyēṣṭha, left the mortal frame at noon.

## Notes

1. The inference being that the Sultān was reciting *Kalima*—There is no god but

God Mohammad is His Prophet. Persian chroniclers have also mentioned that the Sultān was reciting the *Kalima* at the time of his death.

2. To die on Friday is supposed to be very good by the Muslims.

#### VERSE 219: ŚRĪVARA A WITNESS TO THE SULTĀN'S DEATH

प्राणप्रयाणसमये नृपतिः स मयेक्षितः<sup>1</sup>।

सर्वङ्गनिर्यत्सौभाग्यावृत्त सर्वं मुखच्छविः ॥ २१९ ॥

I was present at the time when the Sultān breathed his last. The grace of good fortune coming out from each of his limbs overwhelmed his face with resplendence.

#### Notes

1. Śrīvara says that he was present at the time when the Sultān died. Hence his testimony relating to the date, etc., of the death of Sultān can in no case be disregarded (cf, verse 223 infra).

2. The chronicler records that the Sultān looked resplendent in his death as if all his ailments had been cured, or at least he was at peace with himself.

#### VERSE 220

जाने तद्ददने-लक्ष्मी सदनं स्वेदसन्ततिः।

निर्यद्वायु तस्मिन्प्रायः प्रवाह इवदिद्युते ॥ २२० ॥

It seemed that from his face, the seat of affluence, the outcoming chain of perspiration shone like the flow of the river of (his) good-fortune.

#### VERSE 221

तज्जीवरत्नहरणाज्जातभीतिरिव ध्रुवम्।

प्राणवायुर्हरन्नायुः क्षणं तूर्णगति<sup>1</sup> व्यधात् ॥ २२१ ॥

Forsooth, the vital-breath cutting short his (the Sultān's) life, scared of taking away the jewel of his being, increased its speed for a moment.

#### Note

1. The breath goes out speedily out of the body when death is imminent. In the verses nos 220-222 the last moments of the Sultān's death have been faithfully recorded by Śrīvara as he was present there. Acute perspiration, the breath becoming faster, all have been enumerated here. These are all symptoms of life ebbing out.

## VERSE 222

प्राणान्ते<sup>1</sup> विगलत्सूर्य<sup>2</sup> सोमनेत्रजलच्छलात्<sup>3</sup> ।  
निरगान्तरदेवस्य प्रजास्नेहसो ध्रुवम् ॥ २२२ ॥

Undoubtedly at the time of the Sultān's death, the sun and the moon on being dissolved, came out in the form of his tears, depicting (his) affection for the people in liquid form.

## Notes

The sun and the moon residing in a body can be explained:

1 According to Śaivas the sun and the moon are taken to be the veins carrying hot and cold breath through inhalation and exhalation respectively. Yogis harness these breaths by *pranayama* (suspension of vital-breath) during mental recitation of an incantation. Their going out of order means death.

2 The quantum of heat and cold required for a normal body. This balance was disturbed.

3 According to the Hindu tradition the sun represents the eyes and the moon the mind. Both these become ineffective.

## VERSE 223: THE SULTĀN DIES IN 1470 AD

द्वापञ्चाशतमब्दान्<sup>1</sup> स राज्यं कृत्वा सुखप्रदम् ।  
षट् चत्वारिंशद्वर्षेऽगादिव<sup>2</sup> श्री जैनभूपतिः ॥ २२३ ॥

The illustrious Sultān, Zam (ul-'Ābidin) departed to heaven in forty sixth year (of local calender), after reigning benevolently (over his kingdom) for fifty two years.

## Note

1. Śrīvara notes that the Sultān reigned for fifty two years (52) *Tabaqāt-i-Akbārī* also agrees with it (pp 446-672). Firishta also endorses it (*Tarikh-i-Firishīd*, p 474). According to Hassan the Sultān died at the age of 69 and ruled for 51 years, two months and three days (*TAHSN*, p 206), if the reckoning done by Śrīvara is taken to be correct the Sultān's date of birth can be fixed at 1401 AD, the date of his coming to power will be 1418 AD. However, Śrīvara himself records that the Sultān became the sovereign in 1420 AD (cf, verse 22). This discrepancy has been discussed in the note of the said verse.

## VERSE 224: THE CORPSE PLACED IN A PALANQUIN WITH FULL STATE HONOURS

कर्णोरिय<sup>1</sup> शवप्रोद्यच्छत्र चामर<sup>2</sup> कैलावात् ।  
शुक्ले पतितौ नूनं सूर्यचन्द्रभसौ<sup>3</sup> दिवः ॥ २२४ ॥

The corpse (of the Sultān) was placed in a covered palanquin with blinds drawn over which, under the pretext of royal-umbrella

and chowri of actually the sun and the moon, as if grief stricken had fallen.(were standing guard).

#### Notes

1. This word connotes actually a cover litter, a lady's vehicle, a palanquin with blinds drawn so that the occupant moves unobserved (cf. *KRJT*, VII, 479; also *MW*). It seems that a closed chariot drawn by horses was requisitioned for this last journey of the Sultān on which the coffin was placed. Kalhana has mentioned that King Shankar Varma was brought to Kashmir in such vehicle (*KLRT*, v, 219).

2. The Royal parasol over the throne of the Sultān and the chown on either side of it handled by attendants for warding off flies. These are actually the part of royal pomp. It is evident that the Sultāns did observe some Hindu customs while burying their dead. In the *Mahābhārata* we have testimony to the effect that royal-umbrella and chownes were being placed on the bier of the kings, while on way to the cremation ground (XXIII, 39-42).

3. The royal umbrella studded with pearls, jewels etc. has been compared to a sun; while a chown, which is made of the tail of yak, of spotless white colour, is compared to the moon.

#### VERSE 225

तत्कालं मन्त्रिणो भृत्या दासा जनपदाश्च ये  
रुदितास्तुषुति व्याजान्निवापा अलिमक्षिपन् ॥ २२५ ॥

At that time the counsellors, the civil servants, as well as the city dwellers, were crying, and it appeared as if they were offering their handfuls of libations in the form of uncontrollable flow of tears.

#### Note

1. It appears as if the poet is referring to the offering of libations of the Hindus which one offers to the manes in the form of handfuls of water, and to the Muslim tradition of the throwing of handfuls of clods of earth in to the grave at the time of the burial.

#### VERSE 226: THE SULTĀN BECOMES *DE JURE* SOVEREIGN IN 1420 AD

राज्यं वण्णवते<sup>१</sup> चर्वे ज्येष्ठे मास्यग्रीष्मौः ।  
उत्तरायण<sup>२</sup> कालान्तस्तेनैवात्तर्धमासदत् ॥ २२६ ॥

The Sultān attained sovereignty over his kingdom during 96th year, in the month of *Jyestha*, when summer solistice was going to end, and in that very month breathed his last also.

#### Notes

1. In verse 223 Srivara has recorded that the Sultān ruled for 52 years, in light of which we can fix the date of his becoming the Sultān as 1418 AD, since he died

in 1470 AD. But here the same chronicler says that the Sultān grabbed power in 1420 AD, 4496th year of local calendar. This difference of two years perceived in the narrative of Śrīvara can be explained as follows:

On the authority of Jona Rāja we learn that Sultān Alī Shāh handed over Sultānship to Shāhi Khān (Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin) in 1418-1419 AD. He wanted to proceed on Haj and passed on the rule to his younger brother Shāhi Khān quite against the wishes of the latter. Hence Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin was the *de facto* ruler of Kashmir right from 1418 AD. Śrīvara alludes here to his becoming the *de jure* ruler in 1420 AD. All told he ruled for 52 years (JRRT verses 689, 690, 706, etc.)

2. Reference is to the summer solstice i.e., on the 21st of June. In the Hindu tradition death in the *Uttarāyana* period was very propitious and hence in a way, Śrīvara suggests that the Sultān also attained such an exalted position.

VERSE 227: THE SULTĀN'S AGE WAS OVER 69 YEARS  
AT HIS DEATH

अतीत गणितैकोनसप्तत्यब्दा<sup>1</sup> युषं नृपम् ।  
वदनावगतप्रोद्यत् कृष्ण<sup>2</sup> कूर्चकचच्छटम् ॥ २२७ ॥

The Sultān, whose (span of) life had exceeded sixty nine year. His face had attained exquisite prominence, with black beard and hair...

Notes

1. It seems that the Sultān was 69 years and some months old at the time of his death. He had not completed the 70th year. Hence his date of birth can be fixed safely at plus 1401 AD (Firishta also confirms this, p 474).

2. Apparently his beard had not greyed at such an advanced age. The suggestion being that the Sultān could not have died but for the impudence of his sons who with their wicked intentions hastened his death. Despair and not disease cost him his life. No evident signs of old age could be seen on his body.

VERSE 228: THE COFFIN OF THE SULTĀN TAKEN  
TO 'MAZĀR-I-SALĀTIN'

शवीभूतं शवीभूतं<sup>1</sup> शिबिकायां<sup>2</sup> शवाजिस्म<sup>3</sup> ।  
रुदन्तो मन्त्रिणोनित्युश्च्छत्रचामर<sup>4</sup> राजितम् ॥ २२८ ॥

Having been auspicious (now) reduced to a corpse, it was taken to the graveyard in a bier adorned with the royal paraphernalia of umbrella and chowri by the courtiers, in tears.

Notes

1. The Sultān was so auspicious during his life time that everybody wanted to steal a glance at him, but now nobody would like to see his dead face as if it was taken to be inauspicious.

It might also suggest that reference to the belief of the Śaivas, Śrīvara being also one of them, that bereft of *śakti*—the immanence, Śiva—the Transcendence is only

a शव, ie, a dead body, not a living one (Shankaracharya, *Saundarya Lahari*, verse 1).

2. It seems that a carriage was used to take the dead-body of the Sultān to the burial ground. The distance between Zaina-Nagari (Nowshera) and this royal graveyard is about four to five kilometers. Hence transport seems to have been used. Otherwise coffins are carried on the shoulders (by the near and dear ones of the deceased) to the burial spot.

The graveyard where the Sultāns used to be buried. It has been called as 'Mazār-i-Salātin' by the Persian chroniclers. It is situated between Zaina-Kadal and Ali Kadal on the bank of the Jhelum. शिबि is bier for carrying the dead.

3. Royal paraphernalia, in terms of the royal umbrella and chowri, were planted on the coffin; or the royal umbrella might have been hanging over the coffin on way to burial ground, with attendants waving chowries on either side of the coffin, as was the practice when the Sultān would be seated on his throne while alive.

VERSE 229: FORMER SULTĀNS ALSO BURIED AT  
'MAZĀR-I-SALĀTIN'

यत्रसुप्ता इवैकत्र भान्ति पूर्वे महोभुजः ।

भर्तृप्रेम्णा धरण्येव निहिता हृदयान्तरे ॥ २२९ ॥

Where (at Mazār-i-Salātin) former Sultāns maintained their grandeur collectively (though) in sleep, as if out of love for its lords, the earth had deposited them in her bosom.

Note

1. This place was obviously reserved exclusively for burying the Sultāns.

VERSE 230: THE WHOLE CITY DROWNED IN GRIEF

रुदत्पौरजनप्रोद्यतार रोदननिःस्वने ।

बभूवुस्तच्छुचेवारंसाक्रन्दमुखरा दिशः ॥ २३० ॥

On account of the loud and continuous wailings of the city-dwellers, all the (four) quarters were engulfed and echoed with these cries, as if in acute grief.

VERSE 231: THE ENTIRE CITY MOURNS THE DEATH  
OF THE SULTĀN

क्व प्रयासि प्रजास्त्यक्त्वा हा देव नरजीवित ।

इत्यस्मादपरः शब्दो नाश्रावि नगरान्तरे ॥ २३१ ॥

"O Lord, the very life of the people! where are you going, deserting your subjects?" No other wail except this could be heard throughout the city.

## VERSE 232

तत्तदाक्रन्दितैः शशवत्कर्ण संजात संस्तवाः ।  
शून्येऽप्यशृन्वन्लोका नामाक्रन्दितमथासकृत् ॥ २३२ ॥

Thereafter, the ears resounded with these continuous wails (to such an extent), that when even alone, the people could hear the echoing of these lamentations (in their ears).

VERSE 233: THE SULTĀN LAID TO REST BESIDE HIS  
FATHER SULTĀN SIKANDAR

कर्णोत्थादथोत्क्षिप्य<sup>१</sup> पितुः पार्श्वे<sup>२</sup> नरेश्वरम् ।  
कृत्वा पटैकसंवीतं<sup>३</sup> भूगर्भाभ्यन्तरे न्यधुः ॥ २३३ ॥

Then the Sultān was taken out of the carriage, was draped in a single shroud and placed in the grave beside his father.

## Notes

1. Quite obviously the Sultān's coffin was taken inside the graveyard on shoulders. The carriage must have stopped at the entrance to 'Mazār-i-Salātin'. Nowadays gun-carriages are used for carrying very important persons for their last rites.
2. According to Śrīvara's testimony the Sultān was buried beside his father. Persian historians also corroborate this.
3. With a single shroud the Sultān's body was covered while lowering it into the grave. Kashmiri Muslims continue with this practice even now. Royal paraphernalia was taken back to the palace.

VERSE 234: HANDFULS OF CLAY OFFERED  
ON THE GRAVE

नेत्रनालस्रवद्वाष्पधारा<sup>१</sup>; स्वाचार कारणात् ।  
मुखावलोकने<sup>२</sup> कृत्वा सर्वे मृन्मुष्टिका<sup>३</sup> जहुः ॥ २३४ ॥

In accordance with their own custom (of Muslims) all those present there, with torrents of tears trickling down their vacant eyes cast the (last) glance at his (the Sultān's) face and offered handfuls of clods of earth (on the grave).

## Notes

1. Śrīvara has used *Nāla*—a hollow-stalk or reed for the eyes. Perhaps he wants to suggest that the eyes of those who were present there had lost their usual lusture on account of intense grief and looked hollow, vacant.
2. "In accordance with the Muslim custom" is meant here. It might connote personal Muslim usage also.
3. The shroud is removed from the face and the near and dear ones are allowed



to have the last glimpse of the dead. The shroud is put on the face again and the grave is closed.

4. A handful of clay is offered on the grave as a mark of respect to the deceased. This all pertains to Muslim custom as alluded to by Śrīvara here (cf. note 2).

VERSE 235: PEOPLE HAVE A HUNCH THAT THE SOVEREIGNTY  
OF KASHMIR WILL NOW BE IN JEOPARDY

भूपतिर्भविता नान्यस्त्वत्समो भूयिष्ये' गता ।

इतीव भावनांचक्रुर्मृनुष्टिग्रहणच्छलात् ॥ २३५ ॥

"We shall not have a Sultān like you again, (even) the earth (on which you held sway) is not our own (now)". This very thought was at work under the pretext of making him (the Sultān) accept the handful of clay.

*Note*

1. The land of Kashmir will be no more in the hands of native people. The implication being that the sovereignty of Kashmir will be in danger when the Sultān has departed. Hence a handful of clay, while Kashmir is independent, will be a prized offering to the Sultān. It may also connote that a handful of clay represented the freedom of Kashmir which the Sultān, now not being at the helm of affairs, should take with him.

This concerning the freedom of their land came true in 1586. When Mughals occupied Kashmir. Actually the period between the death of Sultān—Zain-ul-'Abidin 1470 AD to that of Mughals occupying Kashmir 1586 AD, a century and some odd years was rife with court-intrigues, internecine rivalries and concentration of administration in some dynastic factions. It may be called the preparation for foreign domination. Hence the Sultān was the last real independent ruler of Kashmir whose writ would run from one corner of the kingdom to the other.

VERSE 236: AN ESTIMATE OF THE SULTĀN

जित्वायीन् प्रबलान् रणे क्षितिमिमां यत्वा धनैः सर्वतो

दत्त्वा कोशमशेषदेशविदिताः कृत्वा' पुरीः स्वाभिषाः ।

सप्ताङ्गोर्जित'भङ्गिसङ्गिसुभगं कृत्वापि गज्यंचिरं

हित्वा सर्वमहो पटैरुच्यमानन्ते लभन्ते नृपाः ॥ २३६ ॥

Vanquishing powerful enemies in the battles, overwhelming this land with allround opulence, making inexhaustible coffers available (for the welfare of people), founding far-famed cities after their name, consolidating their shattered empire with seven-fold (prowess), ruling for long fairly well. Alas! the kings leaving all this behind, take a robe of single cloth only (with them).

*Notes*

1. Cf. Building cities.

2 In Kashmir as elsewhere the custom of wrapping the dead with a single shroud is current amongst the Muslims even now.

VERSE 237: WITH DEATH ALL THE ANXIETIES  
OF THE SULTĀN ENDED

स वैराज्यदावाग्निसन्तप्त इवशीतलाम् ।  
तद् गुहान्तरमासाद्य सुखनिद्रामिवाभजत् ॥ २३७ ॥

He (the Sultān) scotched by the wild-fire of avarice (engulfing) the kingdom. On having found respite within the cold grave, he did have a sound sleep.

VERSE 238: HĀJĪ KHĀN BOWS BEFORE HIS DEAD FATHER

मुखनिद्रावृतस्येव दृष्ट्वा सौभाग्यं सुन्दरम् ।  
हाज्यखानोऽकरोत् पित्रे मस्तकं<sup>१</sup> स्वमरात्रिकाम् ॥ २३८ ॥

Perceiving the fortunate and lovely face (now) in sleep, Hājī Khān paid homage to his father with his head.

*Note*

1. Actually it connotes to bow before or prostrate before—the '*sajdā*'—in Persian.

VERSE 239: HĀJĪ KHĀN LAMENTS THE DEATH OF HIS FATHER

अपराधं मया तात बहुशः पापबुद्धिना ।  
मन्ये तेनैव रुष्टस्त्वमसाहायो<sup>१</sup> गतो दिवम् ॥ २३९ ॥

"O Dear Father! being evil-minded I have given you offence many a time. I think, being angry about it, you have opted to proceed to heaven, quite alone."

*Note*

1. Forlorn, in despair, etc. It might also connote leaving his progeny, behind. It can also mean quite alone.

VERSE 240

शेकन्धरनृपो<sup>१</sup> धन्यो यस्त्वां पश्यति नाकगः ।  
धिङ्मां यो वञ्चितोराजन् दर्शनामृत वर्षणैः ॥ २४० ॥

Sultān Sikandar (already) in heaven is fortunate enough to steal a glance over you (there): O Sultān! fie on me who has been denied a look at your ambrosial-presence (here).

## Note

1 Sultān Sīkandar, the father of Zain-ul-'Ābidin. He ruled over Kashmir from 1389 AD to 1413 AD.

## VERSE 241

विहृतं क्वापि नो तात मां विना स्वोत्सवक्षणे<sup>1</sup> ।  
वदाद्य कथमेकाकी भजसे स्वर्ग संपदः ॥ २४१ ॥

O Dear Father! You always shared the moments of merriment with me. Say now! how is it that you are enjoying the comforts of heaven quite alone (without me)?

## Note

1. Refer I, 4, 44-45, supra.

## VERSE 242

यस्त्वं कोमलशय्यासु नागा निद्रां गणावृतः ।  
स कथं भूगणस्यान्तस्तिष्ठस्येकः<sup>1</sup> स शर्करे ॥ २४२ ॥

You could not get (a wink of) sleep on a soft, (even though) a crowd of attendants would surround you (for keeping guard). How is it that you find repose on the hard terrain of the earth, strewn with pebbles?

## Note

1. The grave is meant here.

## VERSE 243: THE SULTĀN HAD DIED IN THE ABSENCE OF HĀJĪ KHĀN

प्रतिमुच्य भवन्तं<sup>1</sup> मे प्राप्तस्य स्वगृहं न कः ।  
अशपन्मास्तु मेलोपो भूयो<sup>2</sup> वामिति कोपितः ॥ २४३ ॥

After taking leave of you, and repairing to my palace, who being averse to me, out of spite, pronounced a curse that (we two) should not meet again.

## Notes

1 It seems that Hājī Khān was in his apartments when the Sultān actually breathed his last.

2. It was their last meeting when Hājī Khān took the leave of the Sultān to relax in his apartment.

## VERSE 244

औन्निद्रयं कारितोऽस्माभिः कुपुत्रैः सततं भवान् ।  
अद्यैवावसरं प्राप्य दीर्घनिद्रां करोषि किम् ॥ २४४ ॥

We, the unworthy sons, always robbed you, of your sleep. Is it, that now having found an opportunity, you have elected to take a long sleep?

## VERSE 245

ज्वलिताभूत् तनुनित्यं सततोदितया यया ।  
साद्य किं चलिता राज्ञश्चिन्ता ते मानसान्तराम् ॥ २४५ ॥

O Sultān! Is it that the anxiety which consumed your body unrelentingly, has gone away now from your mind?

## VERSE 246

चित्रे वाप्यथ संकल्पे पश्यामि वदनाम्बुजम् ।  
शृणोमि ताः कथाः कुत्र तात ते बहुपातकी ॥ २४६ ॥

I, who has greatly sinned against you, O my dear father! might see your lotus face in a picture or in thoughts, but the (wise) sayings of yours will not be there.

## VERSE 247

राज्यं विषद् दिनं रात्रिः सूद्यानं पितृकाननम्<sup>१</sup> ।  
जीवनं मरणं नाथ त्वां विना मम सांप्रतम् ॥ २४७ ॥

Bereft of you, O my Lord! Now Sultānship is a misery, day is night, a lush garden is a cemetery, and life is death for me.

*Note*

१. पितृकानन = the jungle of the manes (ie. the cemetery)

## VERSE 248

कुपितो वा प्रसन्नो वा कुतोऽप्यागत तात मे ।  
दर्शनं<sup>१</sup> देहिनो सोढुं क्षमो विरहवैशसम् ॥ २४८ ॥

Whether angry or pleased, my dear father! come from any where to give a look to me. I can not endure this agony of separation (from you).

## Note

- 1 It is a typically Indian attitude, to have a love of the elders or the Sultān.

## VERSE 249

विहाय क्व नु मां तात गतः पादैक सेवकम् ।  
द्युति न लभते पद्मकोरको भास्करं विना ॥ २४९ ॥

O dear father! Where have you gone forsaking me, a single minded votary of your feet. The lotus-bud cannot attain full shine without the Sun.

## VERSE 250

किं रुष्टोऽसि महीपते त्वमधुना<sup>1</sup> दासोऽस्मि सेवा परो  
मौनं मा भज देहि वाक्यमधुनाप्येकं ममात्यादरात्<sup>2</sup> ।  
नो जीवामि विना त्वयेति विलपन् कुर्वन् भुजारात्रिकां<sup>3</sup>  
साक्रन्दं रुदितं चकार सुचिरं दृष्ट्वा मुखं भूपतेः ॥ २५० ॥

Beholding the face of the Sultān for long (Hājī Khān) began to weep with loud plaints; he waved his arms respectfully (over the dead Sultān) while lamenting: "O Sultān! I am even now a serf dancing attendance (on you). Though being cross with me, do not opt for silence (but) address a few words out of great regard for me; I can scarcely live without you."

## Notes

1. From the use of अधुना—now—it can easily be inferred that Hājī Khān is conscious of the fact that he is a Sultān now, but would treat himself to be the servant of his illustrious father.

2. Actually great esteem for the sultānship of Kashmir is meant here. Hājī Khān was now the Sultān of Kashmir.

3. There is a convention with the Muslims to wave their right arm with open palm on something very dear, very sacred, etc. Then with that very right palm they rub their beards, faces upto the chin, perhaps symbolising the blessings they receive by doing this.

VERSE 251: HĀJĪ KHĀN AT THE GRAVE OF THE SULTĀN  
TILL SUN-SET

इति प्रलाप मुखरं हाज्यखानं शुचार्दितम् ।  
राजधानीं ततो नित्युर्दिनान्ते<sup>1</sup> मन्त्रिणो बलात्<sup>2</sup> ॥ २५१ ॥

In this manner, lamenting loudly and torn with grief Hājī Khān was taken to the metropolis from there (Royal cemetery) by the counsellors forcibly at dusk.

## Notes

1. It seems that Hāji Khān insisted on staying at the grave of his father even when the grave had been closed. At sunset to afford protection to the next Sultān Hāji Khān, the counsellors—thought it advisable to remove him forcibly from there for being lodged in the royal precincts.

2. It might mean also against his wishes, under duress. Hāji Khān wanted to stay there at the grave even for the night. But the Sultān could not be left to the mercy of winds, he deserved all respect and safety which could be available to him only in the capital.

From the description above, it appears as if prince was penitent and was regretting for all he had done.

VERSE 252: V'LLAGE SĀLOR ENDOWED FOR THE  
IMPROVEMENT OF MAZĀR-I-SALĀTIN

पितुर्लोकान्तरस्थस्य प्रीत्यर्थं तत्क्षणं सुतः ।

सालोरग्राममात्मीयं<sup>1</sup> न्यधात्<sup>2</sup> तत्र शवाजिरे ॥ २५२ ॥

For the gratification of the father having proceeded to the other world, that very moment his son (Hāji Khān) made an endowment of his personal (property) Sālor village (while coming out of) that cemetery.

## Notes

1. This village is in Solor Gandarbal Tehsil. After crossing the village 'Dudarharma' and 'Tulamoola' bridge, enroute it is just to the left. Kalhana called it "Dugdhāśrama".

2. Literally placed, gave away. Actually this village was endowed for the maintenance of 'Mazar-i-Salātin'. Muslims have founded waqfs, for improving their holy places always. This village was declared to be a 'waqf' for the royal cemetery.

VERSE 253: LAND GRANT FOR SPRAYING WATER OVER  
THE GRAVE DURING SUMMER

ग्रीष्म पानीयदानेन<sup>1</sup> तृप्त्यर्थं तत्प्रदायिनाम् ।

बहूनां प्रददौ क्षोणीमहाषी<sup>2</sup> धर्मसात्कृताम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ २५३ ॥

For the complete satiation (of the departed parent) by offering water (to his grave) during summer months, land (out of this) sacrosanct gift was made over to many.

## Notes

1. There is a custom with Kashmiri Muslims to spray water over the tomb-stone during the hot days of summer, perhaps to keep it cool. This is supposed to provide comfort to the occupant inside the grave.

2. The village Solor was now a waqf property, hence—nothing from it could be used for purposes other than religious. Hāji Khān made exception to this by granting

land to many within this village and commissioning them to spray water over the grave during summer. The produce of the land would be their wages for doing this service to the departed father of the reigning Sultān (Hāji Khān).

3. Literally appropriated, earmarked for religious purposes, a *waqf* so to say

## VERSE 254

राज्ञानेन विना शून्यां नास्मि क्षमायीक्षितुं क्षमः ।  
इतीव दुःखात् तत्कालं<sup>1</sup> स्वमब्धौ रविरक्षिपत् ॥ २५४ ॥

“Deprived of this Sultān, I can not brook to behold this desolate land,” with this heaviness of mind, the sun sunk himself into the ocean there and then.

## Note

1. Śrīvara describes poetically the fall of night. The last rites of the Sultān coincided with it.

## VERSE 255

सन्ध्याभ्रशाटीमुत्सृज्य<sup>1</sup> रोदनार्थमिवेशितुः ।  
शुचेव विस्तृतं<sup>2</sup> चक्रे तमःकचचयं क्षितिः<sup>3</sup> ॥ २५५ ॥

The earth, as if out of excessive grief, discarded the golden head-gear at twilight and dishevelled the pitch dark mass of hair (at night) to weep for its lord.

## Notes

1. अभ्र among other meanings connotes mica, tale, gold etc. (cf. *MW*, p 79). The earth at the time of sun set, is pervaded with a golden hue. Śrīvara refers to the custom of dropping head-gear on the dead body of someone very near and dear by men and women alike in Kashmir. Both Hindus and Muslims observe this custom here.

2. The women dishevell their hair as a mark of mourning. Combing of the hair during the days of mourning is prohibited, which injunction is followed by Kashmiri Pandits strictly. Śrīvara has alluded to this very convention prevalent there even in those days.

3. The allusion is to the gathering darkness at night. Here the earth is treated as a lady in mourning whose master has breathed his last.

## VERSE 256

आशाप्रकाशके वन्द्य दर्शने गुणिबान्धवे ।  
परलोकं गते तस्मिन्-मण्डले प्रोदभूतमः ॥ २५६ ॥

This verse can be explained in two contexts, those of Sultān and the Sun.

In the context of the Sultān it means:

The one in whom hopes (of the people) were raised, who was worthy of bowing to when seen, who as a talented kin, on whose proceeding to the other world, this whole domain (Kashmir) was draped in darkness.

In the context of the Sun it means:

The illuminer of all the directions, who is propitiated on becoming visible, who is a friend doing good to the people; on whose setting out for the other hemisphere, pitch darkness pervades the entire hemisphere.

#### VERSE 257: THE CITY WEARS A DESOLATE LOOK

तद्दिने रम्यनाभावाद<sup>1</sup> गृहधूम<sup>2</sup> विवर्जिता ।  
शोकमूका निरुच्छ्वासा<sup>3</sup> निर्जीवेवाभवत् पुरी ॥ २५७ ॥

On that day no cooking was done, no smoke came out from the houses. The city looked dumb with grief, bereft of breath and life-less, so to say.

#### Notes

1. Meals were not prepared on the day the Sultān died. People were so much grief-stricken that they had lost their appetite. They kept a complete fast on that day of mourning.

2. Hence, no fire was lit in the houses to cook food. In Kashmir, when no smoke seems to come out of a household more so in the evening, it is taken to be that some calamity has befallen it. Till recently Kashmiris would usually prepare meals in the evening, setting some food apart for the morning. The Sultān's burial lasted till evening, hence the usual routine of preparing food at that time was not gone through by Kashmir due to grief.

3. निरुच्छ्वासा = without any breathing. The whole scene was so sombre that it appeared as if the whole city had become life-less.

#### VERSE 258: AN EPITAPH ENGRAVED ON THE TOMB STONE IN BOLD LETTERS

शवागारेपरिशिलां स्फटिकीं<sup>1</sup> रचनोज्ज्वलाम् ।  
दीर्घा सर्वोन्नतां राज्ञो मूर्ति परिणतामिव<sup>2</sup> ॥ २५८ ॥

Over the covered apartment of deceased (grave of the Sultān) an oblong (tomb) stone, raised all around, carved out of white crystal, with a lucid epitaph (was placed) looking like the transformed image of the Sultān.

#### Notes

1. Śrīvara has recorded that an epitaph was engraved on the tomb in crystal-stone



on which this epitaph was engraved has since disappeared from the 'Mazâr-i-Salâtin'. In this context Dr Parmu writes: "After having ransacked the whole graveyard I failed to discover the inscription. All tombs have finely polished black stones, unfortunately, the Sultân's tomb is only one without a crown." (*A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p 171 note). Apparently the evidence of Dr Parmu indicates that the stone was a valuable ore and some vandal removed it for using the other side at least.

2. It can even mean beat down the image of the Sultân. The crystal crown might have been placed on the grave stone at an inclined angle, not straight. The Sultân was definitely bent down with years, so the poet has imagined it to be the Sultân in his old age with his back not straight, inclined, bent down.

## VERSE 259

घनोत्कण्ठ दिदृक्षाप्तरुदल्लोकाश्रुविन्दुभिः ।  
यत्रमुक्ताफलैः पूजा लसतीवोपरिप्रभोः ॥ २५९ ॥

Out of fond eagerness to steal a glance over (the tomb-stone), the drops of tears (dripping) from the (eyes of) weeping crowds, resembled the pearls with which the grave of the Sultân was lustrously adored.

## VERSE 260: THE SULTÂN A DEVOUT

## MUSLIM

पौराः शुक्रदिने<sup>१</sup> भान्ति यत्रान्तः प्रतिबिम्बिताः ।  
एषेव निकटं नीताः कुतूहलतयात्मनः<sup>२</sup> ॥ २६० ॥

On Friday, the city-dwellers looking resplendent on being reflected therein (the crystal tomb-stone), were as if given a place quite close to his own self by the Sultân, out of fondness (for them).

## Notes

1. Two inferences can be drawn from the use of Friday here. The Friday succeeding the death of a Muslim marks the end of mourning. On this day near and dear ones of the deceased gather at the grave for reciting 'Fātiḥā' collectively. Then they repair to the house of the deceased, where tea etc. is served to them.

2. On Fridays congregational prayers are ordained for the Muslims. The Sultân must have also been joining these rows of the devout and would not have minded rubbing shoulders with the lowest therein, keeping with the injunctions of the *Qurān*. He wanted to be very near to them there, no distance whatsoever could be maintained by him. This clearly shows that he was a devout Muslim and would regularly attend to Friday prayers.

## VERSE 261

कवाटविकटं वक्षो मुखं पूर्णेन्दुसुन्दरम् ।  
शुकवदीर्घनासाग्रं नेत्रे कमल कोमले ॥ २६१ ॥

The broad-chest (like the) panels of the (front door), the face beautiful (like the) full moon, the long tip of nose like that of a parrot, the eyes (resembling) two tender lotuses...

## VERSE 262

भ्रूलेखेलोमशेभालं प्रभालम्भित लक्षणम् ।  
सम्बुद्धिस्ते गुणास्ताश्च राज्यकार्याविधानताः ॥ २६२ ॥

The streaks of eye-brows with woolly hair, the forehead containing the portents of effulgence, that very intellect, those very virtues and sense of responsibility in discharging the duties of royal office.

## VERSE 263

स्मारं स्मारं जनः सर्वो राज्ञः पुर इव स्थितः ।  
पर्यन्तनीरसासारं संसारं निन्दते न कः ॥ २६३ ॥

As if the Sultān standing before them (in flesh and blood) the people repeatedly remembered (him) and there was none who did not speak ill of this transitory world, dry as a dust in the long run.

## VERSE 264: HOMAGE TO THE SULTĀN

ज्योत्स्ना पूर्णसुधाकरस्य कुसुमोत्कर्षो वसन्तस्य यत्  
सौभाग्यं शरदि प्रसन्न नभसो नार्या नवं यौवनम् ।  
राज्ये चैव विवेकिनो नरपतेर्यत् सर्व सौख्यप्रदं  
धाता तत्कुरुते स्थिरं यदिजनेः स्वर्गाजिने न स्पृहा ॥ २६४ ॥

The shine of full moon, the bloom of flowers in the spring season, the majesty of spotless sky in the autumn, the buxom youth of young ladies and the rule of a discriminating Sultān, bestowing comfort on every one, if the creator solidifies all these (virtues) in a single person, then nobody will long for the heaven.

## Note

1. Śrīvara, while paying tribute to the Sultān says that during his rule the country was a heaven in itself, hence the desire of people to attain heaven was meaningless or not there.

## VERSE 265: LIFE OF SULTÂN NARRATED IN NUTSHELL

बल्ये<sup>१</sup> पित्रा वियोगो वरसचिवभियो<sup>२</sup> भ्रातृभ्योर्विरोध<sup>३</sup>:  
 प्राप्ते राज्ये प्रवासो<sup>४</sup> बहिरथ समरोऽप्यग्रजेनातिकष्टः<sup>५</sup>।  
 धात्रेभ्योऽथचिन्ता<sup>६</sup> तदनु निजसुतैर्यवदायुश्चबाधा<sup>७</sup>  
 संसारे सर्वदास्तु स्मृतिकृति भविनां नित्यदुःखां स्थितिं धिक् ॥ २६५ ॥

Loss of father during childhood, scare from eminent counsellors, friction with brothers and their faction; on attaining Sultānship, living in exile outside (the country), very painful war with the elder brother, anxiety from the progeny of 'wet nurse' (Thākurs) and lastly discomfiture from his sons throughout life; fie on this tormenting position of the high-ups for whom the world represents perennial flow of tears!

## Notes

1. According to Joṇa Rāja Sultān Sikandar died in 1413 AD. After him Sultān 'Āli Shāh ruled for six years (1413-19 AD), before transferring the rule to Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn for the first time in 1419 AD when he was only seventeen. If we deduct 6 years of 'Āli Shāh's rule from it, he was therefore only 11 years old when his father died, 'a minor' as Śrīvara describes here (JRRT, verses 612, 613, 707).

2. Reference to Mir Qaiser who did not see eye to eye with Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn is evident here (JRRT, verse 692).

3. Jasaratha Khokhar's war with 'Āli Shāh. Jasaratha Khokhar had granted asylum to Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn when he had fled the country (JRRT, verses 730, 732).

4. Joṇa Rāja has recorded that Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn sought refuge with Jasaratha Khokhar on handing over the rule on to Sultān 'Āli Shāh back, and leaving the country to avoid bloodshed (JRRT, 716).

5. Sultān 'Āli Shāh at the instigation of his father, the Rāja of Madra—Jammu etc. invaded Khokhars for granting asylum to Zain-ul-'Ābidīn but could not overcome them. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn fought on the side of Jasaratha Khokhar. In that battle Sultān 'Āli Shāh was killed (JRRT, 736, 749).

6. Ādam Khān and Hāji Khān—the two sons of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn were made over to two warring factions of Thākurs—progeny of wet-nurse—for bringing up who sowed the seeds of friction between the two brothers (ZRRT, I, 1, 44, 59).

7. The Sultān had to lead his army against his erring sons Hāji and Ādam respectively (ZRRT, I, 1, 13, 81, 94, 114, 150, 169).

## VERSE 266: ŚRĪVARA—A PROFICIENT ASTROLOGER

नूनं जातकयोगेन पितृभ्यो दुःखमन्वभूत्।  
 अभूदस्य सुतस्थाने<sup>१</sup> भौमो यत्<sup>२</sup> पापवीक्षितः<sup>३</sup> ॥ २६६ ॥

Surely (the Sultān) had to undergo difficulties on account of his sons according to the position of stars at the time of his birth, since planet Mars had defiled the spot belonging to his sons by his evil eye.

## Notes

1. The position of stars at the time of birth is called *Janma Kuṇḍali*. Nine places are earmarked therein for each planet distributed over twelve places. The fifth place is allotted to the progeny.

2. *भौम* is the planet Mars. If it is taken to be a vile planet (*Aśubha graha*), and is directly involved with it, the sons become an eyesore for the father by their unclean deeds and thoughts.

3. Is casting an evil eye.

VERSE 267: LITTERATEURS ORPHANED BY THE  
DEATH OF THE  
SULTĀN

पण्डिताः कवयस्तस्य वाचाला येऽभवन् सदा ।

त एव तं विना दृष्टाः पौषे<sup>1</sup> मूकाः पिक्वा इव ॥ २६७ ॥

Those very scholars and poets (patronized) by him, always waxing eloquent, had in his (the Sultān's) absence lost their speech, like the cuckoo in the month of *Pauṣa*.

## Note

1. The cuckoo is a bird of the spring. During winter months it can not live in Kashmir, hence it leaves for hotter places. The warbling of cuckoo can not be, therefore, heard in the month of *Pauṣa* (December-January). Likewise the death of the Sultān stunned the poets so much that they could not speak a word and they became dumb-founded.

## VERSE 268

याभूत् सरस्वतीनेत्रनिष्ठा विकसिता सदा ।

ग्रन्था<sup>1</sup> संकुचिता साभूद् बुद्धपुस्तक<sup>2</sup> सन्ततिः ॥ २६८ ॥

The expanding tradition of (composing) books of knowledge and edited as (separate) manuals (on each branch) which remained always in bloom like the eyes of the goddess of speech, has become contracted now.

## Notes

1. Their word will also connote treatise or a manuals in verse consisting of 32 syllables and written in *Anuṣṭup* metre—having 8 syllables in each of the four *padas*. It also means to bind together or string together, or edit on chapterwise.

2. It can also mean the uninterrupted flow or the practice of getting the books written by very learned persons. The Sultān did introduce this tradition of getting monographs written on every branch of knowledge by the scholars (*ZRRT*), I, 5, 78-86).

VERSE 269: WORKS ON PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE GOT  
TRANSLATED INTO KASHMIRI LANGUAGE

तर्कव्याकरणादीनां शास्त्राणां ये श्रमं व्यधुः ।

ते राजरत्ननायालं देशभाषाश्रमं<sup>1</sup> व्यधुः ॥ २६९ ॥

Those, who had put in labour to compose treatises on logic, grammar and other branches of philosophy and literature had to put in (additional) labour for translating these into the local dialect—(Kashmiri) for the gratification of the Sultān.

*Note*

1. Śrīvara grieves over the lot of such labour consuming books. More so, when these were got translated into Kashmiri, which meant double labour on the part of the scholars. This tradition will now be no more. Śrīvara does not seem to be a protagonist of Kashmiri language. Apparently the new Sultān did not know Sanskrit and would like the books in Kashmiri rather than Sanskrit.

VERSE 270

राज्ञा ये बहुमानिता गृह सुख श्रीमण्डिताः पण्डिताः

शास्त्राभ्यासमहर्निशं प्रविदधुर्ग्रन्थार्जनाद्युत्सुकाः<sup>1</sup> ।

पृष्टाः किं पठितेति ते प्रति जगुः श्री जैनप्रभे<sup>2</sup> गते

कुत्र व्याकरणं क्व तर्क कलहः कुत्रापि काव्यश्रमः ॥ २७० ॥

The scholars, held in great esteem by the Sultān, provided with complete (economic security) comfort at the home-front, engrossed in going through the treatises on various branches of knowledge also eager to collect as many books as they could, on being asked as to who would read these, responded, “The Sultān Zaina having breathed his last nobody would be interested in (the study) of grammar, logic with its (argumentative) squabbles and taking pains to compose poetry.

*Notes*

1. This word अर्जन connotes to earn, to collect, to compile etc. also. Ostensibly these books from afar had already been collected by Sultān himself (ZRRT, I, 5, 72, 79).

2. V.I. जैनलाये for जैनप्रभे (VVR1, p 111).

VERSE 271

योऽभूत् सर्वकलानिधिः शुभविधिर्दाताभिगम्यो गुणी

काव्यज्ञो बहुभाषया गुणिरतः करुण्य पुण्याकुलः ।

सोऽयं हन्त समीक्ष्यतेऽवनितले<sup>1</sup> धिक् पापिनोऽस्माञ् शठान्

ये जीवन्ति शुचा न यान्ति विपिनं संसारतृष्णाजिताः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २७१ ॥

He who was the fountain of the whole gamut of arts and crafts, was gracious, generous, easily accessible and virtuous, a connoisseur of poetry in many languages, lover of talent, and overwhelmed with the virtues of compassion. Alas! is being looked at (while lying) on the ground. Fie on us, vile and double-faced who being under the spell of worldly enticements (still), do not out of grief, repair to forests.

#### Notes

1. The dead body is always laid on bare ground.
2. The Sultān had all the virtues enumerated above, yet the transitory nature of the world compelled him to bid good bye to his eminence and affluence. Śrīvara would like to point out that though being a witness to all this, the people still cling to world. They should have abjured it.

#### VERSE 272: STATE BECOMES BEREFT OF GOOD THINGS

हारेणैव विनाङ्गना कुचतटी शास्त्रेणहीनेवधोः  
 सूर्येणैव विना प्रफुल्लनलिनी तारुण्यहीना तनुः ।  
 चन्द्रेणैव विना यथैव रजनी पत्या विना भामिनी  
 येनेकेन विना नृपेण न बभौ काश्मीराज्यस्थितिः' ।। २७२ ।।

Just like the breasts of a maiden bereft of a necklace, intellect devoid of knowledge, blossoming lotus—grooves without the sun, the body deprived of virile youth, night—bereft of the moon, and a wife without her husband, similarly the position (beauty) of the state of Kashmir had become in the absence of the only one Sultān (Zain-ul-'Ābidin).

#### Note

1. Śrīvara would like to stress that at the passing away of the only one Sultān worth the name (Budshāh) the state of Kashmir is bereft of its beauty. No prior or later Sultān measured up to the stature of Zain-ul-'Ābidin.

#### VERSE 273: ZAIN-UL-'ĀBIDĪN WAS THE FOREMOST OF THE SULTĀNS OF KASHMIR

श्रीमत्तर्कादि विद्याभ्यसनरसलसद्वर्ष सर्व प्रवीणद्वु  
 प्रेक्षोद्यद्दान मानोचित विचितयशो भूषिताशेषदेहः ।  
 श्रीजैनोल्लाभदीनो नरपति तिलकः सर्वशास्त्र प्रवीणः  
 काश्मीरान् यो जियित्वा दिवमपि सगतो योजनायेव नष्टाम् ।। २७३ ।।

Having been graced with the taste of studying incessantly the logic and other branches of enlightening learning, possessing pride for being proficient in every thing, in appearance very towering,

having amassed renown by generosity in accordance—with (his) self-respect, whole of (his) body adorned (with ornaments) that illustrious Zain-ul-‘Ābidin, the best amongst the Sultāns, well versed in all the scriptures, having unified Kashmir has left for disintegrated heaven in order to plan its solidarity.

VERSE 274: THE SULTĀN'S DEATH, AN IRREPARABLE LOSS

इत्यादि सन्तं सन्तो' वदन्तोऽत्यन्तचित्तया ।  
नितान्ततान्त हृदया विश्रान्तिं नाभजन्त ते ॥ २७४ ॥

In this manner, well meaning people lamented without any pause with their hearts smitten to vitals by ever-increasing anxieties, and could not find, mental or physical peace.

*Note*

1. For the ordinary crowds it was a change in rule, but, for those who had an appreciating eye, who were inherently good and well-meaning, it was an irreparable loss.

VERSE 275: SULTĀN'S RULE OVER KASHMIR  
SHORT-LIVED NOW

दृष्टो रम्यश्चिरमुपवने वंशवाटो' जनैर्यो  
नानावर्णैर्नवतुण गणैर्भूषितो भूरि पत्रः ।  
तत्रान्योन्य हननं जननात् तादृग्भ्युत्थितोऽग्नि—  
यैर्नैकात्तादुपवनगतं सर्वमेव प्रनष्टम् ॥ २७५ ॥

The people who had for long feasted their eyes on the bamboo-park (the lineal pedigree) within the garden of (Kashmir), adorned with bunches of multicoloured young shoots (enclosed by) dense foliage, was destroyed by such a fire emanating from killing each other which out of intense ferocity even consumed the garden in its entirety.

*Note*

1. There is a pun on the word वंश. It means a bamboo as also the genealogical record. Śrīvara would like to convey here that the lineal pedigree of the Shahmeer dynasty continued with its majesty till Budshāh died. After him the mutual bickerings, murder, chaos, confusion etc. would not keep this line safe. Actually after the death of Budshāh, the Shahmeer dynasty could rule only for four score and odd years (1470 AD to 1561 AD) and that also as puppets of influential local lords, who were virtually the king makers.

VERSE 276: THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISSOLVED  
WITHIN A YEAR OF THE DEATH  
OF THE SULTĀN

या कारकसभाभव्याऽभवच्छीजैनभूपतेः<sup>1</sup> ।

वर्षेणैकेन तच्छ्रपात्<sup>2</sup> सर्वा स्वप्नोपमाभवत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ २७६ ॥

The majestic 'council of ministers' which flourished in the time of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, within a year (after him) earned the epithet of a dream (perhaps) through his curse.

*Notes*

1. कारक सभा was executive council or the council of ministers who ran the administration.

2. The Sultān had cursed the sons who had given him immense mental and physical trouble.

3. As if there existed no such council of ministers. A dream sequence, unrelated to reality.

VERSE 277: DEARTH OF EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATIVE  
OFFICERS

क्षुब्धे राज्यमहामोघौ भूप्रमय वायुना

तत्तत्सेवक रत्नौषः<sup>1</sup> शतैक्रीयोऽवशिष्यत ॥ २७७ ॥

The ocean of kingdom attaining fury due to the gale of the Sultān's death, out of hordes of jewel like administrative officers only one amongst hundreds could survive.

*Note*

1. It seems that such officers loyal to the late Sultān were either dismissed or externed. Wholesale purge of the administrative machinery might have been ordered by the succeeding Sultān Haider Shāh (Hāji Khān).

VERSE 278: ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY ATTAINS EMINENCE  
ONLY WHEN IT RECEIVES PATRONAGE

प्रभवत उत यावत् स्व प्रभुः सौख्यदाता

विदधति खलुतावत् सेवकास्तस्य मानम् ।

इह वसति वसन्तो यावदेव स्वनन्तो

मधुकरपिकपेकास्तावदेवाद्विद्यन्ते ॥ २७८ ॥

As long as their benevolent master is in power, his administrative officers are also given respect. During the spring season only, the hum of the honey bees, the cooing of the cuckoos and the croaking of the frogs, receive attention.



VERSE 279: LOYAL OFFICERS OF THE LATE SULTĀN  
HUMILIATED

केचिदप्यवशिष्टा ये सेवकास्तस्य भूपतेः ।

तेऽप्यनन्तरं विज्ञानात् तृणतुल्योपमां गताः ॥ २७९ ॥

Whichever administrative officers of the (late) Sultān were spared, due to the reports that they were very close (to him) were treated as the blades of grass (humiliated).

Notes

1. To be in know of the fact that these officers were very close, had no difference or distance with the late Sultān.

2. Were thought to be worthless and trampled over like the blades of grass.

V.l. तृण तुल्ये (VVRI, p 113). It will mean 'a heap of straw'. Both the meanings fit here.

इति पण्डित श्रीवर विरचिताया जैनराजतरङ्गिण्या

जैनशाही वर्णनं नाम प्रथमस्तोत्रम् ।

Thus ends the first wave named 'Description of Zain Shahī of the *Zaina Rāja Tarānginī*' (River of Kings) composed by Pandit Śrīvara.

# WAVE II

द्वितीयो तरंगः

## BOOK II

### VERSE 1: BENEDICTORY STANZA

वन्दे विश्वमयं<sup>1</sup> देवं सर्व वाङ्<sup>2</sup> मन्त्रनायकम् ।  
यदंशवर्णनस्तुत्या तत्पूजाफलभाङ् न कः ॥ १ ॥

I bow to that Cosmic Divinity—the propeller of every kind of speech and its meditative comprehension. Even if a fraction of that description is extolled, who will not be rewarded with rich dividends from that worship?

#### Notes

1. According to Śaivas the Absolute is supposed to have two aspects—Cosmic Viśva Māyā and Transcendental Viśvottirṇa (*Tantraloka*, I, 105, commentary). Śrīvara being a Śaiva has extolled the cosmic representation of the Absolute called also *Śabda-Brahma*—the eternal word (*Pañcastavi*, III).

2. The matrix of the words, the narrator of speech has been taken to be the cosmic expression of the Absolute Siva—Mahā Māyā (*Pañcastavi*, I).

Śiva Sūtras define Mantra as the mind (*Cittam*)—denoting the meditative comprehension of the word uttered. Word in itself is a symbolic sound, it will project that symbol only when it undergoes the requisite drill.

### VERSE 2: BENEDICTORY VERSE

पादो दक्षिण<sup>1</sup> एष यच्छति पदं यत्रैव नाट्येच्छया  
तत्रैवेच्छति नाम वामचरणः<sup>2</sup> संञ्चार संस्कारतः ।  
इत्थं मण्डलमण्डितां समपदां चारीं नरीनर्ति<sup>3</sup> यः  
सन्ध्यायां<sup>4</sup> स सदा ददातु सुखितां देवोऽर्धनारीश्वरः ॥ २ ॥

That Divinity (known as) half male and half female with a desire to engage in dancing, plants the right foot on the spot (subsequently) where the left foot is, and replaces it due to its instinct of indulging in commensurate emotion, thus adoring the entire periphery with taking uniform steps in tune with His cosmic

expression (*śakti*) at the time when day and night meet. May (he) vouchsafe happiness from all times to come.

#### Notes

1. The right side, obviously the right foot also is taken to be the male aspect Śiva of Ardha Nārīśvara.

2. The left marks the female aspect *Śakti*.

3. Literally means a woman, but here it will suggest *Śakti*—the cosmic expression of Transcendence—Śiva.

4. It can mean the transition from the Absolute unmanifested Śiva to manifested *Śakti* also. It is as if the day is dissolving itself into night at dusk as the night is dissolving itself into day at dawn. Light and darkness are the two phases of the same one and only one supreme spirit.

Consult notes (Wave I, second verse). It might also connote in undertones that the day of the Sultāns was about to set and dusk was at hand (refer I, 7, 272, 275).

### SULTĀN HAIDER SHĀH (1470 AD TO 1472 AD)

#### VERSE 3: HĀJĪ KHĀN'S ROYAL TITLE (HAIDER SHĀH)

अथ हैदर शाहाख्यां<sup>1</sup> ख्यापयन् मुद्रिकर्पणैः<sup>2</sup> ।

हाज्यखानोऽग्रहीत् राज्यं स ज्येष्ठ प्रतिपदिने<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

Thereafter, Hājī Khān announcing his (royal) title as Haider Shāh by releasing the royal seal (of that very denomination) took the reins of the kingdom (in his hands) on the 1st day of Jyeṣṭha.

#### Notes

1. Just as the previous Śukhān had assumed the royal title of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn; likewise Hājī Khān converted his original name into Haider Shāh. It may be pointed out here that usually Kashmir Sultāns suffixed their name with Dīn, ie, in one way or the other defender of Muslim faith. Herein Hājī followed the practice adopted by his uncle 'Alī Shāh to add Shāh the King—to his name instead of Dīn.

2. Royal seal—the signet of authority with the name of the Sultān Haider Shāh inscribed on it was issued by Hājī Khān.

3. Śrīvara has given the date of Hājī ascending the throne as 4546th year of local Saptarṣi calendar which works to 1470 AD. It was also the first day of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha.

#### VERSE 4

अग्रयाचो दक्षिणानन्दी तत्तत्सुकृत सूचकः ।

बप्पावर्धि जनानन्दी स राज्यग्रहणोत्सवः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ४ ॥

The festivities with regard to taking over the Sultānship were loudly marked by honouring the first and the best (amongst the people), by gratification in terms of paying dues signifying the

virtue to be reaped by such good deeds as also making the destitute happy (by alms giving).

*Note*

1. *Jashn-i-Takhi-Nishīni* was in full swing when Sultān Haider Shāh ascended the throne.

#### VERSE 5: CORONATION TAKES PLACE AT SIKANDARPURI

शुद्धांशुक चितै राजवल्लभैः सुखशालिभिः ।  
बभौ सेकन्दरपुरी पूर्णं द्यौर्विव तारकैः ॥ ५ ॥

Sikandarpuri (Nowhattā) was thronged by pleasure-loving favourites of the Sultān, dressed in pure silk-garments, giving it a brilliance of sky studded to capacity with stars.

*Note*

1. It seems that the coronation of Haider Shāh took place at Nowhattā—the seat of government founded by his grandfather Sultān Sikandar (*JRRT*, verse 589). Ordinarily it should have been gone through at Zaina Nagari (Nowshera), the metropolis founded by his father Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. Persian chroniclers also are unanimous in recording that the coronation took place at Nowhattā. The great mosque—Jamia Masjid being quite close to Nowhattā, Islamic ritual connected with anointing the new Sultān could have been performed there with ease and devotion.

#### VERSE 6: NOWHATTĀ IS ONCE AGAIN MADE THE CAPITAL

राजधान्यङ्गणे<sup>१</sup> हैमं सिंहासनमशिन्त्रियत् ।  
अतितीक्ष्णो<sup>२</sup> नवो राजा मेरोस्तदमिवांशुमान्<sup>३</sup> ॥ ६ ॥

In the courtyard of the seat of the government, the new Sultān of very sharp (disposition) ascended the golden throne like the Sun (resting on) the slopes of Mount Meru.

*Notes*

1. It becomes clear now that the capital was reverted back to Nowhattā as was the position prior to Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn who shifted it to Nowshera.

2. It might also suggest, hot-tempered, irascible etc., also.

3. Name of a fabulous mountain round which all the planets are said to revolve. It is supposed to be cut out of gold and called Sumeru also (*Bhartrhari Vairāgya Śataka*, verse 150, *BG*, X, 23).

#### VERSE 7: THE SULTĀN'S YOUNGER BROTHER AND SON WERE PRESENT AT THE CORONATION

बभतुर्पुपतेरग्रे स्थितौ तस्यानुजात्मजौ<sup>१</sup> ।  
हृदोः फुल्लदुष्पन्तायिव शुक्रं बृहस्पती<sup>२</sup> ॥ ७ ॥

Sultān's younger brother (Behrām) and his son (Hassan) were seated on the front row along with him, shining like the waxing planets Venus and Jupiter facing the moon.

*Notes*

1. On either side of the Sultān were seated his younger brother and son, Behrām and Hassan respectively.
2. According to astrology, if the moon, Venus and Jupiter are on the same line, it augurs extremely well for the person possessing such a conjunction of planets in his horoscope. The moon makes him cool and calculating, the Venus proficient in polity and Jupiter master of learning. Śrīvara tries to suggest that Haider Shāh possessed this three-fold eminence in himself.

**VERSE 8: HASSAN KUCHAI CROWNS HAIDER SHĀH  
AS THE SULTĀN**

राज्ञो हस्सन कोशेश 'स्तद्राज्यतिलकं' ददौ ।  
सौवर्ण पुष्प<sup>३</sup> पूजाढ्यं यदृच्छाविहितं व्ययः ॥८॥

Hassan Kośeśa (Kuchai) crowned (Haider Shāh) as the Sultān by showering gold (coins) and flowers over him profusely for which he had spent as much as he wished.

*Notes*

1. From now onward, we are confronted with influential Kashmiri families which had amassed so much power that they became virtual king-maker. Kuchais were the first in that line as is clear here.

"Kośeśa means the Lord of Treasury (कोष + ईश). May be he was the Minister in charge of exchequer then. Persian historians have taken this suffix to be Kachhi—the ancestral home of Hassan. This place is quite contiguous to Makran in Central Asia.

2. It seems that the Sultān observed the rites of coronation of Hindus and Muslims alike. Hence, the mark of vermilion on the forehead of the Sultān (*Rājatilaka*) was affixed by Hassan Kuchai. Later at the time of Hassan's coronation Śrīvara unambiguously states that Hindu rite of making oblations to fire (*homa*) was also performed then (ZRRT, III, 12).

3. It can mean flowers of very attractive colours also.

4. Since Hassan was incharge of the royal treasury and also very powerful he could spend as much as he would have liked. It might also suggest that the Sultān had given him full authority to spend as much as he wished for making the festivities look very colourful.

**VERSE 9: LIBERAL DISPOSITION OF SULTĀN HAIDER SHĀH**

स हाज्यि हैदर नृपो घनकालोर्जित प्रभः ।  
धाराधर<sup>१</sup> इव धरां दधार धरणी भरः ॥९॥

That Hājī Haider Sultān like the majestic demeanour of a cloud at the time of sending down rain overwhelmed this whole land as its lord.

## Note

1. The inference being that Sultān Haider Shāh was very liberal like a cloud as will be clear in the next verse. Note the alliteration here.

## VERSE 10: BEHRĀM KHĀN IS MADE THE LORD OF NĀGRĀMA

सोऽनुजं स्वसमं<sup>1</sup> भूमि नायकः सुक्षिते<sup>2</sup> रसात् ।

बह्म खानं नाग्राम<sup>3</sup> देशे तं स्वामिनं व्यधात् ॥ १० ॥

Out of affection for his younger brother Behrām Khān, he (the Sultān) treating him at par (with his own self) as the sole proprietor of land conferred the proprietary rights of the fertile land of Nāgrāma (Nagam) on him.

## Notes

1. Quite equal or at par with his own self. The proprietary rights of the entire land of Kashmir vested in the Sultān, hence called 'the Lord of the land'. Sultān Haider wished to make his younger brother Behrām also the Lord of the land like his own self. So he conferred that prerogative on him also.

2. Well-ploughed, fertile, etc.

3. Nāgrāma pargana is Nāgām. It is situated on Srinagar Chrāri Sharīf Road at a distance of eleven miles. It forms a part of Maras. Persian historians have corroborated this information given by Śrīvara.

## VERSE 11: HASSAN MADE HEIR-APPARENT AND THE JAGIRDAR OF KAMRĀZ

क्रमराज्ये<sup>1</sup>क्षिका<sup>2</sup> देशे स्वामिनं स्वसुतं व्यधात् ।

चिरान्निजं<sup>3</sup> सुतं प्राप्या यौवराज्यं<sup>4</sup> सुखादपि

पितृशोकहतोऽन्तर-विभ्रान्तिममजन्तुषः ॥ ११ ॥

(He) appointed his son (Hassan) as the Lord of Kramrāja and Akṣikā area (Yech pargana). The Sultān being united with his son after a long time, though smitten by the grief of losing his father, derived more mental solace (from this union) than from the happiness in making him his heir-apparent.

## Notes

1. Governorship of the District of Kramrāj has always been earmarked for the heir-apparent. Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had allotted this district to Ādam Khān, his eldest son. The Sultān got disillusioned with him for his nefarious actions later on and allotted this to his second son Hājī Khān. It might correspond to the convention observed by Nizams of Hyderabad before independence, when they would confer the title Prince of Berar on their immediate successor (ZRRT, I, 3, 91-97, 117).

2. According to Stein this place corresponds to Yech pargana of to-day. It is to the north of Nagam and extends to the immediate vicinity of Srinagar. In the centre of this tract lies an arid alluvial plateau known as Damodar plateau (STRT, II, p 475).

3. May be the Sultān wanted to make a buffer between Srinagar and Nagam and allotted it to his son for forestalling any untoward action of Behrām Khān. Hence Hassan was allotted the governorship of whole of Kramrāz in the north as also that of Yech in the south. Hassan had been posted at Poonch throughout by his grand father Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin.

4. The Sultan nominated his son Hassan as his heir.

#### VERSE 12: RĀWATS AND RĀWALS FAVOURED IMMENSELY

तस्माद् विहित सेवाप्त<sup>1</sup> देशाधीशत्व राजिताः ।  
प्रसादमतुलं प्रापू रावत्र लौलकादयः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १२ ॥

From him (Sultān Haider) adorning the Sultānship of the country, Rawats, Laulaka (Lavakas) and others having offered their services (to him) were immensely favoured.

#### Notes

1. Actually these dynasties had instigated Hājī Khān as a Prince to rise against his father (ZRR7, I, 1, 86).

However, on being repulsed by his father Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, he fled to Rajouri on the outer fringe of Kashmir territory. These dynasties had stood with him through thick and thin and now offered their service to him as the Sultān.

2. V.I. लवका, which is evidently wrong.

#### VERSE 13: LAND GRANTS GIVEN TO TRUSTED LIEUTENANTS

अन्येष्व्युच्चावचान्<sup>1</sup> ग्रामान् सेवाका नवभूपतेः ।  
पूर्वसेवानुसारेण प्रसादं प्रतिपेदिरे ॥ १३ ॥

Others also who kept their services at the disposal of the new Sultān were rewarded, in proportion to the higher or low services rendered earlier (to him as a prince) with villages.

#### Note

1. This refers to land grants made over by the Sultān to his faithful retinue. The land thus granted included fertile as well as fallow strips. More loyal were given fertile land or which could command irrigation facilities etc. Ab-i-Awal and others Ab-i-Dom or Som as per the classification of land done here.

#### VERSE 14: RULERS OF RAJOURI, GILGIT AND OTHER ADJOINING PLACES PRESENT AT THE CORONATION

राजा राजपुरीसिन्धु पत्यादीन्<sup>1</sup> दर्शनागतान् ।  
प्रत्यमुञ्चदलंकृत्य पार्थिवोचितया श्रिया ॥ १४ ॥

The rulers of Rajpuri and Sindhu region and other places having come to pay a visit, were bade farewell after being honoured with valuables (presents) in keeping with their royal status.

## Note

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I. 3. 114, supra.

## VERSE 15

सौवर्णकर्तरीबन्धसुन्दरा नृपमन्दिरे ।  
ननन्दुर्मन्त्रिसामन्तसेनापतिपुरोगमाः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १५ ॥

The ministers, jagirdars, army commanders and those in the forefront, made merry in the royal auditorium with daggers (dangling down) from their shimmering gold-belts.

## Note

1. The venerable folks enjoying precedence over citizens. It might even mean those officers who had access to the Sultān and would lead those who would wish to seek audience with the Sultān.

## VERSE 16: SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE SULTAN TIGHTENED

पितृ शोकार्पितनर्घं<sup>1</sup> पट्टांशुक विभूषणाः ।  
विचेरुः<sup>2</sup> सेवकास्तस्य तदन्तिक गताः<sup>3</sup> सदा ॥ १६ ॥

Those (security) officers in his service who enjoyed his confidence attired in valuable silken robes bestowed on them, (for expiation of) paternal bereavement, kept vigil over him (the new Sultān), round the clock.

## Notes

1. At the death of an elderly person robes etc. are distributed amongst the people of eminence for receiving their blessings to provide comfort to the deceased in the life hereafter.
2. Śrīvara has used this verb with a purpose as it has undertones of being a spy (*cara*). Presumably these were security men charged with the safety of the new Sultān.
3. Who had unrestricted access to the Sultān. They would lead the people wishing to have audience with the Sultān for the purposes of security.

## VERSE 17: THE SULTAN FORMS A NUCLEUS OF TRUSTED LIEUTENANTS

असीद्राजा च सततं प्रकामं दोषनिष्क्रियः<sup>1</sup> ।  
स्वपक्षपालने सक्तः सन्ध्याक्षण इवोदुपः ॥ १७ ॥

In order to ward off anything going amiss, the Sultān was always intent upon patronizing his own (trusted) people like the moon at the advent of twilight.



## Note

1. The Sultān wanted to guard against any untoward happening in respect of his life or administration. He would remain crossfingere always for fear of court-conspiracies etc.

## VERSE 18

पक्षपातेक्षणापत्य प्रतिपालन तत्परः<sup>1</sup> ।

लोभक्रोधविरक्तात्मा मोहान्धक्षपणाक्षमः ॥ १८ ॥

Very vigilant with regard to grooming his son (to take over the rule after him), with the self unattached to greed and spite and possessing the nerve to overcome the deluding darkness of comprehending truth.

## Note

1. Actually he had been given the training for taking over the rule from his father.

## VERSE 19: MIRZĀ HASSAN ADMINISTRATOR OF BEERU

सैदनासिर<sup>1</sup> पुत्रो यः स मेय्या<sup>2</sup> हस्सनाभिषः ।

अहो नित्यतृबत् पूज्यो बहुरूपादि<sup>3</sup> राष्ट्रभाक् ॥ १९ ॥

The son of Sayyid Nasir known as Meyyā (Mirzā) Hassan the administrator of Bahurūpa (Beeru) and other districts was given wonderful respect like his parent.

## Notes

1. The descendants of Imām Hassan and Hussain are known as Sayyids. They seem to profess Shia-cult amongst the Muslims for this very reason.

2. Mirzā as also Beg appellations were owned by the Mughals.

3. Stein has identified this place Bahurūpa as the Beeru of to-day (STRT, II, 476).

## VERSE 20: ADMINISTRATOR OF BEERU ENJOYED EXCLUSIVE PATRONAGE OF SULTĀN

उत्सवादि सदाचार सत्कारेषु सभान्तरे ।

त एव प्रथमं मान्यास्तद्राज्ये सर्वदापबन् ॥ २० ॥

On festive occasions these alone (administrators of Beeru) would be given precedence (over others) by being shown honour and correctness of behaviour without any fail in the royal court of his (Sultān Haider Shāh's).

VERSE 21: PRINCE HASSAN MARRIED TO THE DAUGHTER  
OF MIRZĀ HASSAN OF BEERU

एतत्पक्षाश्रयान्मद्द्रव्ययं बलवानिति ।

मेव्याहस्सन पुत्र्याः स पाणिं पुत्रमजिग्रहत<sup>1</sup> ॥ २१ ॥

“By aligning with him, he (administrator of Beeru) shall be as powerful as I am” (thinking) so he (Sultān Haider) married his son to the daughter of Mirzā Hassan.

*Note*

1. Sultān Haider out of diplomatic expediency married his son Prince Hassan to the daughter of Mirzā Hassan administrator of Beeru. Diplomatic marriage alliances were sought in the interest of both the parties.

VERSE 22: BANGIL MADE OVER TO JEHĀNGĪR  
MĀRGPATĪ

हृत्वा ज्यंशर<sup>1</sup> मार्गेशात्स ज्यहाङ्गिरमार्गपे<sup>2</sup> ।

बाङ्गिलं<sup>3</sup> प्रददौ राजा तदगुणाकृष्ट मानसः<sup>4</sup> ॥ २२ ॥

The Sultān snatched Bangil (district) from Jyanshar (Jamshed) Mārgesh and made it over to Jehāngīr Mārgpati, being attracted by his sterling qualities.

*Notes*

1. Prince Haider seems to stabilize his position by appointing trusted people on administrative posts. Herein Jamshed Mārgesh (Kashmiri Magrey) was dismissed and Jehāngīr Mārgpati, probably one of his collaterals more loyal to Sultān Haider was appointed as the administrator of Bangil pargana in his place.

2. Mārgēśa and Mārgpati connote the same purport, these are synonyms so to say. This clan is known as Magrey in Kashmir now.

3. According to Stein Bangil pargana corresponds to the modern Bangil to the south west of Parspor (ancient Parishasa) (STRT, VII, 498, II, 481).

4. The traits of loyalty towards the Sultān are evident here.

VERSE 23: THE SULTĀN LIES LOW WITH HIS ADVERSARIES

चक्रे कृतापकारणामप्यनुग्रहमेव सः ।

प्रणय्य<sup>1</sup> सिंहः पूर्वं हि हन्ति दन्तिगणं ततः ॥ २३ ॥

He (the Sultān) reciprocated with goodness even to those who had been against him. The lion salutes the hordes of elephants first and then kills them.

*Note*

1. There is no such tradition mentioned anywhere else. May be it was a local tradition.

## VERSE 24: HASSAN KUCHAI HONOURED

गूढ भावो<sup>1</sup> महीपालस्तत्तच्चेष्टां चैर्विदन् ।  
तदा हस्सन कोशेशं संमान्याधिकृत<sup>2</sup> व्यधात् ॥ २४ ॥

The Sultān was kept informed of the activities (of his adversaries) by his spies, but he slept over these (for the time being). Thereafter (he) appointed Hassan Khoshesha (Kuchai) to an exalted post.

## Notes

1. The Sultān did not want to give offence to his adversaries by an precipitate action against them, when he was still consolidating his position. Instead he wanted to bide time, on getting stronger he would strike at them.

2. Hassan Kuchai's credentials for elevation were no longer in doubt. He had actually helped the Sultān to ascend the throne of his father. Hence Sultān Haider paid the price in terms of making him his chief counsellor. However, Hassan Kuchai fell from the grace of the Sultān and was got killed by him later (ZRRT, I, 8, 77-78).

## VERSE 25: THE SULTĀN USES DIPLOMACY TO SUPPRESS HIS ENEMIES

प्रतापतापितारातिश्छन्नकोपो<sup>1</sup> महीपतिः ।  
भस्मान्तरगतो वहिरिवासीत्<sup>2</sup> परमृत्युदः ॥ २५ ॥

The Sultān with his anger concealed, consumed his adversaries by his royal glory, brought death to his adversaries, like the fire covered by ashes.

## Notes

1. The Sultān did not openly offend his enemies, but frustrated their plans by underhand diplomatic means.

2. The fire hidden under the ashes—seemingly quite harmless but could be very devastating actually. This was the posture adopted by the Sultān while dealing with his enemies.

## VERSE 26: THE SULTĀN ADOPTS VARIOUS STRATEGIES TO CONSOLIDATE HIS POSITIONS

कांश्चित् सनमयन् कांश्चित् संधाय प्रतिपालयन् ।  
कांश्चिदुन्मूलयन् नीत्या<sup>1</sup> नानावृत्तिरभून्नृपः ॥ २६ ॥

The Sultān employed various devices of diplomatic expediency by warding off the fear of some, by aligning with some, by giving protection to some and uprooting some.

## Note

1. The four strategies as mentioned by pandits of Indian polity—*Sāma*—complacency, *Dāna*, money, buying, *Danda*, (punishment) or hostilities—*Bheda*

or dividing the enemy—all these were put into practice by Sultān Haider Shāh as is obvious from this verse.

#### VERSE 27

प्रसादकृत् स भृत्यानामभूद् वैश्रवणोपमः ।  
मनागप्यपराधेन बभूवान्तकसंनिभः ॥ २७ ॥

Like the god of wealth—Kubera—he (the Sultān) favoured the executives immensely, but for a trivial lapse, he also proved death-god (to them).

#### VERSE 28: HIS IRASCIBILITY ALIENATES HIM FROM HIS WELLWISHERS

पयः पितृसुतामात्याः फिर्यडामरकादयः<sup>1</sup> ।  
विचार्यासहनं कोपे बभूवुर्वृत्त यन्त्रणाः ॥ २८ ॥

Groaning under (his) intolerable irascibility, (his) collaterals, son, counsellors, Firyā Dāmara etc. were overwhelmed with agonizing (mental) pain.

*Note*

1. Consult notes I, 1,94; supra.

#### VERSE 29: SOCIAL LIFE VERY BAD

चौरा जाराश्च रिपवो भृत्या दुर्नयकारिणः ।  
अह्नीव जम्बुकाश्चेरुस्तद्राज्ये भय विह्वलाः ॥ २९ ॥

Thieves, people of loose morals, adversaries, and executives displaying bankruptcy of public relations roamed like jackals during the day in his kingdom (though) over-anxious with fear.

#### VERSE 30: REVENUE OFFICIALS FLEECE THE PEOPLE

श्री जैन नृपतौ शान्ते मूर्धारूढ शिलोपमे<sup>1</sup> ।  
अबाधन्त पुनर्लोकं व्याला इव नियोगिनः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३० ॥

On the demise of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn with his head weighed down by a stone-slab, the (revenue) officers once again began to fleece the people like serpents.

*Notes*

1. The grave is covered with a stone, which Śrīvāra tells euphemistically, would not allow the late Sultān to rise again and bring the corrupt officers to book. The

poet is trying to convey that as soon as the head of the late Sultān was down, the corrupts raised their heads.

2. This epithet generally connotes an authorized officer (cf. V. S. Apte, *Sanskrit Hindi Kośa*, p 529). *Loka Prakāśa* has equated it with a tehsildar or a revenue officer.

VERSE 31: THE SULTĀN HAD ONE FAILING, LOSING  
HIS TEMPER

विशुद्ध पक्षो<sup>1</sup> रुचिरजिताशः  
कलाकलापो विबुधोपजीव्यः ।  
पूर्णन्दुनानेन<sup>2</sup> समोऽस्ति कोऽन्यः  
कलङ्क एको यदि नास्य दोषः ॥ ३१ ॥

Possessing blot-less rays (wings), illuminating all the quarters with its pleasing light, is a bunch of digits, from whom the learned derive sustenance, who other than (the Sultān) could be equal to moon, if like the blot (in moon) he did not have this one failing, (of losing temper).

Notes

1. This verse has double context, in respect of the moon and the Sultān. Hence the words employed here have double meaning. In the context of the moon the translation is given above. In the context of the Sultān the rendering could be:

"Kindling the hopes of those who are of spotless conduct, who represent a collection of fine arts, patronises the learned, who also would have been like him except the full moon, had he not possessed this single defect (of irascibility) like the blot (in the moon).

2. V.I. पूर्णन्दुनानेन (V.VRI, p 118). It would convey almost the same sense, i.e. the orb of the full moon.

VERSE 32: WHISPERING CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SULTĀN  
GETS FILIP

श्रुत्वास्मद् दूषणाः सोऽयं सर्वान् हन्तीति क्रुद्धिया ।  
ऐक्यं<sup>1</sup> पुर<sup>2</sup> प्रवेशार्थं मिथस्तद्दूषका व्यधुः ॥ ३२ ॥

"Learning about our ill-will (towards him), he (the Sultān) will put us all to sword," with these misgivings those who were maligning him colluded with each other for entering into the metropolis.

Notes

1. It seems that public opinion against the Sultān was getting momentum. Hence, those who were raising their voice against the Sultān united with each other for making a concerted effort to bring him to harm.

2. These adversaries of the Sultān wanted to build public opinion against him in the capital—the very seat of authority. They perhaps wanted to initiate a

whispering campaign against the Sultān jointly. It could have been more effective then only.

VERSE 33: WICKED PŪRṆA, THE BARBER BECOMES  
THE FAVOURITE OF THE SULTĀN

कुक्ष्यप्रेरकः पापश्चान्यायोत्कोचहारकः ।  
प्रियोऽभवद्विवाकीर्ती राज्ञो रिक्तेतराभिधः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ३३ ॥

Instigating vile deeds, wicked, unjust, corrupt, one named the reverse of empty (full=Pūrṇa), the barber became the favourite of the Sultān, as if (representing) his doom.

*Note*

1. Herein Śrīvara has such an aversion for the actual name of Pūrṇa that he calls it as 'the one reverse of empty', ie, full.

**Pūrṇa in Sanskrit means full.** In Sanskrit abhorrent names are always written indirectly, eg. for the thief we have the epithet: 'He who does that' (तस्करः). Hassan has given his name as Loli Hajjām (TAHSN, Persian, p 208) or Loli, the barber. May be this was his nick name or the name, after being converted to Islam.

VERSE 34

कामीव व्यसनं नित्यमुपलब्धोऽपि भूभृता<sup>1</sup> ।  
यं त्यक्तुं नाकशद्राजा संस्तवाद्दृढयङ्गमम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३४ ॥

Just like a lustful man though reviled every time, does not leave his vices, (in the same manner) the Sultān also could not banish him (Pūrṇa) from his heart having penetrated it (through intimate relations).

*Notes*

1. V.I. भूपुजा for भूभृता (VVRI, p 118).

2. It can mean flattery, praise etc. also. The Sultān being licentious shared common secrets with him, so could not afford to offend him.

VERSE 35

संचितार्थः प्रजायासैर्मुद्रादानादिनामभिः ।  
आसीत् स्वकार्यकुशलः ख्यातो धूर्तः<sup>1</sup> स नापितः ॥ ३५ ॥

Fleeing the people by extorting money and other gratifications, this notorious and fiendish barber was very clever in making his designs succeed in terms of amassing wealth.

*Note*

1. Herein Śrīvara has only verified a famous Sanskrit saying: "Among men the barber is cunning and among the birds a crow."

## VERSE 36

रुद्धं चित्तेन कठिन्यं माधुर्यं जिह्वा<sup>1</sup> धृतम् ।  
शठस्य यस्य सततं लोकोद्देजनकारकम् ॥ ३६ ॥

That rogue concealing his ruthlessness in his mind (but) projecting sweetness through his tongue, became an instrument for exercising (hearts) of people.

## Note

1. Herein an echo of verse composed by Kāsemendra can very distinctly be heard.

"On her (courtesan's) tongue honeyed—sweetness, in her heart the blade of a razor, the prostitute is like the sharp edge of an axe ready to cut at the very roots of her paramours" (*Smaya-Mātrikā*, III, 13).

VERSE 37: PŪRNA, A SCOURGE  
FOR PEOPLE

येनाधिकराट्<sup>1</sup> देशेऽस्मिन् प्रजाः कुक्कर्मणिः कृता ।  
दुःखिता रक्षिताः पूर्वं पुत्रवच्छ्रीमहीपुजा<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३७ ॥

By dint of his gaining influence (with the Sultān), the people in this country earlier nursed as sons by the illustrious Sultān (Zain-ul-'Ābidīn) became miserable by his (Pūrṇa's) unbecoming deeds.

## Notes

1. अधिकार means power, authority etc. also.
2. Śrīvara refers here to illustrious Buḍḡahāh's benevolence towards his own subjects.

VERSE 38: MĪR IFTIKHĀRA MADE  
MINISTER

मीरिपतेखार नम्रापि<sup>1</sup> बुद्धिमान् प्रयितो पुषि ।  
नितरुमपकोपागे रुद्धः साचिष्यमादधे ॥ ३८ ॥

Mīr Iptekhār (Iftikhār) whose statesmanship was established throughout the land, always nourishing a cool temper, took over as the minister of the Sultān.

## Note

1. This epithet can be explained as:  
a) A noble from Bukhārā, a Central Asian city. People of talent from outside Kashmir, particularly from Central Asia have always adorned very high posts here.  
b) It might be actually Iftikhār to whom the reference is made in verse 218 of this Wave later.

VERSE 39: "CUṬA" MISAPPROPRIATES STATE REVENUE  
COLLECTED AS OCTROI  
DUTY

वात्सल्याद् विहितो राज्ञा स चुटो<sup>१</sup> गणनापतिः ।

समस्तकार्यस्थानेभ्यो<sup>२</sup> भुङ्क्ते राजोपजीविकाम्<sup>३</sup> ॥ ३९ ॥

Out of affection for him, the Sultān appointed Cuṭa as the head of Octroi Department, who enjoyed the state revenue collected from all octroi-posts for his own ends.

Notes

1. चुट in Sanskrit means to be shallow or small. This meaning might have to do something, with this proper name. Śrīvara wants to tell us that Sultān Haider was confiding in people who had no merit of their own, just as Pūrṇa mentioned in verse 33-37 earlier. Shallow people were given posts of authority by the Sultān. *Gaṇanā-pati* is head of the department, which engages in counting the income and expenditure of the state. It may even correspond to accountant general also. It seems here that Cuṭa was the head of octroi department and the accounts of receipts were maintained under his supervision. Note 2 will make it more clear.

2. "All places of activity"—may mean the octroi-posts where revenue etc. was collected under different heads.

3. The receipts on which the state could maintain itself were misappropriated by this dishonest head of excise department.

VERSE 40

यो वर्षणैकनिरतः शिखिहर्षहेतुः

संदर्शितातुलफलः कृतकर्षणेषु ।

जातोऽपि यः प्रतिदिनं हृतसर्वतापः

सोऽयं घनस्तुदति दुःसहवज्रपातैः<sup>१</sup> ॥ ४० ॥

By reason of providing joy to the peacocks engrossed fully in its showers, presaging rich dividends while the land is being ploughed, that very cloud on coming to life removes the heat of every one, (but) inflicts pain also (in the form of) a cloud-burst very difficult to reckon with.

Note

1. It can connote sending down thunderbolt also.

VERSE 41

दुर्मन्त्रिप्रेरितो राजा व्यधान्पद<sup>१</sup> विचेतनः ।

प्रजा भाग्यविपर्यासाद् विवेक विगुणाः क्रियाः ॥ ४१ ॥

Worked up by vicious councillors, bereft of wits due to excessive



drinking, (also) as a result of the adverse fate of the people, the Sultān indulged in activities displaying bankruptcy and lack of good judgement.

*Note*

1. It can even mean "puffed up by having attained Sultānship".

#### VERSE 42 THE TREES AT "ONT BHAVAN" FELLED DOWN

सेकन्धर पुरीपार्श्वे खनिर्माणचिकीर्षया ।  
अमृतोपवने<sup>1</sup> प्रांशु तरुच्छेदनमादिशत् ॥ ४२ ॥

The Sultān gave orders for felling down grown up trees in the Amrit Upavana (Ont Bhavan), just close to Sikandar Puri (Nowhattā), with a desire to erect some foundations (there) in his own (name).

*Note*

1. This might convey the orchard attached to Amrit Upavana (Ont Bhavan) a Vihāra constructed by Amrit Prabhā, queen of King Meghavāhana (*KLRT*, III. 9) This site falls in between Zaina Nagari (Nowshera) and Sikandar Puri (Nowhatta) (cf. *STR*, II, 457 also)

#### VERSE 43

छिन्नांस्तान् पुष्पितान् वृक्षान् समीक्ष्यैतत्समुत्थिताः ।  
तच्छृत्वेव व्यधुस्तत्र रोल्म्बा रोदनध्वनिम् ॥ ४३ ॥

On seeing those trees with a lots of flowers on them having been axed, the honey-bees out of despair raised a doleful cry (hum).

#### VERSE 44

तन्निर्माणग्रहोऽन्येषां न केषां प्रत्यभाद्दि<sup>1</sup> ।  
अग्रे दिनपतेर्दपिप्रकाशनरसोपमः ॥ ४४ ॥

His insistence on erecting (a foundation) just like flicker of lamp in the face of the Sun, did not go down the throat of anybody else (other than him).

*Note*

1. Reference may be to Buddhists who thought that a Vihāra (monastery) was being demolished—a veritable sacrilege.

It might also suggest that nobody approved of this plan except the Sultan himself.

## VERSE 45

तद् ब्रूमः क्षीव एवैव करोतीति विनिश्चितम् ।  
स्वाहितापक्रियाहेतोर्भूणितं तं नृपं व्यधात् ॥४५॥

This is my considered opinion that this was the doing of that puffed up (barber) who to pay off scores to his adversaries had doped the Sultān.

## VERSE 46: LIMBS OF MANY PEOPLE AMPUTATED

बहूनामय लोकानां नापितोऽवयवच्छिदाम् ।  
भूपालादाप्तनिर्देशः क्षीबतोऽपि<sup>1</sup> तथाकरोत् ॥४६॥

The barber, having attained orders from the tipsy Sultān, got the limbs of many people amputated.

## Note

1. क्षीब or क्षीव is 'intoxicated' (V. S. Apte, *Sanskrit-Hindi Koṣa*, p 319).

## VERSE 47: THĀKURS CLEAVED WITH A SAW

नापितो निर्धृणः पापी क्रोधी क्रकच प्राटितान् ।  
पैतृक्रांष्टकुरादीश्च<sup>1</sup> करयामास भूपतेः ॥४७॥

That ruthless, vile and wrathful barber got the collaterals of Sultān—the Thākurs and others cleaved with a saw.

## Note

1. Cf. *ZRRT*, I, 1, 44, see *supra*.

## VERSE 48: PEOPLE IMPALED

चलितानप्रजघ्नातुः स्वयनायात्किं पथि ।  
रुद्ध्वा शूले<sup>1</sup>ऽषिरोय्यान्यन्<sup>2</sup> पञ्चपानयथातयत् ॥४८॥

(While going) to pay respects to his elder brother, he (Pūrṇa) detained some of the people on the road, not belonging to his faction, made them suffer the impalement, and five or six amongst them were done to death.

## Notes

1. शूल is a staba or painted daint (cf. *MW*, 1086; cf. *infra*).
2. This word literally means those other than him. It may suggest those who do not see eye to eye with Pūrṇa—the crook as he was.

VERSE 49: PEOPLE SUSPENDED ON THE  
IRON PIKE

जीवन्तो गणरात्रं ते स्वकुटुम्बोक्त वेदनाः ।

पौरैः सास्त्रजलैर्दृष्टाः शूलपृष्ठे<sup>1</sup> पुरान्तरे ॥ ४९ ॥

(Some of these) spent a couple of nights within the city lying flat on the tip of the iron spikes (yet) living, whose agony was spelt out by their family members (when) the city-dwellers looked at them (with eyes) brimming with tears.

*Note*

1 A long iron rod with a sharp point at its head is शूल actually. The people were impaled on this sharp point or sit on it.

VERSE 50: ARMS, NOSE AND LIPS CUT OFF

वैदूर्यभिषजं<sup>1</sup> ज्ञात्वा दूषकं परपक्षगम् ।

अमुञ्चद् बन्धनात् कृत्तभुजनासोष्ठपल्लवम् ॥ ५० ॥

On having defected to the other side, (consequently) finding fault with him, a physician named Vaidūrya was released from the confinement, (thereafter) his arms, nose and soft red lips were cut off.

*Note*

1 It might connote either the name of the physician or a physician treating the patients with medicinal compounds of precious stones, gold, silver or pearls etc. Vaidūrya is a precious stone Lapislazuli, v.l. वैदूर्य for वैदूर्य (VVRI, p 121) लल्लवनिषा.

VERSE 51: TONGUES, NOSES AND ONE HAND OF  
SHEIKHZĀDAS AND NON DEVA  
SHORN OFF

तथैव नोन देवादीन्<sup>1</sup> शिखजादादिसंयुतान्<sup>2</sup> ।

पञ्चषानकरोत् कृते जिहानासैकहस्तकान् ॥ ५१ ॥

Likewise Non Deva and others in collaboration with Sheikhzādas (sons of the Sheikhs) some five to six people were shorn off their tongues, noses and one, hand.

*Notes*

1. Non Deva seems to be a popular name with the Hindu then. Kalhana and Jona Raja have also mentioned it. Kalhana treats this name as that of a Brahmin (KERT, VIII, 1328; JRRT, 802, 803, 805).

2. Sheikhzādas, the offspring of Sheikhs, according to Muslims "very learned, hence respectable" However, in Kashmiri usage this epithet has been reserved for 'neo-converts'

## VERSE 52: PŪRṆA—"THE BUTCHER OF MEN"

विरुद्धावयवच्छेदशूलारोपणकर्मणा ।

स पूर्ण नापितः पापी बभूव नर शौनिकः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५२ ॥

By indulging in incongruous amputation of limbs and (making the people) mount the iron spikes, that Pūrṇa **barber**, wicked as he was, earned the epithet of "butcher of men".

*Note*

1. A butcher.

## VERSE 53

आचार्यपुत्रो जय्याख्यस्तथा भीमाभिधो द्विजः ।

छिन्नाङ्गो मय यथाशक्तौ वितस्तायां समौज्झताम् ॥ ५३ ॥

Son of the preceptor, Jaya by name, and Bhīma a Brahmin, whose limbs were cut off, (so) being deprived of any energy threw themselves into the Vitastā.

VERSE 54 LIQUOR EXTRACTED FROM SUGARCANE  
INSTEAD OF GRAPES

मद्यलीलाव्यसनतस्तद्राज्ये बाह्यदेशवत् ।

आसीन्मार्द्विकवद्रौडी<sup>1</sup> देशेऽत्र प्रचुरा सुराः ॥ ५४ ॥

During his (Sultān Haider's) reign addiction to liquor went up to such proportions that, as in places outside Kashmir, here also liquor distilled from sugarcane juice was available in profuse quantities.

*Note*

1 गौडिक. is sugarcane. The distillation of wine from sugarcane has been an old tradition in India. This liquor is more potent.

VERSE 55: THE SULTĀN A VORACIOUS ADDICT  
TO LIQUOR

तन्मद्यरसके राशिं सर्वभोगपराङ्मुखे ।

खण्डादीक्षुविकारास्ते<sup>1</sup> सुलभा न गुडोऽभवत् ॥ ५५ ॥

No other enjoyment matched with the liquor for that voracious addict, the Sultān, the other fermentations of sugar or sugarcane (even) could not be available to him except those of molasses (*guda*).

## Note

1. The Sultan used to drink so much that grape-wine or the sugarcane wine did not satisfy him. So the distillers now supplied him wine extracted from *guda*, which of course was more potent. It will be noted that wine from grapes is not as potent as the one from *guda* or sugarcane.

VERSE 56: THE SULTÂN ALSO PLAYED ON  
THE LUTE

खुज्याब्दुल्कादिर<sup>1</sup> यस्यान्नेवामी गीतगुणाम्बुधेः ।  
मल्लाडोदकं नामामोत् तन्त्रावाद्यं गुरुर्नृपे ॥ ५६ ॥

The resident-disciple of Khwāja Abdul Qādir, the fount of music and song, Malla Dōdaka (Dawood) by name was the tutor of the Sultān for playing on (the strings of) lute.

## Note

1. Refer notes I, 4, 31

## VERSE 57

कूर्मवीणादि<sup>1</sup> वाद्यानां प्राप्यास्माद् गीतकौशलम् ।  
आजीवं क्षणमप्यासीन् तन्त्रीवादने विना ॥ ५७ ॥

Having acquired proficiency in attuning songs to the music of tortoise-shaped Vīṇā and other musical instruments, (the Sultān) could not remain without manipulating the lute for even a second all his life.

## Note

1. Refer notes I, 4, 32, supra.

VERSE 58: THE SULTÂN PAST-MASTER IN PLAYING  
A LUTE

तन्त्रीवादविशेषज्ञो राजा व्यञ्जनधातुभिः<sup>1</sup> ।  
स्वयं वादननिष्णातो वैणिकानप्यशिक्षयत् ॥ ५८ ॥

Having acquired the speciality in playing upon a lute displaying unmistakable command over its elements, the Sultan, a past-master in instrumental music, gave lessons to other lute-players also.

## Note

1. व्यञ्जनधातुभिः means 'making clear', unblurred etc. It can also mean the advanced state of learning, not just learning the vowels or elements.

## VERSE 59

रबाब वाद्यरचनै बहोलाद्यैश्च गायने ।

रञ्जः प्रसादात् किं नाप्तं तत्तत्कनकवर्षिणः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५९ ॥

Setting their composition to music on the *rabāb*, Bahlol and others did obtain immense gold by the grace of the Sultān.

## Notes

1. Refer notes I, 4, 40.
2. Refer notes I, 4, 52.

## VERSE 60: WAYWARD SULTĀN UNDER THE THUMB OF HIS PANDERERS

शौचालयस्थैः सुरतालयस्थै-

भूतैरिवान्तश्छलनप्रवीणैः

वशीकृतो<sup>1</sup> यः पिशुनैर्नरेशो

बिभेति तस्मान्नु को न मर्त्यः ॥ ६० ॥

Any mortal, whosoever, will be afraid of those wicked persons, who were past-masters in deceiving through underhand means, like ghosts haunting the Sultān while in the toilet (or) in the bed room and (thus) making a slave of him.

## Note

1. The Sultān would dance to the tune of such wicked people like Pūrṇa barber because of his waywardness.

## VERSE 61

रहः स्थितं नृपं जातु पिशुनः पूर्णं नापितः ।

अपृच्छत् प्रेरितोऽमात्यैश्चर्काषी पूर्वमन्त्रिषु ॥ ६१ ॥

That malicious Pūrṇa, the barber, instigated by the ministers once when alone with the Sultān, questioned his behaviour towards the former ministers thus:

## VERSE 62

भवत्पक्षविनाशो यैः कृतस्त्वत्पितृमन्त्रिभिः ।

प्राप्तराज्येन भवता त एव प्रबलीकृताः ॥ ६२ ॥

“On having obtained the kingdom” you Sir: are making those very counsellors of your father powerful, who had planned the destruction of your faction (in the court).

VERSE 63: PŪRNA INCITES THE SULTĀN AGAINST  
BEHRĀM AND HASSAN KUCHAI

अमी हसनकेशोशमुख्यास्तदनुजादृताः ।  
सोऽपि धूर्तो धिया तत्तद्वशीकार समुद्यतः ॥ ६३ ॥

These (counsellors) headed by Hassan Kośeśa are being honoured by your younger brother (Behrām) and that knave (Behrām) is planning to enlist the support of such people (averse to you).

VERSE 64: THE SULTĀN'S HEALTH EBBING AWAY

असमर्थ शरीरस्त्वं<sup>१</sup> भ्रात्रर्पितभरः सदा ।  
तत्ते सुपुत्र भृत्यस्य न नाशो भविता चिरात् ॥ ६४ ॥

“You always depend upon your brother and have transferred the burden (of administration) to him; you possess frail health, hence he will very soon annihilate you along with your son and retinue.”

*Note*

1. Due to excessive drinking, the Sultān was now in a precarious condition of health, hence was not in any way strong enough to lead his forces against his brother. So, Pūrṇa, would like that Sultān should take some diplomatic steps to get rid of his adversaries.

VERSE 65: THE SULTĀN FEELS FOUL OF BEHRĀM

श्रुत्वेत्यवोक्त्वत्पुत्रः सत्यं मदनुजाऽग्रियः ।  
किं तु ब्रवीमि येनायं<sup>१</sup> रक्ष्यते कुटिलाशयः ॥ ६५ ॥

Having heard this (the Sultān) replied: “Does not my brother really see eye to eye with my son (Hassan). I was patronizing this evil designed (Behrām) only on this account (that he actually loved Hassan).

*Note*

1. The reasons for giving protection to Behrām was that Sultān had thought that Behrām loved the heir-apparent Hassan and would not try to disturb the line of succession—would not conspire to get the throne for himself.

VERSE 66: THE SULTĀN WISHES TO CUT BEHRĀM  
TO HIS SIZE

उग्रो मदग्रजस्तीक्ष्णो मदपदाङ्गान्तिसूक्ष्मतः ।  
अनेन क्रष्टुमिच्छामि कण्टके<sup>१</sup> नैव कण्टकम् ॥ ६६ ॥

My younger brother being rebellious, and very sharp (in intellect) is bent upon trampling me under his feet. For this very reason I would like to reduce him to insignificance like a thorn by the thorn.

*Note*

1. This refers to Cāṇakya's manual on state-craft wherein it is stated—"A thorn in the foot should be extracted by the thorn in the hand" (*Cāṇakya Satakam*, verse 20)

#### VERSE 67

कायपिक्षावशादेतं रक्षामि न तु गौरवात्<sup>1</sup> ।  
श्रुत्वेति द्विजान्<sup>2</sup> महतो व्यधाज्ज्ञात चिकीर्षितान् ॥ ६७ ॥

I am patronizing him for the compelling reasons of attending to the exigencies of administration, not for raising myself in the estimation (of the people). Having heard this (Pūrṇa) carried this inner working of mind (of the Sultān) to two or three influential personages.

*Notes*

1. The point here is that the Sultān being given to drinking and other vices could not find time to attend to the day to day administration of the land. Hence he had delegated all such powers to his younger brother Behrām. It was with the sole motive of selfishness that he had made Behrām eminent and not for earning the approbation of the people for reposing so much trust in his brother.

2. Pūrṇa told this inner working of the mind of the Sultān to a couple of nobles with the intention of giving it credence and currency so that Behrām gets out of the country and the vicious barber is free to do anything he would like.

#### VERSE 68: ĀDAM KHĀN REACHES POONCH FROM JAMMU FOR ATTACKING KASHMIR

अत्रान्तरेऽग्रजो<sup>1</sup> राज्ञो मद देशाद् बलान्वितः ।  
प्रातुग्यजिहीषयि पर्णोत्संभ्राप दपितः ॥ ६८ ॥

In the meanwhile, the haughty elder brother of the Sultān (Ādam Khān) arrived at Parnotsa (Poonch) from Jammu along with his forces for snatching the kingdom of his brother (Haider Shāh).

*Notes*

1. The elder brother of the reigning Sultān Haider Shah is meant here. It has been mentioned earlier that he fled to Gilgit after getting a crushing defeat from father at Sopore. Therefrom he had presumably gone to Jammu where his in-laws were there (ZRRT, I, 3, 114)

2. Refer JRRT, verses 711, 712 etc

3. Refer ZRRT, I, 3, 110



## VERSE 69

तच्छ्रुत्वा नृपतिः क्रुद्धस्तान् समानीय पैतृकान्<sup>1</sup> ।  
अवोचत् किन्तु कर्तव्यं ते तमित्युचुरत्तरम् ॥ ६९ ॥

Having been informed about this, the Sultān lost his temper and summoned his collaterals addressing them as to what should be done (in these circumstances). They replied thus:

## Note

1. These collaterals were obviously common relations of Ādam Khān and Sultān Haider Shāh, hence the later wanted to know their mind before taking any action against the former. He might have even suspected them of perfidy, hence wanted to test their bonafides first. Sultān Haider Shāh did treat collaterals as having tilt toward Ādam Khān (cf, verse 71 later).

## VERSE 70

तरिकासेतुबन्धं<sup>1</sup> तं छेतुं यामोऽस्य तिष्ठतः ।  
अन्यथा दुःसहः प्राप्तस्तदाज्ञा दीयतां विष्णो ॥ ७० ॥

“O Lord: while he is camping (at Poonch) we shall march on to dismantle the bridge connecting the (two) slopes (of the precipices); otherwise he would be invincible (to face), hence give us orders to that effect.”

## Note

1. This word ordinarily means a river bound by two banks. However, on topographical evidence we see no such river flows in between Poonch and Srinagar. Hence its other meaning, the two slopes of the mountains connected with a bridge will serve the purpose here. The bridge might have negotiated the two slopes on a very high altitudes, hence no diversion would have been possible there for Ādam Khān to come over to the other side.

The same thing happened when the bridge connecting two mountains at Chanjal, ten miles away from Poonch, enroute to Ūri was dismantled to thwart the advance of the Pakistan forces to Poonch during the tribal raid in 1947.

## VERSE 71

श्रुत्वेति कातरं<sup>1</sup> वाक्यं तेषां दुर्लक्ष्य चेष्टितः<sup>2</sup> ।  
तत्प्रत्यक्षपतिनो ज्ञात्वा तथेति प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ७१ ॥

Having heard their discouraging words, (the Sultān) perceived that they aimed at his (Ādam Khān's) action, but feigning not to observe this, (he) gave them the permission to do the same.

## Notes

1. Reference is to the adjective दुःसहः (invincible) prefixed with the name of Ādam

Khān in the earlier verse. The Sultān could easily understand that his collaterals were over-awed by military prowess of Ādam Khān.

2. However, he did not give them any offence and pretended not to see through their game. He was thinking of employing some other strategy and only keeping his collaterals busy with what they had suggested.

#### VERSE 72: ŚRIVARA EQUATES ḌĀMARA WITH ḌĀR

प्रतिमुच्य' नृपस्तान् स उत्रावित्यब्रवीन्निजान् ।

आनीय फिर्य' डारादीन्' मन्त्रिणः कार्यं निष्ठुरान् ॥७२॥

Bidding them (his collaterals) to leave, he (the Sultān) during night called his counsellors of inner circle, Firya Ḍār and others, very tenacious in seeing the job through, and spoke to them thus:

##### Notes

1. It can also suggest that they were not arrested but set free to execute the demolition of the bridge. Very tactfully the Sultān kept them in dark about what he was intending to do.

2. It might be taken as the inner cabinet of the Sultān, his trusted counsellors. Firya Ḍāmara was in his camp while, as the prince, the Sultān fought against his father (ZRRT, I, 1, 94).

3. Śrivarā useś Ḍār instead of Ḍāmara with the name of Firya perhaps by that time Ḍāmaras were called Ḍāra. The latter sub-caste persists with Kashmiri Muslims even today while the Hindus make it as Dhar.

#### VERSE 73: THE SULTĀN SUSPECTS "HASSAN KUCHAI" FOR FOUL PLAY

इयं हस्सन कोरोश चक्रिका यत् समागतः ।

एतद्दूधेन नष्टः स्यादन्यथाभ्यन्तरं विशेत् ॥७३॥

"It is through the intrigue of Hassan Kośeśa that" he (Ādam Khān) has arrived. By killing him (Hassan Kuchai) he (Ādam Khān's plans) will be frustrated, otherwise he will be inside our territory.

##### Note

1. Evidently the Sultān knew that Ādam Khān had some sympathisers at influential posts and therefore the Sultān decided to handle each one of them one by one.

#### VERSE 74: HASSAN KUCHAI TO BE KILLED IN THE MORNING

तत्प्रातरेते हन्तव्या युक्त्यानीयेति तान्पुः ।

छन्नकोपः' सेवकान् स्वानकरोत् कृतसंविदः ॥७४॥

So, he (Hassan Kuchai) should be brought (out of his residence)

tactfully and killed in the morning. The Sultān concealing his anger, hatched this conspiracy with his lieutenants.

*Note*

1 The Sultān tried to look cool and calm in his outward appearance so that Hassan Kuchai is caught unaware.

**VERSE 75: HASSAN KUCHAI AND OTHERS  
CALLED TO DURBAR**

राज्ञा प्रातः समाहूय विसृष्टानुचरा गृहात् ।  
सर्वे हस्सन कोशेशं मुख्यमूर्णं समाययौ ॥ ७५ ॥

The Sultān in the morning commissioned his servants to call Hassan Kośeśa and others from their (respective) residences, who along with other prominent executives were ushered into his (the Sultān's) presence immediately.

**VERSE 76**

कम्पते तुरगस्वस्तो ज्ञातवृत्त' इवाचलः ।  
ताडनैर्बहुशः सासुः प्राप कष्टान्पाङ्गनम् ॥ ७६ ॥

Just like a frightened horse, trembling for having smelt its fate, (but) keeping steady (unmoving) though beaten profusely, approaches the royal court-yard very laboriously with its wet eyes.

*Note*

1. Horses are supposed to have sixth sense in smelling as to what is going to befall them. Hassan Kośeśa is also apprehensive about his fate

**VERSE 77: HASSAN KUCHAI AND MIR KĀK  
PRESENTED TO THE  
SULTĀN**

महार्हास्तरणस्थास्तान्<sup>1</sup> राजकर्तव्यताकुलान् ।  
कोशेश हस्सन मेरकाकादीन्<sup>2</sup> पञ्चषान्प ॥ ७७ ॥

Hassan Kośeśa, Mir Kāk and five or six others were seated on very valuable cushions and eager to receive the royal commands of the Sultān.

*Notes*

1. It can also connote that these nobles were relaxing on their very valuable cushions in their homes but immediately went to see the Sultān in their anxiety to fulfil obligations towards him.

2 Kāk as a Surname survives with Kashmiris even now—Hindus and Muslims alike. Among the Hindus these are Brahmins

VERSE 78: HASSAN KOŚĒSA AND OTHERS KILLED  
AT NOWHATTA

भृत्यैः संज्वर<sup>1</sup> मेराद्यैराज्ञप्तैर्मण्डलान्तरे ।  
छलाद्विश्वासमत्पाद्य राजधान्यन्तरेऽवधीत् ॥ ७८ ॥

Ordering his slaves Sanjayār (Jamshed) Mīr and others in the Durbar Hall who deceitfully instilled confidence in them (Hassan Kuchai and others) and got them killed within (the precincts) of the royal capital (Nowhattā).

*Note*

1 The name actually is Sanjayār, the Sanskrit form of Jamshed (cf. *JRRT*, verse 316).

VERSE 79: HASSAN KUCHAI IS AXED TO  
DEATH

किं द्रोह इति यावत् स कोशेशोऽभ्युत्थितोऽब्रवीत् ।  
द्रुघणैक<sup>1</sup> प्रहारेण तावत् प्राणैर्व्ययुज्यत ॥ ७९ ॥

No sooner did Kośēśa rise up and proclaim "what treachery" (he had committed) than with a single blow of a hatchet his life deserted him.

*Note*

1. Perhaps Hassan Kuchai was charged with treachery and awarded death sentence. He was done to death unheard by an axe which is nowadays used in chopping branches of a tree.

VERSE 80: MİR KĀK DESPATCHED TO DEATH  
LIKEWISE

शस्त्राघातैर्मूर्ध्निः सन्नुत्थितो मेरकाककः ।  
राज्ञ एवाशिषः<sup>1</sup> कुर्वन् पुनः परशुनाहतः ॥ ८० ॥

Becoming half-dead by the blows of weapons, Mīr Kāk standing up blessed the Śūltān but was once again struck and killed with an axe.

*Note*

1. Mīr Kāk perhaps tried to demonstrate his loyalty to the Śūltān even in such a distress. Despite this his life was not spared.

VERSE 81: AHMED MİR THE INTELLECTUAL  
DONE TO DEATH  
WHILE WRITING

लिखन्नहमद मेराख्यः स विद्या' व्यसनी गुणी ।  
हतो जनमनः कान्तो ययौ कस्य न शोच्यताम् ॥ ८१ ॥

Who did not grieve when an eminent intellectual and meritorious Ahmed Mir by name, so dear to the hearts of the people, was done to death while writing.

Note

1. विद्या व्यसनी : one devoted to learning or intellectual.

VERSE 82

जीवतां मनसा चैक्यं तेषां नित्यमभूद्यथा ।  
शस्त्रकृततनूदच्छच्छोणितैक्यमभूत् तथा ॥ ८२ ॥

Their steadfast mental affinity with one another while living was in the like manner demonstrated by the blood, oozing from their bodies cut with weapons, becoming unified (even after their death).

VERSE 83

वर्णकम्बल'पृष्ठस्था जीवन्तस्ते यथाभवन् ।  
निद्राणा इव ते तत्र तेषां श्लाघार्हतामगात् ॥ ८३ ॥

These (Hassan Košeśā and others) while alive would (confer with each other) seated on carpets of diverse colours, (now) they looked (doing) likewise in sleep, though dead.

Note

1. This word कम्बल connotes a floor spread (*gabbā*) or a carpet. Actually it can be taken to mean a floor spread which is made from a woollen quilt (Kambal) and embroidered with multi-coloured woollen yarns or pieces on the upper surface.

Srivara intends to convey that these floor spreads had displayed red colour prominently and the blood underneath dead bodies did present the same scene with the difference that these counsellors not conferring with each other but were taking a nap collectively.

We have *gabbas* stitched with red woollen pieces available here called *Farshi Gabbā* with which the floor is covered on festive occasions. Obviously in the absence of a chair and table not in use then, this kind of *gabbā* was used as floor covering by people of substance and means.

## VERSE 84: SOME WERE KILLED INSIDE THE PALACE

क्षणमात्रात् तथा शस्त्रैर्मरणं राजवेश्मनि<sup>1</sup> ।  
 अन्य सुलभं<sup>2</sup> तत्र तेषां श्लाघार्हतामगात्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ८४ ॥

Within no time, the death of those caused by weapons, right inside the palace not easily available to ordinary men, made them highly praiseworthy.

## Notes

1. It seems that some people not belonging to the Sultān's faction were killed inside the palace. These might have been his near relations sharing the palace along with him but were treated as suspects by the Sultān. It was a court-intrigue so to say (cf, verse 71 supra).

2. Every Tom, Dick or Harry cannot belong to royal blood and also lay down his life for the ultimate good of the country. It is obvious that the Sultān was not popular with the people, so those whom he put to sword became martyrs and heroes in the eyes of general masses.

3. They were given respect and praise for their martyrdom.

## VERSE 85

न वित्तं न च दारास्ते न भृत्या न शवाजिरम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
 तेषां तथा प्रमीतानां ययावन्तोपकारिताम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ८५ ॥

The riches, the wife, the servants or the grave-yards could not be of any use in the long run to those killed in this way.

## Notes

1. Muslims of substance purchase land for their grave during their life time. This could not happen in their case.

2. The so called anti-Sultān personages were done to death so suddenly that they had no time to make any preparations. In this hour of calamity, the riches, their servants, the wife or the land for their graves, were of no use. None was near them or there to console them. Their end was so sudden and tragic.

## VERSE 86

निजपरिभवभीत्या बन्धवो यान्ति दूरं  
 त्यजति च निजपत्नी का कथा सेवकानाम् ।  
 प्रतिदिनमृणहेतोस्ताडनं बन्धनं वा  
 भवति हि यमभङ्गाद् राजभङ्गोऽतिकष्टः ॥ ८६ ॥

For fear of their own humiliation (his) relations maintain distance, even his wife forsakes him, what to speak of the servants. Everyday for (non-payment of) taxes beating or imprisonment (is experienced); the wrath of the king is more painful than that (the noose) of the death-god.

## Note

1. Actually what the man owes to the state or the sovereign: loan etc. Here it might suggest taxes, punitive as well as the usual ones. Till recently the village land revenue collectors (*lambardars*) used to collect the state-share in cash and additional levy, which could be in kind also. These tax collectors were severely punished in case they failed to deposit the cash collections, in the government treasury in time.

## VERSE 87

स्फुल्लिङ्गलिङ्गनात् कुट्टः कृष्णसर्पोपसर्पणात् ।  
मकराकरपाताच्च कष्टं नृपतिसेवनम् ॥८७॥

To embrace the live-coal, to negotiate an infuriated cobra from a close range, to get drowned in the sea—the haunt of crocodiles—is less agonising than serving a king.

VERSE 88: THE DEAD BURIED AT THE FOOT OF  
HARI PARBAT

प्रद्युम्नगिरि 'पादान्ते चण्डालैर्निश्य'नाथवत् ।  
इष्टिकाभिस्ततो' नीत्वा भूगर्तेषु' निवेशिताः ॥८८॥

During the night like orphans these were carried to the foot of Hari Parbat by the Caṇḍālas in coffins and placed in ditches made in the ground.

## Notes

1. Pradyumna Giri or Peetha is another name for Śārīka Parvat—Hari Parbat (KLRT, III, 460, VII, 1616; *Vikramāṅka Deva Caritam*, XVIII, 15, *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, LXXIII, 109).

2. The scavengers or outcastes incharge of burying or cremating the dead is meant here. In Persian these are called *Gorkon*.

3. In coffins. It can connote also that bricks instead of tomb-stones were erected on their graves.

4. These might not have been a regular graves but ditches dug out hastily for depositing the dead, secretly during the night.

VERSE 89. MUSLIMS OF MEANS WOULD PURCHASE LAND  
IN ADVANCE FOR THEIR GRAVES

कुर्वन्ति मौसलजनाः स्व शवाजिराय<sup>१</sup>  
यत्ने सदैव बहुकारुण्य<sup>२</sup> दत्तविताः ।  
नो चिन्तयन्ति परमेश्वरमन्त्रेण  
जानाति को मम कदा मरणं कथं स्यात् ॥८९॥

Those subscribing to Muslim faith always are eager (to purchase

land in advance) for their graves and pay money to various artisans (for making these presentable), but do not think in terms of what God (has ordained for them) in His mind. Who knows when, where or how he will die?

#### Notes

1. Even to-day affluent Muslims purchase land for their graves and also enclose it with balustrade.
2. Various artisans plying the trade of digging a grave, chiselling a grave stone as also erecting an enclosure around it

#### VERSE 90: THE POET DOES NOT APPROVE OF MAKING ARRANGEMENTS FOR GRAVES IN ADVANCE

यः स्वायुषोऽर्वाधमवैति स्वदेहनिष्ठं  
यस्यान्तको भवति मित्रतयातिवश्यः<sup>1</sup> ।  
युज्येत तं प्रति शवाजिरकर्म कर्तुं  
स्लेच्छेषु<sup>2</sup> दुर्व्यसनमात्रमिदं मतं मे ॥९०॥

For those who know the span of their life while donning a body, who are not scared of death (hence) which is under their thumb to indulge in making an (advance) grave (to make arrangements for final rites) looks quite proper. For the unclean it can be termed merely a fond pursuit. This is my considered view.

#### Notes

1. Actually those who being in time are out of time at the same time—possessing a body have no attachment with it.
2. Non-Aryans, those whose ways are unclean, ie, Muslims.
3. A vice which cannot be shaken off easily. A bad practice followed tenaciously.

#### VERSE 91

ते वैश्रवण<sup>1</sup> भट्टाद्याः<sup>2</sup> कृत्वापिस्वशवाजिरम् ।  
अन्ते यत्र मृता ग्रामे भुवि तत्रैव शायिताः ॥९१॥

These wealthy Muslims, Bhaṭṭas and others, though having made (advance) arrangements for their grave-yards, died finally in a village and were laid to rest there.

#### Notes

1. This word can be a sub-caste also. However, literally it means Kubera, god of wealth, as also Rāvaṇa—the demon-king of Laṅkā. Perhaps Śrīvara by using this epithet wants to convey that these Bhaṭṭas though rich like Kubera were as unworthy as Rāvaṇa.



2. Many Hindus after getting converted to Islam retained their caste surnames. So, there are many sub-caste common to Muslims and Hindus even today here, eg. Bhatta, Pandit, Dar (Dhar) and others.

## VERSE 92

एक एको भुवो हस्तशतमात्रावृत्तौ<sup>1</sup> रतः ।  
पराप्रवेशदो यत्नात् प्राकृते<sup>2</sup> लज्जते न किम् ॥९२॥

One and all of ordinary standing are enamoured of enclosing hundred hand length of land and bar the entrance of others to it with great care. Why do not they feel ashamed (for this discrimination)?

## Notes

1. The hand length if taken to be from elbow upto the top of middle finger, roughly 18 inch, ie, about 45 cms. The whole length can be about 90 yds.

2. Even the Muslims of ordinary means or Muslims in general is meant here.

## VERSE 93

श्रुतं यच्छास्त्रतः सूक्ष्मशिलाश्चेच्छव<sup>1</sup> भूतले ।  
स्थायन्ते तत् सुखं तस्मिन् परलोकगते भवेत् ॥९३॥

On the testimony of (Muslim) religious lore it is said that very small stones if laid underneath the corpse (in a grave) will vouchsafe comfort to it in the other world.

## Note

1. Śrīvara would like to convey that erecting tomb stones over the graves is not enjoined by Muslim religion, instead of it if the flooring of the grave is made with pebbles it will afford comfort to the dead in the other world.

## VERSE 94

अहो लोभस्य माहात्म्यं जीवद्द यन्मृता अपि ।  
रावाजिरापदेशेन कुर्वन्त्यावरणं भुवः ॥९४॥

How irresistible is the greed which obliges the dead as if living to grab land under the guise of making (arrangements) for a grave (in advance)?

## VI-RSE 95

महान्तो हन्त कुर्वन्तु कृतयत्नाः शवाजिरम् ।  
तन्निर्माणेन जीवन्ति कियन्तोऽपि बभूक्षिताः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ९५ ॥

Men of eminence might gladly put in efforts to make graves for themselves since their erection provides food to many tormented with hunger.

## Note

1 Reference is to places (mausoleums) where food is served to those in want, on festival occasions. The *Dargāhs* of *pirs* and *faqirs* are actually meant here.

VERSE 96: ŚRĪVARA FAVOURS HINDU CUSTOMS  
OF CREMATING THE DEAD

वन्द्योऽन्य<sup>1</sup> दर्शनाचारो हस्तमात्रे भुवस्तले ।  
दग्धा यत् कोटिशो नित्यं सावकाशं<sup>2</sup> तथैव तत् ॥ ९६ ॥

(In this respect) the religious observance practised by those subscribing to other faiths, (Hindus) is commendable, wherein crores are cremated in a mere strip of land measuring a hand length which remains always uninfested as heretofore.

## Notes

1. Other faith is obviously the Hindu here. It seems that only two faiths were professed by the people at that time, the Muslims and the Hindus.

2. Literally it 'remains vacant' for the use of all and sundry unlike the practice indulged in by Muslim gentry to enclose the grave-yard and bar the entrance of other Muslims into it. Hindus profess no greed for appropriating land after their death while Muslims are obsessed with this greed during their life-time as also after it.

VERSE 97: ŚRĪVARA BEGS TO BE EXCUSED FOR THIS  
UNHEALTHY CRITICISM OF BURYING THE DEAD

इत्याद्यनुचिता निन्दा प्रस्तावाद्विहितात्र यत् ।  
क्षन्तव्या मौसुलैर्यस्मात् कविवाचो निर्गलाः ॥ ९७ ॥

Muslims should excuse me for indulging in improper criticism in this context (of burying the dead), since the word of a poet knows no restraint.

## VERSE 98: MISERLY ATTITUDE DERIDED

ये राजवैभवमवाप्य निपीड्य लोकं  
कुर्वन्ति संचयमतो न च दानभोगौ ।

अत्युत्क्राष्टाभरतफललब्धुःखाः-

स्ते कोश रक्षणनिष्ठाद् वितरन्ति रणः ॥९८॥

Those, who having attained kingly prowess, fleece the people and fill up their coffers, not (spending) on alms or personal enjoyment, labour under the agonizing burden of vices with the painful result that they have to give it over to the ruling sovereign with the plea of protecting their treasures.

*Note*

1. a) It might also be suggested that the kings often confiscate such massive wealth which can pose danger to them.

b) Or out of fear that their ill-gotten wealth may not be looted, or stolen, the misers deposit it in royal treasury. This assignment is undertaken by the bank-lockers today.

VERSE 99

द्रव्यं गृहपुरङ्गादि तेषां तद्राजसादगात् ।

तत्कुटुम्बैर्निगलम्बैर् नाप्याप्येका वराटिका ॥९९॥

The wealth, house, horses and other (property) belonging to them (such misers) is appropriated by the king and their family members are reduced to penury not getting even a cowrie out of it.

*Note*

1 The exact Kashmiri idiom in popular usage is a 'broken cowrie' (*Khend Har*).

VERSE 100: HASSAN KUCHAI WAS A MISER OF FIRST WATER

कोशेशसंचितं स्वर्णपूणि<sup>1</sup> रूपकभाजनम् ।

दृष्ट्वा धिक्कृत्य कृपणं धूत्कारं नृपतिर्व्यधात् ॥१००॥

Having seen a silver pot filled with gold amassed by Kośeśa, the Sultān sent cavil at that miser and spat (at his lot).

*Note*

1. Hassan Kuchai had perhaps retained this gold and silver with him, and was enjoying it. He was cursed by the Sultān and the treasure confiscated by the Sultān.

VERSE 101: SYED HASSAN GIVEN REPRIEVE BY THE SULTĀN

तत्पक्षान् बहूदरादीन्<sup>1</sup> हृतसर्वस्वसंचयान् ।

करायामक्षिपद्राजा मुक्तैकैकं सैदहोस्सनम् ॥१०१॥

His (Kuchai's) allies as those of Behrām (the Sultān's younger

brother) and others were deprived of their accumulated wealth, and were thrown into the prison by the Sultān with the exception of Sayyid Hassan.

#### Notes

1. It should be Behrām and not Behrāg. The error has crept in due to the similarity of symbols used for म and ग respectively in Sharda script. The only difference being horizontal line over them. This inference is further more strengthened by the misgivings against his brother who pacified him subsequently (cf. verse 106 later).

2. Perhaps Sayyid belonged to the Sultān's in-laws side, as he had married a Sayyid-girl; so he might have been spared from being imprisoned.

#### VERSE 102: OLD GUARDS EXTERMINATED

अन्ये पित्रपराधेन' तस्माद् भृगुसुतोपमात्<sup>१</sup> ।

क्षत्रिया' इव ते सर्वे नारां प्रापुः पुणतनाः<sup>४</sup> ॥ १०२ ॥

All others belonging to the old guard were annihilated like the Kṣatriyas by the Son of Bhṛgu, for having committed a sin against his father.

#### Notes

1. Reference is to the murder of Paraśurāma's father while in meditation by the minister named Chandragupta of King Kārtavīryārjuna. In the meanwhile Paraśurāma had gone for penance and on his return saw his mother Reṇukā beating her breast twenty one times. There and then Paraśurāma took the vow of killing Kṣatriyas twenty one times (*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, chapter 69; *Mahābhārata*, Śāntiparva, chapter 49).

2. Actually the descendants of Bhṛgu—Paraśurāma's father was Jamadagni.

3. The vow of Paraśurāma who exterminated Kṣatriyas twenty one times (refer note (1) above). Kṣatriya clan was supposed to have been finished completely.

4. Those belonging to older generation who acted as counsellors to the father of the Sultān.

#### VERSE 103: THE SULTĀN DISSOLVES THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS INSTITUTED BY HIS FATHER

यासीत् पितुः सभा योग्या तत्तत्कार्यविशारदा ।

स्मृतपूर्वापकारेण' तेन सर्वविशारदिता ॥ १०३ ॥

He dissolved the entire council (of ministers), very efficient and proficient in its performance, (appointed) by his father, on remembering the injury it had done to him (the Sultān) earlier.

#### Note

1. Reference has been made to the suspicion of Hāji Khān, now Sultān Haider Shāh, that these ministers had aligned themselves with Ādam Khān, his elder

brother, for getting the throne after his father Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin (cf. ZRRT, I, 7, 78 etc.).

## VERSE 104

अन्तरङ्गान् हभेषादीन् पञ्चानधिकारैः ।  
अरक्षत् प्राक्तनं स्मृत्वा प्रेम सेवां च पैतृकीम् ॥ १०४ ॥

Bringing to mind their erstwhile love and service rendered to his father, (the Sultān) with profuse regard, spared his closest chums Habib and a few others from being killed.

VERSE 105: ĀDAM KHĀN FEELS SCARED OF  
ATTACKING KASHMIR

आदमखानः पर्णोत्से<sup>1</sup> श्रुत्वा कोशेशानाशनम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
स्वनामान्वर्धतां<sup>3</sup> बिभ्रद्यौ<sup>4</sup> भीतो यथागतम् ॥ १०५ ॥

While in Parñotsa (Poonch) Ādam Khān having heard about the extermination of Kośeśa desired to make his name (the chief of the people) meaningful, but feeling scared went back as (quickly) as he had come.

## Notes

1. It seems Ādam Khān had sought asylum with the ruler of Poonch in the wake of the abortive coup he had engineered while his father was living (ZRRT, I, 7, 206, 207).
2. Hassan Kuchai was the prime mover behind Hāji Khān's accession to throne as also his trusted ally. When the wrath of the Sultān fell on Hāji Khān, Ādam Khān thought it to be his finest hour to fish in the troubled waters.
3. This Persian name means the head, helm or chief of people—the Sultān so to say.
4. Retreated, returned, went back. Perhaps he could feel that the conditions were not as chaotic there as he had imagined, so he could not be a match for the royal forces.

VERSE 106: BEHRĀM KHĀN IS ASSURED OF HIS  
SAFETY BY THE SULTĀN

बहामखानो वित्राणस्त'द्वधाच्छङ्कितो<sup>2</sup> भृशम् ।  
गृहमेत्य नृपेणाश्वासितः कार्यवलोकिना ॥ १०६ ॥

Feeling highly suspicious with the death of others (Kuchai) Behrām Khān without his military-aids repaired to the (royal) residence and was given assurance (about his personal safety) by the Sultān watching the activities (of the people around him).

## Notes

1. Without any defence, armour etc. Hence without his bodyguard, military aids. It seems he surrendered himself to the Sultān.
2. Hassan Kuchai was a benefactor of the Sultān like his younger brother Behrām. Both of them worked in collusion to get throne for him. Now when Hassan was killed, Behrām was naturally anxious for his personal safety. He could expect that the axe would fall on him next.

## VERSE 107

अस्मिन्नवसरे मद्रमण्डले सुभटक्षयः ।  
अभून्मणिक्वदेवस्य तुरुष्कैः' सह संयुगे ॥ १०७ ॥

At that very time during the battle with the Turks the valiant soldiery of Māṇikya Deva was destroyed in the state of Jammu.

## Note

1. Persian historians have called them as Mughals (TAHSN, p 208)

VERSE 108: ĀDAM KHĀN DIED WHILE GIVING  
FIGHT TO MUGHALS  
AT JAMMU

मातुलेन समं यातो योद्धुं तत्रैव संगरे ।  
आदमखानः स प्रापच्छर्मिन्' मुखः क्षयम् ॥ १०८ ॥

Ādam Khān joined that battle along with his maternal uncle (Māṇikya Deva). Being hit on the face by an arrow died there and then.

## Note

1. Hassan and other Persian chroniclers corroborate this account (TAHAS, Persian, p 208).

## VERSE 109

केऽप्युचुः स निजैरेव हतस्तत्र भयान्नितैः ।  
केऽपि ब्रणशलाकाप्राकृष्टमर्मविदारणात् ॥ १०९ ॥

Some said that he was killed by his own men overcome (blinded) by fear. Some others have also said that he died by drawing out the tip of the bayonet from the wound (it had made) tearing away his vitals.

## Note

1. The poet is not sure how it happened because the incident had occurred elsewhere.

VERSE 110: ĀDAM KHĀN BURIED BESIDES HIS  
MOTHER'S GRAVE

श्रुततन्मरणो राजा दूतैरत्यन्त दुःखितः ।

तद्देशाच्छवमानोय जननीं सनिधौ न्यधात् ॥ ११० ॥

The Sultān was very much grieved on hearing about his death from his messengers. He got the dead body brought from the State (Jammu) and laid it to rest close to his mother.

Note

1 Persian historians except Hassan have said that Ādam Khān was buried besides his father Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin (ZABA, III, 477 etc.).

Hassan has said this in this respect:

"Sultān Haider Shah got the corpse of Ādam Khān back from Jammu and buried it at Sehvar near Nawakadal" (TAHS, Persian, 208).

The evidence of Srivara and Hassan seems to be more credible than those of other Persian historians. Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin was buried at Mazār-i-Salātin—the graveyard reserved for the Sultāns. Ādam Khān was not a Sultān hence he could not be buried there. He was accordingly buried at Suhvar there, (near Nawakadal) where his mother's grave was also situated. His mother was the sister of Rājā of Jammu. Another Queen of Zain-ul-Ābidin Bodho Khatoon belonging to Sayyid-dynasty lays buried at Mazār Bahā-ud-Dīn Sāhib near Hari Parvat (ZRR, I, 7, 47).

Suhayār, a locality between 4th and 5th bridge on the left bank of river Jhelum, was founded by Suha Bhatta, a neo-convert. Similarly Ādam Khān's mother was also buried there being a convert. It may seem plausible to infer here that converts used to be buried in a separate grave-yard other than those of Muslims by birth then. Qutub-ud-Dimpura the usual haunt of Ādam Khān while in Srinagar is very near to this locality of Suhya.

VERSE 111: LUCK DID NOT FAVOUR ĀDAM KHĀN

ज्येष्ठोऽपि शौर्यनिलयोऽपि बलान्वितोऽपि

प्राप्तोऽपि जन्मभुवमाप्तधनप्रपञ्चः ।

नैवाप राज्यमुचितं स कृतप्रयत्नो

भाग्यैर्विना न हि भवन्ति समीहितार्थाः ॥ १११ ॥

Though the eldest (Ādam Khān) was a mine of bravery, possessed vigour and strength also, did come to his land of birth having the abundance of wealth at his beck and call, yet he could not get the sultānship due (to him), despite all his efforts. Verily without luck no worthwhile object can be attained.

VERSE 112

अथवा पितृशापः स तस्यापि फलितोऽभवत् ।

यदाप्तोऽपि निजं देशं परदेशे क्षयं गतः ॥ ११२ ॥

Or the curse of his father bore the desired fruit, in as much as he (Ādam Khān) having come to his country did die in an alien land.

*Note*

1. Refer ZRRT, I, 7, 196-197; II, 105, 108.

#### VERSE 113

अग्रान्तरे महोत्पता दिव्यधौमान्तरिक्षागः ।

अहं<sup>1</sup> पूर्विकयेवापुर्नृपतेर्जनकम्पदाः ॥ ११३ ॥

In the meantime, the Sultān did perceive such inauspicious omens on the sky, earth and space which threw a challenge to his ego and also made people very apprehensive.

*Note*

1. Literally reversing his authority. Some such ill-omens appeared which made the Sultān feel that his days were numbered.

#### VERSE 114: A VIOLENT EARTHQUAKE ROCKS MARAZ

तथाहि प्रथमं रात्रिं पुष्पलीला<sup>1</sup>चिकीर्षया ।

गते मडवं गज्यार्थी भूमिकम्पोऽभवन्महान् ॥ ११४ ॥

In consequence of which, firstly when the Sultān went to Maḍava (Maraz) with a desire to (witness) the (almond) blossoms, the whole territory there was rocked by a violent earthquake.

*Note*

1. Refer ZRRT, I, 4, 2, along with the notes.

#### VERSE 115

अस्मत्कर्तृजनः कोऽपि सुखी नैवाधुनास्थितः ।

इतीव देशे तत्कालं चकम्पुर्जनवद् गृहाः ॥ ११५ ॥

“Now, none amongst those who have built us, will be at ease”, in this was at that time houses trembled like people.

#### VERSE 116

उदभूत् पूर्वदिक्पुच्छः केतुर्नभसि विस्तृतः ।

पूर्वै बहामखानेन दृष्टोऽरिष्टस्य सूचकः ॥ ११६ ॥



Towards the east a comet with a tail appeared on the sky, foreboding complete disaster, seen first of all by Behrām Khān.

## VERSE 117

स दूर विस्तृतः पुच्छः कालकुन्तोपमो दिने ।  
स्फुरन् प्रतीचीं प्रत्याशां तस्यैव ददृशे जनैः ॥ ११७ ॥

Its tail spreading very far with a dazzle into the west like the lance of Death-god was seen by the people during the day.

## VERSE 118

युग्मसूर्वडवा राजमन्दुरान्तर्गताभवत् ।  
देशात् क्रष्टुं ददौ राजा यां भिया यवनक्षये ॥ ११८ ॥

A mare in the royal stable gave birth to twins. The Sultān apprehended disaster for the Muslims (taking it as ill omen), and (so) took it to mean being deported from the kingdom.

## Note

1. To be dragged out of.

## VERSE 119

सिंहादयो दिने चेरुर्वन्याः श्रीनगरान्तरे ।  
बिडालपोतं सुषुवे शुनी च प्रसवक्षणे ॥ ११९ ॥

During the day lions and other wild animals prowled in the interior of Srinagar. At the time of delivery a bitch gave birth to a kitten.

## VERSE 120

निष्फलो यः सदानन्दी<sup>1</sup> तरुः स सफलोऽभवत् ।  
उपरज गृहं मूलात् दाडिमीकुसुमोद्गमः ॥ १२० ॥

The *Sadānandī* tree which bears no fruit, was laden with fruits. Just close to the royal palace the pomegranate bush blossomed right from its root.

## Note

1. सदानन्दी—It might be a ever-green tree affording pleasure to the eyes by its perennial verdure. The word is not noted by MW or Apte.

## VERSE 121

सुमनो वाट शाटात्तर्पुवां शोणितवर्षणम् ।

इति दृष्ट्वा जनः सर्वः क्षते क्षारमिवान्वभूत् ॥१२१॥

The clothes (spread for drying) within the precincts of flower-gardens were soaked with rain of blood. On seeing this, salt was added to the wounds of entire people.

## Note

1 All the bad-omens enumerated from verse 114 to 121 have been taken from the *Mahābhārata* (cf. *Mahābhārata*, Bhīma Parva, III, 38, 13-17, 6, 1, 29 respectively).

## VERSE 122. THE KHĀNQAH OF SAYYID DAMAGED BY RIOTERS

अत्रान्तरे वसन्सैदखान 'गाह्वादि पीडनम्' ।

हिन्दुका विदधुः पूर्ण नापितोद्धत क्रुधः ॥१२२॥

In the meanwhile, the Hindus residing (in its vicinity) due to mounting infuriation against Pūrṇa the barber, damaged the *Khānqah* of the Sayyid.

## Notes

1 Obviously the *Khānqah-i-Moulla* built by Sayyid Muhammed Hamadāni son of Sayyid Alī Hamadāni. It is situated on the right side of the Jhelum between Fateh Kadal and Ali Kadal.

2 Śrīvara says that Pūrṇa perpetrated atrocities on the Hindus to such a breaking point that as a reaction to it they damaged the *Khānqah-i-Moulla*—actually the man responsible for the conversion of Hindus to Islam.

Hassan has corroborated this by saying that the Hindus were inflicted with untold miseries due to prejudice and as a **retaliation** for this ill-treatment they set fire to many mosques which had been built with the material of the Hindu temples by Sultān Sikandar (*TAHS*, Persian, p 207).

## VERSE 123 SULTĀN ORDERS PERSECUTION OF HINDUS

तच्छ्रुत्वा यवनाः सर्वे गत्वा क्रुद्धा नृपात्तिकम् ।

चक्रुःशुर्येन राजापि द्विज पीडनमादशत् ॥१२३॥

On learning this all the Muslims feeling exercised made a wailing plaint to the Sultān who ordered persecution of the *dvijas*, ie. (first three castes of Hindus).

## Note

1. The first three castes among Hindus are permitted to be invested with sacred

thread (*Yajñopavita*), hence are also called twice born—*Dvija* (*Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, 1, 39).

VERSE 124: ARMS AND NOSES OF HINDUS AND BUDDHISTS  
CUT OFF INDISCRIMINATELY

अजरामर<sup>1</sup> बुद्धादीन्<sup>2</sup> ब्राह्मणान् सेवकानपि<sup>3</sup> ।  
तत्कोपेनाकरोद् राजा निकृत्त भुजनामिकान् ॥ १२४ ॥

Godly Buddhists defying old age and the loyal Brahmins also were deprived of their arms and noses by the wrath of the Sultān.

Notes

1. The Buddhists, who were very old and god-like and who had nothing to do with this kind of sacrilege perpetrated on the *Khānqah*. The monks and Lamas are reputed to possess a very long lease of life.
2. It seems that Buddhism was practised in Kashmir during those days. It had not left the valley for good till then.
3. Loyal, in the service of the Sultān.

VERSE 125: NABĀTU ONCE AGAIN ECHOES  
THROUGHOUT THE VALLEY

त्यक्त स्वजाति वेशास्तद्दिनेषु<sup>1</sup> ब्राह्मणादयः ।  
न भद्रोऽहं न भद्रोऽहमित्युचुर्बहु<sup>2</sup> लुण्ठने ॥ १२५ ॥

From that day onwards, the Brahmins and others renounced distinct marks of their caste (so that) when they would be looted they could say “I am not a Bhaṭṭa,” “I am not a Bhaṭṭa”.

Notes

1. Literally this word means a dress, outer appearance hence distinct marks of belonging to Hindu community, eg. *Tilaka*, *Yajñopavita*, a tuft of long hair at the crown of head etc.

2. *बहु* is pronounced as *बट* in Kashmiri—a general nomenclature of the Hindus of Kashmir even now.

This was the fourth *Nabātu* (Kashmir), न *भट्टाहम्* in the history of Kashmir. The first took place in the reign of King Harṣa, the second when Rāja Deva was ruling over Kashmir, the third during the time of Sultān Sikandar (*KLRT*, VII, 1081, 1091; *JRRT*, 84; *JRRT*, 575, 604).

VERSE 126: THE IDOLS BROKEN

बहुखातक मुख्या<sup>1</sup> ये पुरे सन्तीष्ट<sup>2</sup> देवताः ।  
तन्मूर्ति लोठनं राजा स्तेच्छप्रेरणयादिशत् ॥ १२६ ॥

Whatever tutelary deities headed by Bahukhātaka existed in the

city, the Sultān ordered the destruction of those idols, at the instigation of the Muslims.

*Notes*

1. Bahukhātakeśwara Bhairava is below Safākadal at the confluence of Duda Ganga with the Jhelum. This locality is called Chhattābal at present.
2. Actually the Bhairavas are supposed to guard the city of Srinagar.

VERSE 127: LAND OF THE HINDUS CONFISCATED

दत्ताभूजैनभूपेन येषां गुणपरीक्षया ।  
तेभ्यस्तां निर्निमित्तेनाप्यहरन्धिकारिणः ॥ १२७ ॥

Whatever land had been granted by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin (to the Hindus) for their eminence and talent, was confiscated by the state officers without assigning any reason.

*Note*

1. The Hindus are obviously meant here, since they alone were being tyrannized at that time under the orders of the Sultān.

VERSE 128: FORMS OF WORSHIP OTHER THAN ISLAMIC ARE BANNED

स माहिसफरो<sup>१</sup> मासः प्रसिद्धो म्लेच्छदर्शने ।  
सर्वदर्शनविघ्नाय<sup>२</sup> न केषां भयकार्यभूत् ॥ १२८ ॥

That month of Safar (Muslim calendar) very much known in Islamic theology, blocking all (other) forms of worship, and did not spare anybody from being intimidated.

*Notes*

1. The second month of Islamic calendar next to Muharram.
2. Impounding the spread of all forms of worship other than Islamic. It was obviously, the Hindu form which seems to have been banned then.

VERSE 129: UNRESTRAINED MINISTERS AND CORRUPT OFFICERS

धूपं नित्यमदोन्मत्तं स्वतन्त्रं मन्त्रिमण्डलम् ।  
उत्कोचहारिणः सर्वानन्तरङ्गांस्तरङ्गितान् ॥ १२९ ॥

The Sultān always intoxicated with drinking, the council of ministers bereft of restraint, the entire host of the Sultān's favourites puffed up (with) unlimited authority, demanding illegal gratification.

## VERSE 130

दर्शिताबल<sup>1</sup> पीडार्ति पण्डितानवलोक्य च ।  
स्मृतश्री<sup>2</sup>जैनभूपालगुणमालस्तदा जनः ॥ १३० ॥

Displaying deftness in assaulting the women-folk, the people coming face to face with them (such depraved lot) at that time, recalled to their mind the myriad virtues of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

## Notes

1. Perhaps only Hindu women were maltreated.

2. Comparison made the people very sad.

Budshāh gave all kind of safety and security to the Hindus but his successor undid it all.

## VERSE 131

देशे सरुदिताक्रन्दं शुशोचात्यन्तदुःखितः ।  
सर्ववृद्धश्चिरारूढोऽग्रस्तोऽदृष्टपरामर्शः ॥ १३१ ॥

In the country all the old people though for long down-trodden had not witnessed such an endemic humiliation. (So) being very much pained they began to grieve by weeping and moaning.

## VERSE 132

सर्वकार्यान्तरङ्गोऽयं<sup>1</sup> क्षयं याति कदा नृपः ।  
इति येऽप्यवदन् दुष्टास्तत्सुते<sup>2</sup> विभवार्यिनः ॥ १३२ ॥

“Conversant with the inner-most (technicalities) of running the administration, when will the Sultān breathe his last”. Thus those wicked (collaterals of his) whom he had brought up like his own sons longing for opulence thought aloud.

## Notes

1. The point made out by Śrīvara is that the Sultān's collaterals knew very well that they would not be able to sabotage the administrative machinery of state as he was very well aware of its ins and outs. Hence only his death could make the road clear for them.

2. Literally sons, produced, brought forth. Hence it may mean such close relations of the Sultān whom he treated like his sons. The Sultān had only one son, Hassan, hence the use of the plural can be explained in the light of what has been explained earlier.

## VERSE 133: PERSIAN POETRY QUOTED

पारसी भाषया<sup>1</sup> काव्ये यदूचे दूषणा विशाम् ।  
स शापः फलितो देशे श्रोमज्जैनमहीपतेः ॥ १३३ ॥

Whatever disparaging trains about the people have been enumerated in the poetry composed in Persian, that very curse registered fruition in this land of illustrious Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn.

## Note

1. Reference may be to the didactic poetry written in Persian by Sādi and Hāfiz and others.

## VERSE 134

सेवकाः कितवप्राया भुक्तप्रेष्या नियोगिनः<sup>1</sup> ।  
तच्छापादिव कालेन प्राप्तात्यन्तनिपीडनाः ॥ १३४ ॥

As a result of that curse the executives were given to corrupt practices and the revenue officials of long standing were badly victimized in course of time.

## Note

1. This technical term has been used for a revenue official, someone like a tehsildar by Kṣemendra (cf. *Narṇa Mālā*; *Loka Prukāśa*).

## VERSE 135

किमस्मद्रक्षको दैवहतो<sup>1</sup> वृद्धो महीपतिः<sup>2</sup> ।  
इत्यादि सास्त्रसाक्रन्दाः शुशुचुस्तेऽपि पार्थिवम् ॥ १३५ ॥

Such (officials) also grieved for the Sultān with tearful wails exclaiming, "Has our protector the senile Sultān been taken away by fate?"

## Notes

1. Literally, 'killed by destiny', has become powerless and impotent in not protecting our rights.

2. Executives and revenue officials even though corrupt and exacting by themselves were subjected to inhuman what they had done to the people.

## VERSE 136

स्वल्पोऽपि राज्यकालोऽभून्वायासैः<sup>1</sup> सुदुःसहः ।  
निदाघ रात्रि<sup>2</sup> संदृष्ट दीर्घ दुःस्वप्नसन्निधः ॥ १३६ ॥

## Wave II

Like being confronted with a bad summer night, even a brief rule with its unprecedented authoritarianism becomes intolerable.

### Notes

1. With new expansion, extension or unprecedented restraint, control, authoritarian attitude. This kind of attitude was a new experience for the people. They had not come across with such earlier.

2. Summer nights though very short, becomes intolerable if there is no breeze or if it is humid. Even a short one can be a very bad experience.

### VERSE 137

लोत्रराशि गृह<sup>1</sup> द्रव्य हरणैः परपीडनैः ।  
तुत्पुस्तस्य भृत्यौघाः कौशिकास्तिमिरैरिव ॥ १३७ ॥

With heaps of loot, with snatching away the private wealth, with inflicting injury on those who did not see eye to eye with them, the host of administrators revelled like owls in darkness.

### Note

1. The people had to suffer on the individual as well as collective level.

### VERSE 138: THE SULTÂN INDIFFERENT TO PUBLIC OBLIGATIONS

शय्यारुढो<sup>1</sup> मधुक्षीबः प्रजाकार्य पराङ्मुखः<sup>2</sup> ।  
सर्वदिनं<sup>3</sup> निनायान्तः<sup>4</sup> स्वपाश्वर्षपरिवर्तनैः ॥ १३८ ॥

Lying in the bed, tipsy with drinking, indifferent to public obligation, (the Sultân) spent day and night in his private chamber tossing from one side to the other.

### Notes

1. *Śayyā* may ordinarily mean 'bed', but when used with *आरुढ* it usually means 'to bed with a woman'.
2. Being indifferent to what he owed to his people, his administrators became very powerful.
3. This will mean night and day, as a whole.
4. In his inner apartment, or private chamber.

### VERSE 139: THE SULTÂN ENGROSSED IN LISTENING TO MUSIC ONLY

कुलाल<sup>1</sup> गायनोदगीतं गीतं शृण्वन् दिवानिशम् ।  
गुणिभ्यो राजयोग्येभ्यो<sup>2</sup> नादाद् दर्शनमात्रकम् ॥ १३९ ॥

(The Sultân) would be (engrossed in) listening to the songs

composed and sung by one Kulāla (a poet) night and day, and could not (spare a moment) even for granting audience to eminent people fit to rule (the country).

*Notes*

1. *Kulāla* in Sanskrit means a potter. It might be even a proper name of a talented composer but Śrīvara has not mentioned this name while describing master musicians (ZRRT, I, 4, verses, 31-36). This musician might have been inducted into royal *retinue* by Sultān Haider Shāh later on.

2. Such talented people to whom administration of the country could be delegated safely.

VERSE 140: LAKSHMIPUR HAWAL, LAL BAZAR  
CONSUMED BY FIRE

शाहभदेन राज्ये या संपन्नातिमनोहरा ।

लक्ष्मीपुरे<sup>2</sup> राजधानी तां पुप्तोषोदितः शिखी ॥ १४० ॥

Lakshmipura—that exuberant and very beautiful royal-seat during the rule of Shāhāb-ud-Din was reduced to ashes by leaping flames.

*Notes*

1. Sultān Shāhāb-ud-Din who ruled over Kashmir from 1355 AD to 1373 AD (ZRRT, verses 360-463).

2. Jōṇa Rāja has referred to the founding of this city by Sultān Shāhāb-ud-Din in the name of his wife Lakshmi Devī at the foot of Hari Parbat (JRRT, verse 410). But he has not given its exact geographical position. Dr Sufi has said that this city was built under the canopy of the Sharika temple (cf. *Kasheer*, p 139). Shri P. N. Bazaz has identified it as the present day (cf. *Daughter of the Vitastā*, p 141). Devī Angan. In this connection it may be said that Lakṣmi-Kulā (Lachma Kol) flows towards the back of Hari Parvat where present Hawal and Lal Bazar areas are situated. May be this canal flowed through this town (Lakshmipura); hence it may have been constructed at the rear of "Hari Parvat" where enough land for its expansion was also available.

VERSE 141: BALDIMAR ALSO BURNT

या बलाढ्य<sup>1</sup>मठस्थाने वेशमाली विपुलाभवत् ।

सपिदग्धा समं तत्र तत्तत्पौर जनश्रिया ॥ १४१ ॥

The dense rows of houses built at Balāḍhyamaṭha (Baldimar near Srinagar) was also burnt along with the belongings of the dwellers of that locality.

*Note*

1. Balāḍhyamaṭha was founded by Balāḍhyacandra of Lar Pargana in Srinagar during the reign of King Raja Deva 1213 AD–1236 AD (JRRT, verse 82).



Dr Stein has identified it with the present day Baldimar just above Dedamar (Dida-Math, *STRT*, II, p 448).

VERSE 142: PEOPLE FED UP WITH THE  
SULTÂN

इत्याद्युपद्रवान् देशे दृष्ट्वा वास्तव्यनाराकान् ।  
एतन्नाशाद् भवेद्विघ्नशान्ति रित्यवदज्जनः ॥ १४२ ॥

In like manner beholding calamities, injurious to the inhabitants in this land, the people declared that all such outrages shall cease with the death (of the Sultân).

*Note*

1. The people were so much fed up with the misrule of the Sultân that they prayed for his death.

VERSE 143: NERO-LIKE ATTITUDE OF THE SULTÂN

राजा पञ्चगृहावासं<sup>१</sup> खं ज्वलन्तं समीक्ष्य च ।  
हर्म्यमारुह्य<sup>२</sup> संतुष्टः पानलीलां व्यगाहत ॥ १४३ ॥

The Sultân seeing the five rows of his (palace) ablaze, ascended the (top of the) royal mansion and quite content with glee, indulged in drinking.

*Notes*

1. The five rows of his personal residence is meant here.
2. The palace or the royal mansion meant for the use of the king's friends.

VERSE 144: THE PRINCE IS ORDERED TO UNDERTAKE A  
MILITARY CAMPAIGN OUTSIDE KASHMIR

अस्मिन्नवसरे नेयधिषणः<sup>१</sup> पिशुनेरितः<sup>२</sup> ।  
यज्ञायै सबलं पुत्रं बहिर्देशे व्यसर्जयत् ॥ १४४ ॥

At that very moment the idiotic (Sultân) instigated by the evil intentioned (around him) sent his son (Hassan) away on a military campaign outside Kashmir.

*Notes*

1. The inner cabinet around him advised the Sultân to send his son Hassan, outside Kashmir on a military campaign. That idiotic Sultân could not see through their game in getting rid of Hassan who could have but the crumbling administrative machinery on rails. It might also be inferred here that these wicked people around the Sultân wanted to keep the throne safe for Behrâm in the absence of the *de jure*

heir-apparent Hassan. Later on Śrīvara does refer to this surreptitious move by the counsellors (ZRRT, II, 177-182).

2. The evil-intentioned counsellors Ahmed Yattu and others who were in league with Behrām (ZRRT, II, 179-180).

VERSE 145

यत्सेन्यं वीक्ष्य दैन्यं ते ययुर्बाह्य महीभुजः ।  
प्रदीप्तं रविरश्म्योषं दिक्से तारका इव ॥ १४५ ॥

Beholding his army, the rulers on the outer fringe of Kashmir, did feel humble like stars during the day (being reduced to nullity) by the resplendent rays of the Sun.

VERSE 146: PRINCE HASSAN MARRIES THE SISTER  
OF RĀJĀ OF RAJOURI

पूर्वं राजपुरी राजो जयसिंहो<sup>१</sup> नृपात्मजाम् ।  
स्वसारं च स्वसारं च दत्त्वा तोषयति स्म तम्<sup>२</sup> ॥ १४६ ॥

In the first instance, the ruler of Rajouri Jaya Siṃha gave his sister along with precious presents to the prince (in marriage) for earning his good-will.

Notes

1. The Rājā of Rajouri Jaya Siṃha was on good terms with the then Sultān Haider Shāh, Hassan's father.

2. Very precious presents, obviously as dowry, were given to prince Hassan.

VERSE 147: THE PRINCE OCCUPIES "KILADAR"

कल्लिधारमसिलतामिव<sup>१</sup> वीक्ष्य तदाश्रिताम् ।  
कम्पं के नात्र देशस्थाः प्रापुस्तद्भयतो जनाः ॥ १४७ ॥

The inhabitants of Kalidhār perceiving the (troops) under him (Prince Hassan) as the sabre-creepers got frightened and began to tremble.

Note

1. Presumably this connotes the name of the present day Kiladar. The Razdāns (Sanskrit—*Rājānakas*) of Kashmir possessed the sole rights of keeping the *dhūni*—sacrificial fire, alive there day and night. After the tribal raids in 1947 the territory was occupied by Pakistān.

VERSE 148: THE ARMY OF DHIRKOT DEFECTS TO THE PRINCE

सेना दीनार कोटीयाः<sup>१</sup> शित्रियुक्ता भयच्छिदे ।  
बलिधि मङ्गलादेवीमिवोन्नतधुवि<sup>२</sup> स्थिताम् ॥ १४८ ॥

The army of Dinnār Kot defected to him (Prince Hassan) for warding off the fear, just like Maṅgalā Devī situated on a higher elevation is propitiated with offerings.

*Notes*

1. It may be recognized as the Dhirkot of today. This territory is located at the farthest extremity of Poonch on the banks of Kishen Ganga. It could be negotiated from Kohālā even on Jhelum valley road. It has since been under the occupation of Pakistan.

2. A fort actually quite close to Nowshehra on Poonch-Jammu highway. Hindu rulers usually installed an image of the goddess in their forts. The name of goddess seems to be "Maṅgalā Devī—a form of Candi or Durgā." Dogras on occupying Kashmir also fixed up the image of Durgā in the Hari Parbat fort.

VERSE 149: THE RULERS OF JAMMU GAKKHAR  
AND BHIMBER SURRENDER  
TO PRINCE

मद्र<sup>1</sup> गक्खड<sup>2</sup> चिन्मेशा<sup>3</sup> राजहंसास्तमाययुः ।

सरोवरमिव प्रोद्यच्छुक्लपक्षा विनिर्मलम् ॥ १४९ ॥

The rulers of Jammu, Gakkhar and Cibbhadeśa (Bhimber) surrendered to him just like the king-swans with their white plumes repair to a transparent lake.

*Notes*

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 47.

2. A territory near Pakhli in Hazara district. It is under the occupation of Pakistan at present.

3. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 1, 47.

VERSE 150: THE MALHAÑAS WITHDRAW THEIR  
SUPPORT TO THE PRINCE

रजावृत्तानुरोधेन<sup>1</sup> स्वपदार्थोपपादकैः<sup>2</sup> ।

मातुलेरपि<sup>3</sup> तस्याग्रे मल्हणैः<sup>4</sup> कल्हणायितम् ॥ १५० ॥

In order to obstruct the onward march for protecting of royal (forces), Malhañas for protecting their rank and wealth, through his maternal relations, did not give support to him (the prince).

*Notes*

1. रुद्ध means to obstruct, to impede.

2. पद—is rank, and अर्थ —is wealth. These Malhañas did not like Prince's growing too big for his boots which would have kept their rank and riches at a discount.

3. It seems Haider Shāh had married one of the girls of Malhañas.

4. The descendants of Malhañas perhaps ruling over Lohāra (Lonn at present). This territory lies between Poonch and Rajouri.

5. Belonging to the clan of Kalhaṇa. They did not maintain the reputation established by their progenitor Kalhaṇas and were subsequently taken to be as looters and rioters (JRRT, verse 101).

**VERSE 151: KHAMARIAN TOWN RAZED TO GROUND**

कौमारोद्'ध्वंसिकं वीक्ष्य कटकालंकृता अपि ।  
अभूवन् धैर्यरहिता माहिला<sup>2</sup> महिला इव ॥ १५१ ॥

The Māhilas though equipped with an army lost their patience, like the weaker vessels (women) on learning that the Prince had razed the Kaumāra town to ground.

*Notes*

1. कौमार—This town may be identified as the Khumarian on way to Tosa Maidān from Darhal near Rajouri. कौमारोद्'ध्वंसिकं can also mean as the one who had robbed girls of their virginity.

2. The Māhila tribe, now counted among Gujjars. It means a boatman also.

**VERSE 152: PRINCE'S ARMY CROSSES OVER TO THE OTHER SIDE OF THE JHELUM INTO THE PUNJAB**

बद्धपङ्क्तिस्तरन्ती सा ज्यलमेस्तनदी तटात्<sup>1</sup> ।  
तत्सेना रामबद्धाब्धि<sup>2</sup> सेतु कौतुकमातनोत् ॥ १५२ ॥

His army crossing over the Jhelum from one bank (to the other) in rows, presented the spectacle (feat) of the bund constructed by Śrī Rāma over the ocean.

*Notes*

1. For the first time we get the notice of the Vitastā being called as the Jhelum in Sanskrit literature.

2. Śrī Rāma had to cross the ocean to get over to Ceylon for recovering Sitā from the hands of demon Rāvaṇa (VLRMN, VI, 22, 80-81). Herein we get the reference of Kashmiri forces under the command of Prince Hassan crossing over to the Punjab—perhaps via Mirpur, Guthalian Pattan—now under the Pakistani occupation.

**VERSE 153: THE MORALE OF THE PRINCE'S FORCES VERY HIGH**

कुटीपाटीश्वरी<sup>1</sup> प्राप्तं तत्सैन्यं दैन्यवर्जितम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
नारायणोदरोदगच्छद्दिश्वलोक भ्रमं व्यधात्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १५३ ॥

His (prince's) army having negotiated Kutī Pātīśvarī being in very

high morale, created a delusion of the Universe coming out of the belly of Nārāyaṇa.

*Notes*

1. Most probably this place can be identified as Guthalian Pattan on the other side of Mirpur. Between them the Jhelum flows.
2. The army was understandably in very high morale having conquered the whole territory up to the boundary of the Punjāb.
3. Reference *Devī Bhāgavatam*.

**VERSE 154: THE CITY OF BHOGAPĀLAS  
SET TO FIRE**

संप्तुष्टे भोगपालानां<sup>1</sup> पुरे मद्राचितान्यपि<sup>2</sup> ।  
सुचिरं धूमितान्यासन् गृहाणि हृदयानि च ॥ १५४ ॥

**Having set fire to the city of Bhōga Pālas along with the hearths and houses of Mādras were for long tarnished with the smoke.**

*Notes*

1. These Bhogapālas might have belonged to the Pāla dynasty ruling over the Punjab at that time. Or it might connote the jagirdars paying tribute to the Rājā of Jammu. भोग also means a jagir in Sanskrit.
2. Now the tribute would be paid by these jagirdars to the Sultān of Kashmir and not to Raja of Jammu which obviously made the latter burn with jealousy.

**VERSE 155: THE PRINCE'S ARMY REACHES THE FOOT  
OF BĀLEŚVARA MOUNTAIN**

उन्नादहृदसंस्कृततुरङ्गतरङ्गिता ।  
बाल्येश्वर गिरेः<sup>1</sup> पादमूलं प्रापास्य वाहिनी ॥ १५५ ॥

**His army (which was like) a tank making loud noise by the ripples (in the form) of horses (wading through it), reached the foot of Bāleśvara mountain.**

*Note*

1. This mountain perhaps marked the end of the territory of Jammu then, since after this Śrīvara has not described the conquests of Prince Hassan.

**VERSE 156: THE PRINCE IS INVINCIBLE**

तदीयकटको दीपस्ततुरङ्गतरङ्गितः ।  
तं तमेव नतं चक्रे येन येन पथावहत् ॥ १५६ ॥

**Whatever routes his army negotiated (in the form of) billowy flood of horses, these all were humbled by him (The Prince).**

## VERSE 157

निस्तृणं भूतलं तत्तु निष्पानीया जलाशयाः ।  
निरिन्धनान्यरण्यानि तत्सैन्ये चलितेऽभवन्<sup>1</sup> ॥ १५७ ॥

The march of his army made the ground bereft of grass, the tanks devoid of water and the forests deprived of fuel.

## Note

1. Obviously it was a grand army, very sizable.

VERSE 158: ŚRĪVARA RECITES BRĤATKATHĀ  
TO PRINCE HASSAN

सोऽहं संमान्य राज्ञास्मै दत्तस्तत्समयेऽब्रुहम् ।  
कुर्वन् बृहत्कथाख्यानमभूवं<sup>1</sup> धृतपुस्तकः ॥ १५८ ॥

At that time the Sultān honouring me (Śrīvara) made, over (Prince Hassan) to me, to whom I would recite anecdotes from the *Br̥hatkathā* from its text.

## Note

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 5, 86; It seems that Śrīvara was with the Prince during these campaigns.

## VERSE 159: MILITARY CAMPAIGN LASTS SIX MONTHS

करदीकृतभूपालः<sup>1</sup> स षण्मासकृतस्थितिः ।  
अभवच्चैत्र<sup>2</sup>मासान्ते कश्मीरागमनोत्सुकः ॥ १५९ ॥

Making the rulers (whom the Prince vanquished) pay tribute to him, he, after a stay of six months (for which this military campaign lasted) became eager to return to Kashmir at the end of the month of Caitra.

## Notes

1. Refer note 2, verse 154 supra.
2. When the winter in Kashmir was over and spring was in the offing. May be Prince Hassan had got a message during his sojourn that his uncle Behrām Khān in collusion with some ministers was conspiring to usurp the throne, so he came back to Kashmir in post haste (refer to the next verse).

VERSE 160: BEHRĀM KHĀN BEHAVES LIKE AN  
AUTHORITARIAN DESPOT

तावद् बभ्राम बहाम खानो दाम्निरिर्गलः ।  
आब्रुन्त मन्त्रिसामन्तो ज्ञात्वा व्यसनं नृपम् ॥ १६० ॥

By that time, Behrām Khān in full knowledge of the vices to which Sultān was addicted, started bullying the ministers and other high ranking officials, behaving unbridled (like an authoritarian despot).

VERSE 161: THE SULTĀN AFFLICTED WITH ACUTE  
GOUT

अथ संतत पानेन क्षीणदेह बलच्छविः ।

स वातशोणित<sup>1</sup> व्याधि बाधितोऽभून्महीपतिः ॥ १६१ ॥

Now, with excessive drinking the Sultān was afflicted with acute gout eroding the vigour of his body and (colour of his) complexion.

*Note*

1. Taken separately these might indicate blood cancer and gastric trouble.

VERSE 162: HASSAN KHĀN SACKS THE CONSPIRING  
MINISTERS

प्राप्तो हस्सनखानः स पूर्णचन्द्र इवोदितः ।

तान् दुष्ट मन्त्रिणः पद्मानिव संकुचितान् व्यधात्<sup>1</sup> ॥ १६२ ॥

On arriving (in Kashmir) Hassan Khān, having risen like a full moon, sacked those conspiring ministers like the lotuses closing (their petals in moonlight).

*Note*

1. Contracting or closing or withdrawing into its shell.

VERSE 163: THE SULTĀN UNKINDLY  
DISPOSED TOWARDS  
HIS SON

किं नैतेन समानीतो बद्ध्वा पिरुजगखुखडः<sup>1</sup> ।

इति रोषं सुते राजा पिशुनप्रेरितोऽग्रहीत् ॥ १६३ ॥

Why did he not bring Feroz Gakkhar in chains here—thus the Sultān worked up by wicked (advisers) showed his resentment towards his son (Hassan).

*Note*

1. Refer notes 1, 3, 107.

VERSE 164: BEHRĀM KHĀN BAFFLED BY THE SUDDEN  
APPEARANCE OF PRINCE HASSAN  
IN KASHMIR

पश्चिमादागतं<sup>1</sup> श्रुत्वा तमपूर्वाक्संनिभम् ।

बहाम् खानो मन्देहो मन्देह<sup>2</sup> इव सोऽभवत् ॥ १६४ ॥

Having learnt that he (Prince Hassan) had come back like the extraordinary Sun from the west, Behrām Khān lost his wits like a *mandeha* demon.

*Notes*

1. The Sun rises in the east, but Behrām took Prince Hassan to have risen from the west—most unusual phenomenon. It was a sudden and unexpected appearance of Hassan in Kashmir, which Behrām Khān had never dreamt of.

2. *Mandeha* demons are supposed to block the path of the Sun. It can also mean a fool. Cf, supra, I, 1, 43=manda+iha.

VERSE 165: THE SULTĀN HAS NO GOOD WORD  
FOR HASSAN

प्राप्ते सुतेऽन्तिकं सोऽभून् तदत्यधिकदरः<sup>1</sup> ।

प्रत्यासन्न विनाशानां<sup>2</sup> धोर्भोत्येव पलायते ॥ १६५ ॥

(The Sultān) did not show any mentionable respect to his son (Prince Hassan) on getting access to him. When the doom is quite at hand, the intellect takes fright and flees.

*Notes*

1. The Sultān should have commended his son Prince Hassan on having returned after such a successful campaign. He was instead treated indifferently. His ears had been poisoned against his son as stated earlier.

2. Bad days for the Sultān were in the offing, so his intellect did not work.

VERSE 166: THE SULTĀN SEES THE PRINCE ONLY AT  
THE PLEA OF HIS  
MINISTERS

अत्यभ्यर्थनया<sup>1</sup> मन्त्रि सामन्तानां महीपतिः ।

यात्रागताय पुत्राय ददौ दर्शनमात्रकम् ॥ १६६ ॥

The Sultān condescended to grant a formal interview to his son having returned from the sojourn only on the insistence of the ministers and high officials.

*Note*

1. The Sultān on his own may not have liked to see his son



VERSE 167: THE SULTÂN AFRAID OF  
BEHRÂM KHAN

नूनं खानुज भीतोऽभूत्तत्कालं<sup>1</sup> सोऽन्यथाकथम् ।  
परिधानादिसत्कारं न्यूनमेवाकरोत्<sup>2</sup> सुते ॥ १६७ ॥

Verily during those days (the Sultân) was afraid of his younger brother (Behrâm), otherwise, how he could have shown scant respect to his son by formal presentation of robes only.

Notes

1. Śrīvara adduces a good reason for explaining the apathy of the Sultân towards his son. Actually the Sultân was afraid of his younger brother Behrâm who had amassed much power during those days, so he tried to be equidistant from his son and brother, suspecting that if he would try to tilt the edge in favour of Hassan, Behrâm might rise in revolt, or get the prince murdered. This was a diplomatic silence towards his son whom Sultân wanted to save from the bad intentions of Behrâm.

2. Hence, the Sultân sent a formal present of robes to his son as was the custom then. It was a kind of *Khilat* bestowed on him quite in the ordinary course. Usually victorious princes on return got huge jagirs.

VERSE 168: THE SULTÂN PRESERVED CORDIALITY  
WITH BEHRÂM ONLY OUTWARDLY

बहामो बाधते<sup>1</sup> नूनं मत्पुत्रमिति शङ्कितः ।  
स तस्मिंश्छन्नं<sup>2</sup> कोपाग्निः शमीतरु<sup>3</sup> र्वाभवत् ॥ १६८ ॥

Being suspicious that Behrâm is certainly embarrassing my son (the Sultân) assumed the posture of a *śamī* tree, not discharging his fire of anger towards him (Behrâm).

Notes

1. The Sultân could very well divine that Behrâm would impede onward accession of his son Prince Hassan, as he would like the throne for himself.

2. Hence, not to give an perceptible offence to Behrâm the Sultân did not express any kind of resentment against him outwardly and kept it within himself.

3. A sacred tree supposed to treasure fire within itself.

VERSE 169: THE SULTÂN ASCENDS THE TOPMOST FLOOR  
OF HIS PALACE FOR DRINKING

पानार्थं राजधान्यग्रे<sup>1</sup> तस्मिन्नवसरे नृपः ।  
अरुरोह समं भृत्यैर्मृत्युनेव प्रचोदितः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १६९ ॥

At that time the Sultân ascended top-most floor of his palace accompanied by his attendants for a drinking bout, as if (he) was goaded by Death.

## Notes

1. The top or the top-most floor of the royal residence.
2. Śrīvara says that this unusual behaviour on the part of the Sultān was inspired by Death, which was waiting in the wings.

## VERSE 170: THE SULTĀN'S NOSE BEGINS TO BLEED

तत्र पुष्कर<sup>1</sup> सौधान्तर्लीलया काच<sup>2</sup>मण्डले ।  
धावन् पपात नासाग्रस्रव<sup>3</sup> दस्त्रविसंस्थुलः<sup>4</sup> ॥ १७० ॥

There inside the mirrored pavillion of the Lotus Apartment (the Sultān) while gambolling sportively fell down and his nostrils began to bleed. This made him upset.

## Notes

1. One of the royal chambers was named as Lotus.
2. The pavillion which had mirrors all around, or which had flooring of crystals which made the Sultān slipdown.
3. The tip of the nose is the nostril obviously.
4. He had already a blood disease (cf. verse 161 supra); he feared that this blood-letting might prove fatal for him, hence was feeling very much vexed

## VERSE 171: THE SULTĀN IS LAID ON

कक्षाक्षिप्तभुजैर्भृत्यै<sup>1</sup> नीतः शयनमण्डपे ।  
ध्वस्तच्छाय इवादर्शः<sup>2</sup> समूर्छञ् शयनेऽपतत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १७१ ॥

(He) was carried to his sleeping chamber by his attendants, who carried him in their arms. In swoon, he fell flat on his couch like a blurred mirror.

## Notes

1. The Sultān seems to have been badly hurt in falling down. He was, consequently, lifted in arms and taken to his bed-room by his attendants.
2. It was giving a shadowlike look.
3. He fell down on his bed like a log, lifeless so to say.

VERSE 172: EXORCISER TREATS  
THE SULTĀN

भिवजोऽस्याग्न्याप्तान्<sup>1</sup> कोऽपि योगी चिकित्सकः<sup>2</sup> ।  
विषोत्कटौषधस्तस्य यतते स्म कृतव्यथः ॥ १७२ ॥

His (the Sultān's) physicians having been slighted (not listened to), some yogi physicians began to treat him with a preparation of pungent poison, causing uneasiness (to the Sultān).

## Notes

1. The royal physicians were dishonoured or ignored by the attendants of the Sultān. It may also be inferred that these attendants of his did not want the Sultān to recover. They might have belonged to Behrām's faction or they were too much steeped in superstitions.

2. The one who treats by muttering mantras and burning herbs, or by causing pain to the body with a red-hot iron bar to drive away the evil-spirits. He is called *Ojhā* in Hindi.

Later in verse 203, Śrīvara does speak of the mirrored apartment possessed with an evil-spirit. Hence, the services of an exorciser were requisitioned who also administered a dose of medicine with some poisonous substance to drive away the ghosts in the body of the Sultān. He might have been a witch-doctor adept in such kind of treatment. May be Śrīvara would like to convey in undertones that the Sultān was being poisoned.

VERSE 173: THE SULTĀN FEELS PAINFUL BURNING  
SENSATION INSIDE HIS BODY

तस्यौषधप्रयोगेण प्राप्तदाहो दिवानिशम् ।

काङ्क्षति स्म स्वमरणं क्षणमात्रं न जीवनम् ॥ १७३ ॥

By taking his (the yogi physician's) medicine, (the Sultān) felt excruciating burning sensation (inside the body) night and day, and therefore, wished to die and did not want to live even for a single minute.

VERSE 174: AHMED YATTU GAINS PROMINENCE

राजधान्यन्तरे राजसुतः स्वजनकान्तिके ।

आयुक्ताहमद<sup>1</sup> संयुक्तस्तद्धिनेषु स्थितिं व्यधात् ॥ १७४ ॥

During those days, within the royal palace the Prince (Hassan) stationed himself besides his father in the company of Āyukta Ahmad (Ahmed Yattu).

## Note

1. *Āyukta* in Sanskrit means a minister, agent or a commissioner. This title has been used in a technical sense also in *Harṣa-Caritam*, Kautilya's *Artha Śāstra* etc., wherein it stands for a divisional or sub-divisional officer. It seems that Ahmed Yattu had found favour with prince Hassan and was by himself also very influential.

VERSE 175: PRINCE HASSAN DECLARES ROYAL PALACE  
OUT OF BOUNDS FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC

मुमुर्षौ पितरि ज्ञात्वा महतो दर्शनागताम् ।

तन्निर्गमनिरोधाय<sup>1</sup> द्वारधान्यां भटान्<sup>2</sup> न्यधात् ॥ १७५ ॥

Having come to know that many would like to have (a last) look on (his) dying father, (Prince Hassan) stationed guards on the main entrance to the palace to restrict their visits.

*Notes*

1. The Prince perhaps wanted his father to rest in peace which may help him recover. Or he feared that the unmanagable crowd might have Behrām's men in it causing some mishap or mischief.

2. Hence, he stationed army guards on the extreme entrance to palace declaring it out of bounds for general public (cf, next verse).

**VERSE 176: BEHRĀM EMPLOYS MURDEROUS SPIES**

स्वालयस्थोऽनुजो<sup>1</sup> राज्ञो भयहर्षाप्तसंभ्रमः<sup>2</sup> ।  
करानिव रविस्तीक्ष्णो<sup>3</sup>श्चारान् संचारयन्नभूत् ॥ १७६ ॥

The younger brother (of the Sultān, Behrām) relaxing at his residence (but) torn between fear and joy, commissioned his murderous spies (all around) like the rays of the Sun.

*Notes*

1. Perhaps engrossed in scheming to usurp the throne with his faction. He did not have the courtesy to sit besides his dying brother who had done him good all along.

2. Fear for the counter machinations of Hassan and Ahmed Yattu, and joy for hoping to get the throne which was so very imminent now.

3. This word can be used with the rays of the Sun also meaning scorching, penetrating.

This word has been used by Kashmiri Sanskrit authors in the sense of killers, murderers etc. (JRRT, verse's 305, 517).

4. Spies, those roam about and get news to the king. These (चर) have been taken to be the eyes of a king.

**VERSE 177: BOTH PRINCE HASSAN AND BEHRĀM CLAIMANTS FOR SULTĀNSHIP**

तत्कालं राजलक्ष्मीःसा पितृव्य भ्रातृपुत्रयोः ।  
द्वयोरासीत् समारूढा चित्ते संशयधीरिव ॥ १७७ ॥

During those days the royal fortune swang between the uncle and nephew like the mind (oscillating between) fear and hope.

*Note*

1. It seems that one faction favoured Hassan and the other Behrām for ascending the throne. It was a virtual tug of war between the uncle and his nephew for the throne.

VERSE 178: AHMED YATTU CALLS ON  
BEHRÂM KHÂN

अत्रान्तरेऽहदायुक्तः समन्त्र्य सचिवैः सह ।

बह्खानमागत्य युक्तमित्यब्रवीद्<sup>1</sup> वचः ॥ १७८ ॥

In the meanwhile, Ahmed Yattu after having held counsel with the ministers, called on Behrâm Khân and addressed these just words to them.

*Note*

1. Just, proper, in keeping with propriety. It can mean also tactful, skilful etc., also. Ahmed Yattu used tact while talking to Behrâm. He wanted to avoid blood-shed between the uncle and the nephew for getting the throne. He tried to use diplomacy and persuade Behrâm Khân to withdraw in favour of Hassan.

VERSE 179: AHMED YATTU FLATTERS BEHRÂM

स्वामि हैदरशाहोऽद्य समर्थ्य स्वयस्त्वयि ।

सुगृहीताभिघो भ्राता प्रयातः कीर्ति शेषताम् ॥ १७९ ॥

Sultân Haider Shâh has made over his age to you, (that) brother (of yours) whose good name spells virtue, is gone and (only) his fame has been left behind.

VERSE 180: AHMED YATTU PROPOSES SULTÂNSHIP TO  
BEHRÂM WITH HASSAN AS THE  
SUCCESSOR

ज्येष्ठोऽधुनावशिष्टस्तद्भवान् भज<sup>1</sup> नृपासनम् ।

स्वयं हस्सन खानाय यौवराज्यं प्रदीयताम् ॥ १८० ॥

Your honour is now the sole surviving eldest (in the line), hence take over the throne by yourself (by royal decree) and declare Hassan Khân as the heir-apparent.

*Note*

1. Ahmed Yattu wanted to know the mind of Behrâm and tried to overwhelm him with the offer of Sultânship with the rider that Hassan be made heir-apparent. This offer makes it abundantly clear that the Sultân was nearly dead.

VERSE 181: THE ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY NEEDS TO BE  
PUT ON RAILS

त्वत्पित्रा महतो यत्नाद् रक्षिता चकिता<sup>1</sup> सती ।

सेयं त्वयाद्य नगरी पाल्या कुलवधूषिव<sup>2</sup> ॥ १८१ ॥

This city nursed by your father despite heavy odds against him, feels dazed and needs to be protected by you, like a woman of good family and character.

*Notes*

1. Dazed, not knowing what to do, since the uncle and the nephew both contended for the throne, the people began to feel sting of the paralysed administrative machinery, hence feel vexed, troubled. More so because Haidar's rule had not been very popular.

2. The case due to the kingdom requires to be given to it in full measure.

VERSE 182: THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE GIVEN  
A GOOD ADMINISTRATION

किमन्यत् पुरलुण्टाकाः<sup>1</sup> काका इव बलिप्रियाः ।

यथागतं प्रयान्त्वेते कुशब्दा मलिनत्विषः ॥ १८२ ॥

What else? these plunderers of the town (people), abusers and thieves, like the crows fond of offerings, should be made to go (as swiftly) as they have gained access (here).

*Note*

1. Since the administration had broken down, the people were being abused and plundered without any fear or mercy.

VERSE 183: BEHRĀM RECOUNTS GOOD DONE  
TO HIS BROTHER—THE SULTĀN

श्रुत्वेति भाषितं तस्य कोपरूक्षाक्षरोऽब्रवीत् ।

सुनिग्धो जनक<sup>1</sup>स्त्यक्तस्तादृक्कल्पदुमोपमः ॥ १८३ ॥

Having lent his ear to his (Ahmed Yattu's) suggestion, (Behrām Khān) reacted in these dry and spiteful words: "I forsook my very affectionate father who was like a wish-yielding tree..."

*Note*

1. Refer ZRRT, VII, verses 88-96.

VERSE 184

सदैवादमखानः स बाधितस्तदुपाधिभिः ।

परलोकमनालोच्य<sup>1</sup> स्वाथै संज्यज्य दूरतः ॥ १८४ ॥

Ādam Khān was always feeling suffocated by his (Sultān Haider Shāh's) intransigence, (but) without caring for the other world and keeping selfishness to distance.

## Note

1. Behrām Khān tries to emphasize that he disobeyed his elders—father as well as the eldest brother without caring for the other world.

## VERSE 185

अस्वस्थः स यथा भ्राता सेवितः सततं मया ।  
जानात्येवं<sup>1</sup> न को राज्यं यथा तस्य मयार्जितम् ॥ १८५ ॥

I served my ailing brother without any reservations. Everybody knows about this and who does not know how this kingdom has been earned by me.

## Note

1. Behrām wants to stress his faithfulness towards his brother while he was sick. He could have easily got rid of him and usurped the throne.

VERSE 186: BEHRĀM KHĀN DOES NOT LIKE TO MAKE  
PRINCE HASSAN AS THE  
HEIR-APPARENT

कोऽयं मद् भ्रातृपुत्रोऽथ वद कैवास्य योग्यता ।  
अस्मिन् मत्पैतृके राज्ये योग्यो मदपरस्तु कः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १८६ ॥

Who is this my nephew now? Spell out what is his eligibility (for becoming the heir-apparent)? Worthy successor to this kingdom of my forefathers?

## Note

1. Actually the dispute was about the successorship to Behrām Khān. It seems that he did not like to make Prince Hassan as his successor as his own son would ordinarily become the Sultān after him. Hence he resented the dictation of Ahmed Yattu. He claimed that he had served the kingdom honestly and none else but he himself could be the last successor to that kingdom.

VERSE 187: BEHRĀM SEES THROUGH THE GAME  
OF AHMED YATTU

स कनीयानहं ज्येष्ठो वयसा च गुणेन च ।  
पृथिव्यां वीर भोग्यायां<sup>1</sup> साम्नः<sup>2</sup> कोऽवसरोऽधुना ॥ १८७ ॥

I possess precedence over him in view of my age and qualities as he is far junior to me (in both these respects). The land can be enjoyed by those alone who are brave. How has the occasion for this flattering conciliation cropped up now?

## Notes

1. In his foolhardiness Behrām thinks that everyone including the royal army is with him, so by virtue of this edge over Hassan he deserved that Sultānship.

2. साम, i.e. conciliation is one of the four expedients mentioned by Sanskrit political pandits to tame the foe. The others are दान, दण्ड and भेद (MS, VIII, 100-109, Yājñavalkya, I, 354).

### VERSE 188: BEHRĀM'S SUPPORTERS DEFECT TO HASSAN SIDE

इत्याद्यनुचितं<sup>1</sup> यत्तच्चोक्त्वा तं प्रत्यमोचयत् ।  
यैः स ग्रथित<sup>2</sup> कन्योऽभूत् राज्यार्थे कृतभावनैः ।  
अप्राप्यैतांस्तथा<sup>3</sup> मत्वा निराशः समपद्यत ॥ १८८ ॥

In this manner after telling him what was not proper, he (Behrām) dismissed (Ahmed Yattu) from his presence. But those who had incited him for getting the throne, and (so) on whom he was banking, did not come forward and he inferred that they had (now) turned adverse, and became very dejected.

## Notes

1. Śrīvara likes to stress here that he behaved in an undiplomatic way. He gave offence to Ahmed Yattu thereby jeopardizing his own interests. This was actually the impropriety on his part.

2. Literally who wanted to sew his tattered garments, who had promised him support; though his chances for getting Sultānship were bleak.

3. In that manner literally. They had not been his now but of others. They had defected to Hassan's side.

### VERSE 189

प्रत्यासन्ने नाशे रुद्धजलौघस्य बद्धमूलस्य ।  
कुपथात् प्रसरत्यादौ धृतिरिव सेतोर्मतिर्जन्तोः ॥ १८९ ॥

When the destruction is imminent, the intellect of the people take a reverse course like the mass of standing water (colliding against) very strong dyke (without impairing its steadfastness).

### VERSE 190: BEHRĀM DIPLOMATICALLY BANKRUPT

युक्तमायुक्तवाक्यं चेदग्रहीष्यन्नयान्वितः<sup>1</sup> ।  
तुरगाद्यर्जितं<sup>2</sup> सर्वमदास्यच्चेत् स्वयं गतः<sup>3</sup> ॥ १९० ॥

Had he (Behrām) been well versed in diplomacy he would have acted upon the sound advice of "Yattu" (Ahmed) and would have



taken hold of the royal steed and other (paraphernalia) all by going himself.

*Notes*

1. Srivara says that Behrām was actually a fool and not a diplomat. He should have taken Ahmed Yattu at his word and accepted the offer. He would have thus embarrassed the astute diplomat Yattu who wanted to get Behrām's refusal.

2. The ingredients of royal insignia

3. Without losing anytime, there and then. He should have gone in hot haste to seize the royal paraphernalia and not waited even for this being brought to him formally.

**VERSE 191: ROYAL TREASURY STILL AT NOWSHERA**

अथावापं तमेकं चेदहनिष्यद्दलोन्नतः<sup>1</sup> ।

कोशं हर्तुमयास्यच्चेत् स्थितं पितृपुत्रोत्तरे<sup>2</sup> ॥ १९१ ॥

Or he (Behrām) should have arranged a meeting with Prince Hassan along (without aids) and killed him forcibly. He should have proceeded to seize the royal treasury situated in the city founded by his father (Nowshera).

*Notes*

1. Had Behrām been awake in diplomacy, he should have called Hassan alone to his presence and killed him.

2. He should have seized the royal treasury so that Hassan could not have been able to run the government without any money. It seems that the royal treasury was still situated in Nowshera, though the capital had been shifted to Nowhattā.

**VERSE 192**

अथवा बाह्यदेशं<sup>1</sup> चेदगमिष्यत् तदध्वना ।

निवृत्तः क्रमराज्ये चेदगमिष्यच्छनैर्महीम् ॥ १९२ ॥

Or, he should have gone outside (the territory of Kashmir) and returning from that very route attacked the territory of (Kamraza) quite surreptitiously.

*Note*

1. The nearest independent territory from "Kamraza" would have been that of Gilgit. His eldest brother Ādam Khān had also done the same thing (ZRT, I, 3, 114).

**VERSE 193**

क्रमापं<sup>1</sup> सकलस्यास्य किमु नश्येद विलम्बतः<sup>2</sup> ।

बाल बालिशभृत्योक्त्या युक्तवाक्याविनिश्चयात् ॥ १९३ ॥

He could have appropriated all that was due to him in terms of succession, had he not lost (the chance) by not acting speedily and not making up his mind. On the proper course (spelt out by Ahmed Yattu), being (solely) obsessed with what his idiotic and (diplomatically) raw attendants had advised.

#### Notes

1. Śrīvara now enumerates the causes of Behrām's failure in not getting the Sultānship. His claim was undisputed as he was the surviving eldest now.
2. He did not strike while the iron was hot.
3. He lent ear to his incompetent and foolish attendants.
4. He did not act upon the proper course of action spelt out by Ahmed Yattu. He should have declared Hassan as the heir-apparent.

#### VERSE 194: BEHRĀM WAS TACTLESS

अनपिज्ञतया तेन क्वा किं किं न हारितम् ।

नास्मात्कवेऽपि चिरं भोक्ष्यत्वतितीक्ष्णतया श्रियः ॥ १९४ ॥

Alas! he lost everything due to his ignorance. None in our camp could rule for long by using his sharp intellect.

#### Note

1. Herein Śrīvara passes a judgement on the idiocy of latter Sultāns. They were devoid of sagacity and tact and ruled for very brief terms one after the other (v.l. नास्मात्के for नास्मात्के (cf. *VVRI*, p 139).

#### VERSE 195: THE MINISTERS DECIDE TO ANOINT HASSAN AS THE SULTĀN

कर्मज्ञे<sup>१</sup> सुते राज्ञो राज्यं दत्वास्ति नः सुखम् ।

इत्येकमेवं<sup>२</sup> संबोध्य बलिन् नृपवल्लभम्<sup>३</sup> ॥ १९५ ॥

"It will be better and safer for us to hand over Sultānship to his inexperienced son", thus (Ahmed Yattu) cautioned the powerful favourites of the Sultān (Haider Shāh) in camera.

#### Notes

1. Prince Hassan was obviously very young in age, hence inexperienced to run the administration. So, he would have to depend upon the ministers always which would enhance their prestige.
2. Alone, by themselves, secretly or in camera.  
The faction of Prince Hassan held consultations between each other without the knowledge of Behrām etc.
3. The counsellors of eminence and substance who wielded influence with the people. Hence their nominating Prince Hassan as the Sultān would be accepted by the people without any resistance.

## VERSE 196

आयुक्ताद्वादमस्तोकः' संमंत्र्य सचिवैः सह ।

चक्रे संपादना' एजन्सियये एजसुनये ॥ १९६ ॥

Having held consultations with the ministers, Ahmed Malik—the commissioner pondered over the chances of the Prince for making over kingdom to him.

## Notes

1. *Ayukta* was his designation as a government official which meant a sub-divisional officer etc. or a commissioner.

In course of time the professional nomenclature struck with the names of Kashmiris denoting their surname, eg. (Rājānaka) Razdan, (Margesh) Magrey, and the "Ayukta" became Yattu.

2. Ahmed Yattu was an astute diplomat. He wanted to know the reaction of the ministers to his proposal.

## VERSE 197: ABHIMANYU PADRU WANTS TO ATTACK BEHRĀM

गत्वा स्कन्दं प्रदास्यामि बहामिति दर्पतः ।

अभिमन्यु प्रतीहारो' निश्चक्रयापिषेणम् ॥ १९७ ॥

"I shall march and give fight to Behrām"—Abhimanyu Pratihāra in his pride made up his mind to move his forces (against Behrām).

## Note

1. Abhimanyu Pratihāra, an important army leader is met with at I, 1, 130; III, 103, 125. Pratihāra, as an important clan is met with at I, 1, 88.

## VERSE 198: BEHRĀM KHĀN FLEES THE CITY

अथ स्वच्छन्दवाता' स श्रुत्वा तूष्णीं सुतान्वितः ।

बहामखानो वित्राणो' निरगान्गणस्तयत् ॥ १९८ ॥

Then having got the scent of that spontaneous reaction, Behrām along with his son and without any body-guard fled from the city.

## Notes

1. It can mean either 'irresponsible talk' or 'spontaneous reaction'. In the case of the former Behrām Khān feared that he may not be murdered. In the latter case he could very well divine that ministers were unanimous in making Hasan as the Sultān. In both cases he had no course left but to flee from the city along with his son for their personal safety.

2. Presumably he left secretly, so did not take his men, body-guards, etc., with him.

3. Persian historians have mentioned that he went to India (*Firishia*, p 477, *TABAQ*, p 448).

It seems that Behrām did not leave Kashmir to see the performance of Prince Hassan.

VERSE 199: PRINCE HASSAN GIVES A GOOD PROOF  
OF HIS PERFORMANCE

दृष्ट्वा महार्घमणिमौक्तिकविद्रुमौघान्  
रत्नाकरं श्रयति लुब्धमतिः स एकः ।  
तत्तन्महाभयकरान् मकरांस्तदीयान्  
वीर्येण यः शमयितुं गतभीः समर्थः ॥ १९९ ॥

He alone, who with a covetuous bent of mind delves deep into the ocean on perceiving its most valuable wealth of jewels, pearls and mass of lapis-lazulis, can tame the frightening crocodiles therein with his dauntlessness, (emerges as) devoid of fear and most competent.

VERSE 200: BEHRĀM'S ARMY IS DEMORALIZED  
AND HE LEAVES THE COUNTRY

श्रुत्वा स्वभ्रातृपुत्रस्य चरितं चित्र'मत्र सः ।  
वित्रासितबलः<sup>2</sup> पुत्रयुतो द्वागध्वनाचलत् ॥ २०० ॥

Having heard about the unbelievable performance of his nephew, he (Behrām) accompanied with his son left through the route leading to (mountain) pass, when his army felt demoralized.

Notes

1. It seems that there did occur some skirmishes between the royal forces and Behrām's guards in which Hassan overwhelmed them
2. The forces of Behrām lost courage to face Hassan
3. Presumably through the mountain pass from "Kamraz". Later Srivara tells us that on a second thought he left the idea of going to some territory other than Kashmir and elected to invade "Kamraz". He returned and did not seek political asylum anywhere (ZRRT, III, 39-41).

VERSE 201

यथैवादम खानस्य निष्कासनमयं व्यधात् ।  
तथैवास्याभवद् रात्रौ नचिरेण फलत्यघः ॥ २०१ ॥

Just as he (Behrām Khān) had manoeuvred the exile of Ādam Khān under the cover of darkness, in the same way he too met that very fate. Sin does not take long to fructify.

## Note

1. Refer ZRRT, I, 7, 197.

**VERSE 202: SULTÂN HAIDER SHÂH  
BREATHES HIS LAST  
IN 1472AD**

राज्यं स दशमासाब्दं<sup>1</sup> कृत्वा मासि च माघवे ।  
वर्षेऽष्टचत्वारिंशो<sup>2</sup>ऽगाद् दिवं श्री पञ्चमी दिने ॥ २०२ ॥

He (Sultân Haider Shâh) having ruled for a year and ten months in the forty-eighth year (of local calendar) went to the heaven on Śrī Pañcamī in the month of Vaiśākha (early spring).

## Notes

1. Śrīvara says that Sultân Haider Shâh ruled for one year and ten months. It is corroborated by Dr Mohibul Hasan who gives his date of death as 13th April 1472. On thirteenth April falls the Baisakhi festival of Hindus. While Śrīvara takes it to be Śrī Pañcamī—the fifth of bright half of Vaiśākha. It is celebrated as the Śrāddha of Reshi Peer, a saint of early 18th century.

2. The forty-eighth year of local Saptarsī calendar corresponds to 1472 AD.

**VERSE 203: EVIL SPIRITS CAUSED THE  
DEATH OF SULTÂN  
HAIDER SHÂH**

वेता<sup>1</sup>लोऽवसदुद्दण्डस्तम्भमण्डित मण्डपे<sup>2</sup> ।  
तेनैवोच्चण्डकोपेन खण्डितः क्रियया नृपः ॥ २०३ ॥

Some said that the apartment embellished with towering pillars is possessed by a Vetāla, who in his fierce fury unleashed his action, (sorcery) and cut the Sultân (Haider Shâh) short.

## Notes

1. Vetāla is a kind of ghost, a goblin particularly occupying a dead body (cf. MW, p 1014).

2. Refer ZRRT, II, 170.

## VERSE 204

इत्यूचुः केऽपि केऽप्यूचुर्योगिनो<sup>1</sup>ऽशस्त हस्ततः ।  
न्यस्तोत्कटौषधैर्ध्वस्त रुचिरस्तमगान् नृपः ॥ २०४ ॥

Some even said that by taking those very pungent medicines placed in the hands of the inexperienced quacks, the lustre of the Sultân ebbed away and he died.

## Note

1. Refer ZRRT, II, 172.

**VERSE 205: BEHRĀM MANIPULATED THE DEATH OF  
SULTĀN HAIDER SHĀH**

केचिद् प्राप्य दुष्टेन कैवल्यात् सुतवर्जिते ।  
भूपतेर्दुश्चिक्त्सार्थे' कारिता भिषजस्त्वयम् ॥ २०५ ॥

Some say that it was the vicarious brother (Behrām) who made the physicians rush hurriedly through the bad treatment of the Sultān quite alone and separated him from (his) son (Hassan).

## Note

1. It might connote hastening the death of the Sultān by administering wrong medicines to him, May be, he was got poisoned by Behrām surreptitiously.

**VERSE 206: TREACHEROUS BEHAVIOUR OF  
SULTĀN HAIDER SHĀH CAUSED  
HIS DEATH**

दिव्यं मौसलवेदेन' कृत्वा स्वस्ततया तया ।  
बहिः श्योताल' देशगटे हत्वा द्रोणेन पार्थिवान् ॥ २०६ ॥

He (Sultān Haider Shāh) having (killed) the rulers of Shyotal etc. outside Kashmir, out of treachery when they had pledged their support to him (by taking an oath) on the Holy Qurān.

## Notes

1. The *Vedas*—revealed word of the Muslim, ie, the *Qurān*.
2. Might connote Sialkot.

**VERSE 207: PERFIDY TOWARDS HIS  
BENEFACTORS**

येभ्यश्च' राज्यतिलकं सिंहासनगतोऽग्रहीत् ।  
पित्र्योस्तान् सचिवान् हत्वा प्रमीत इति केचन ॥ २०७ ॥

Others said that he killed those very counsellors (appointed) by his father, who anointed him as the Sultān and made him ascend the royal throne.

## Note

1. Reference to the murder of Hassan Kuchai who was instrumental in making Haider Shāh (Hāji Khān) as the Sultān (ZRRT, II, 8, 79).

VERSE 208: CURSE OF HIS FATHER RESPONSIBLE  
FOR HAIDER SHĀH'S  
DEATH

नूनं स पितृश्रापेन<sup>1</sup> तत्तत्कालेन<sup>2</sup> दूषितः ।  
हिमोष इव तापेन विलयं प्रापदङ्गसा ॥ २०८ ॥

Surely by virtue of the curse of his father, as also contaminated by those very sins, he was exterminated forthwith like a mass of snow by heat.

*Notes*

1. Buḍshāh had not so easy a time with his erring sons. They fought with each other and even with their father for grabbing the throne. Buḍshāh was, therefore, very much annoyed with his sons who ruined his peace of mind. This was the reason as to why he did not nominate any one of his sons as his successor, but instead handed over the administration to the council of ministers during his last days (ZRT, I, 7, 169).

2. The sin of disobeying his father and measuring arms with his eldest brother Ādam Khān.

VERSE 209: CITY IN TURMOIL WHEN HAIDER SHĀH  
DIED

निष्कण्टकं<sup>1</sup> पुरं ज्ञात्वा निःशङ्को<sup>2</sup> नृमन्दनः ।  
जनकं शिथिलकण्ठं स निनाप शय्यशिरम् ॥ २०९ ॥

Having come to know that there was no danger in the city, the Prince (Hassan) free of all misgivings got his father (Haider Shāh) carried on a bier to the Royal graveyard (Mazār-i-Salātīn).

*Notes*

1. It seems that the faction of Behrām had not taken kindly to Hassan's becoming the Sultān and had probably taken to streetfighting within the city. Only when all was calm, the funeral of Haider Shāh was arranged.

2. Feeling sure that no mishap would take place, did Prince Hassan order the last rites of his father.

VERSE 210: HAIDER SHĀH'S GRAVE AT MAZĀR-I-SALĀTĪN  
TOWARDS THE FEET OF BUḌSHĀH

मङ्गलिकान्तर्गन्तीनां तं पट्टकवृत्तं शयम् ।  
पितुः पादतले तत्र भूगर्ताप्यन्तरेऽभिपत् ॥ २१० ॥

The dead body (of Haider Shāh) was taken out of the coffin, wrapped in a single shroud and was laid there in the grave towards the feet of his father (Buḍshāh).

VERSE 211: HAIDER SHĀH LOWERED INTO  
[THE GRAVE

सर्वे मृन्मुष्टिकामात्रमेतदेवेति शंसिनः ।

मुखावलोकने कृत्वा<sup>1</sup> तस्मिन् मृन्मुष्टिकां<sup>2</sup> जहः ॥ २११ ॥

All those there, taking him (Haider Shāh) to be a mere handful of earth after having stolen a glance over his face, threw handfuls of earth over him.

Notes

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 7, 234.
2. *Ibid.*

VERSE 212: AN EPIGRAPH INSCRIBED ON THE GRAVE  
STONE

गतौ तत्र समापूर्य शिलां मध्द्योन्नतां<sup>1</sup> व्यधुः ।

कठिनोऽयमभूद् युद्धे जनानित्येव सूचितुम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ २१२ ॥

After having filled the grave, a grave stone with an elevated central portion was placed over it, (with an epitaph) beckoning to people that he (Haider Shāh) was invincible in war.

Notes

1. The grave stone had an extended or elevated central portion on which epitaph could be inscribed.
2. An epitaph inscribed on the grave stone is referred to here.

VERSE 213

अस्मद् सेवकास्तस्य कृतवसोवदारणाः ।

स्मृत्वा स्वामिप्रसादानां मुखीकृतदिङ्मुखाः ॥ २१३ ॥

Remembering the favours done to them by their master, his (Haider Shāh's) servants beating their breasts, wept (so loudly) that all the four quarters echoed (with their wails).

VERSE 214

तद्वज्रं स्वल्पकालीनं प्रसादसुभगोर्भितम्<sup>1</sup> ।

अस्मिन् सेवकास्तस्य स्वप्नस्वर्गीयसौनेमम् ॥ २१४ ॥

His servants had found his brief rule replete with favours and good-fortune (for themselves) like appropriating heaven in a dream.



## Note

1 Haider Shāh was very charitable and generous, as attested by his father Budshāh even (ZRRT, I, 7, 105).

## VERSE 215 HAIDER SHĀH A POET IN PERSIAN AND HINDUSTANI

पारिसीभाषया हिन्दुस्थानवाचा च<sup>1</sup> भूपतिः ।

काव्यं गीतं<sup>2</sup> व्यधाद् येन प्रशंसन्ति न के जनाः ॥ २१५ ॥

The Sultān (Haider Shāh) composed epics and lyrics in Persian as also in the language of Hindustan, for which everybody had praised him.

## Notes

- 1 Presumably the language spoken in northern India by the masses
- 2 He seems to have written longer poems or epics and also lyrics that is what can be construed from *Kāvya-Geeta*. His compositions have not come down to us so far.

## VERSE 216 SULTĀN HAIDER SHĀH HAD AN EAR FOR LISTENING TO RELIGIOUS LORE

पुराण<sup>1</sup> धर्मशास्त्राणि<sup>2</sup> मोक्षोदाया<sup>3</sup>पिसंहिताः ।

शृण्वतो भूपतेरासीद् यामिनीषु प्रजागरः ॥ २१६ ॥

The Sultān kept a vigil throughout nights while listening to the Purāṇas, Dharmasāstras and other manuals on emancipation from birth and death.

## Notes

1. Religious books connected with the paths of salvation.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

## VERSE 217

दोषाकुलाः<sup>1</sup> परगृहाशुभपाकदा ये

भूकदयो<sup>2</sup> दिन पतेरुदयं द्विषन्ति ।

तस्मिन् समुद्यति महारुचिरप्रकाशेऽ-

निष्ठा भ्रमन्ति विपिनेषु गृहाप्तदुःखाः ॥ २१७ ॥

Those owls etc., eager for the (advent) of night, a bad omen for the houses of others (on which they make a perch), are averse to the rising of the Sun, (since) in that effulgent brightness these portenders of evil are (forced) to roam in wilderness and pine in misery in (dark dingy) caves.

## Notes

1. It stands for night or darkness here.
2. There is a veiled reference to the adversaries of Prince Hassan who had no course left but to flee the country or live in ignominy, since he was the Sultān now.

VERSE 218: MIR IFTIKHAR AND OTHERS THROWN IN  
TO THE PRISON

दुष्टान् मरेप्तकरादीन्<sup>1</sup> ज्ञात्वानिष्टान् विशिष्टधीः<sup>2</sup> ।  
खानोज्ञेयैः<sup>3</sup> सदुःखोऽपि<sup>4</sup> कारागारान्तरे न्यधात् ॥ २१८ ॥

Khān (Prince Hassan), possessing sharp and sagacious acumen having come to know that wicked Mir Iftikhār and others were his adversaries, threw them into the prison, though with a heavy heart, on the subsequent day.

## Notes

1. Refer notes ZRRT, II, 78.
2. Śrīvara pays a glowing compliment to the sagacity of Prince Hassan.
3. The day succeeding Haider Shāh's funeral.
4. Hassan might have had good relations with these people earlier but now that they were known to be favouring his uncle, he was forced to send them to prison though reluctantly.

VERSE 219: CORONATION OF HASSAN TAKES PLACE  
SIXTEEN DAYS AFTER THE DEATH  
OF HIS FATHER

निर्वर्त्यान्त्यक्रियां सवौ स पितुर्व्यशालिनोम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
राज्याभिषेकसंपारं चक्रे षोडशभिर्दिनेः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २१९ ॥

Completing all the formalities (with regard to) the last rites of his father, (Hassan) began to make preparations for his coronation, for sixteen days.

## Notes

1. Hassan seems to have completed the formalities connected with the last rites of his father as best as he could, ie, he celebrated functions in a befitting manner.
2. Kashmiri Muslims as a matter of course do not remain in mourning for the dead after the Friday prayers take place. It seems that there might have been some trouble in the city which prevented Hassan to get anointed as the Sultān earlier. He had to clear the decks before he could assume Sultānship safely.

## Wave II

VERSE 220: HASSAN'S ENEMIES FEEL HUMBLLED

घूकादयो नभसि सन्ति चण्डप्रशस्ता-  
स्तावत् प्रदोषसमयाप्तसुखप्रचाणः ।  
आशाप्रकाशविषदो विलसत्प्रकाशो  
भास्वान्न यावदुदयं कुरुते सुचण्डः ॥२२०॥

At the approach of night the felonious owls and others roam in the sky with utmost glee (only) as long as the glorious Sun does not illumine the four quarters of the earth with his dazzling brightness.

इति जैन राजतरङ्गिण्यां पण्डित श्रीवर विरचितायां  
हाज्य हैदरशाह राज्यवृत्तान्त वर्णनं नाम द्वितीयस्तरङ्गः ॥

Thus ends the detail of the rule of Sultān Haider Shāh as compiled by Paṇḍita Śrīvara in his *Zaina Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī*.

## WAVE III, CANTO III

### VERSE 1: BENEDICTORY STANZA

शिवायास्तु<sup>१</sup> नमस्तस्मै त्रैलोक्यैक<sup>२</sup> महीभुजे ।

अशेष<sup>४</sup> क्लेश<sup>५</sup> निर्मुक्त नित्यैश्वर्य दशाजुषे<sup>६</sup> ॥ १ ॥

I bow to that superconsciousness called Śiva, the sole undisputed sovereign of the three worlds, who is free of all afflictions, and above mundane existence, who is the giver of perennial joy and has enslaved the ten senses.

#### Notes

1. This śloka is the same as the first śloka of the work.
2. According to the Monistic Saivism of Kashmir Śiva is the Supreme Consciousness—*Śiva Sūtra*, III, 25. Śrīvara seems to be an ardent votary of Saivism.
3. The three worlds—the heaven, the earth and the lower world, or the three paths known as desire, perception and action in Kashmir Saivism.
4. Literally without any remainder, full, in philosophy taken as perfection incarnate.
5. Literally afflictions. In yogic parlance such afflictions emanate from ignorance, egoism, attachment, avarice and mundane existence.
6. The ten senses—five each of action and perception respectively taken together, it can mean revelling in the perennial state of bliss also.

### VERSE 2: HOMAGE TO POETIC PROWESS

भूतं यद् राज्यवृत्तान् वर्तमानं करोत्यलम् ।

स्ववायौग्य प्रकरणं वन्द्यो योगीश्वरः<sup>१</sup> कविः<sup>२</sup> ॥ २ ॥

That Lord of Yogis—Śiva, the primeval poet, who gearing his excellence of speech makes the past events appear as (pertaining to) the present, deserves to be propitiated.

#### Notes

1. Śrīvara has tried to play on the word *Yogin* here, which means, 'one possessed of magical powers' or 'a contemplative saint'. Their Lord is taken to be Śiva. So, we can safely infer from this that the poets by dint of their superhuman powers can be in tune as well as out of it.
2. Lord Kṛṣṇa has also been taken as Yogesvara (*Gītā*, XVIII, 78).
3. *Kavi* as a common noun, means a poet, and as a proper noun it is taken to be an epithet of Sukrācārya—the preceptor of Asuras, Vālmiki, Brahmā and the Sun. So in a way he was paying respects to Vālmiki.

## VERSE 3: PURPOSE OF WRITING THE CHRONICLE

प्रतिग्रहानुग्रहाप्ता भुक्ता यन्पञ्जीविका<sup>1</sup> ।  
तद्वृत्ते<sup>2</sup> स्वस्य निष्कृत्यै<sup>3</sup> वक्ष्ये श्रीवरपण्डितः ॥ ३ ॥

In order to pay back to the Sultān, what I, Śrīvara Paṇḍita, owe to him in terms of receiving his benefactions and favours, as also enjoying his munificence, the narration of his rule is undertaken by me.

## Notes

1. It might also be taken to suggest that Śrīvara was in the pay of the Sultān Hassan Shāh also. We already know that Sultān Haider Shāh had made over his son Hassan to Śrīvara for being educated in every respect (ZRRT, II, 158).
2. The detail of the rule of Sultān Hassan Shāh is meant here.
3. Śrīvara wants to pay back for the overwhelming charitable disposition of the Sultān towards him and thus feel relaxed.

## VERSE 4: LIGHT AND SHADE DESCRIBED IN THE CHRONICLE

स्व दृग्दृष्ट<sup>1</sup> स्मृतानेक विपद्भिर्भव संम्पत्तेः ।  
सूते कस्य न वैराग्यं नाम जैनतरङ्गिणी<sup>2</sup> ॥ ४ ॥

Having seen with my own eyes the end of many and more, recapitulating the hide and seek of poverty and opulence, in whom this *Zaina Rāja Tarānginī* will not engender attitude of reconciliation towards the world.

## Notes

1. Herein Śrīvara testifies to the fact explicitly that he has been an eye witness to all what he has recorded in his chronicle.
2. The name given to this chronicle as *Zaina Rāja Tarānginī* has been made all the more clear here. Jona Rāja and even Kalhana did not confine their accounts to a particular king consequently naming them *Rāja Tarānginī*, only Śrīvara prefixes the name of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn to the title of his historical composition, since his forte is to bring to light the period pertaining to Budshāh's rule only. His successors have also been treated by him more or less as his satellites, dwarfed by his towering personality (cf. verses 7, 12, 16, etc.). Even then the title sounds very appropriate.

## VERSE 5: HISTORIAN AND NOT A POET

राज वृत्तानुरोधेन<sup>1</sup> न काव्यगुणवाञ्छया ।  
सन्तः शृण्वन्तु मद्वाचः स्वधिया योजयन्तु च ॥ ५ ॥

While yoking their intellect, the noble-minded should listen to my words only to learn about the history of kings and not in the hope of finding excellence of poetic composition in them.

## Note

1. This *śloka* is also the same as I, 1, 9 (supra).

Śrīvara does not make any tall claims for being a poet of excellence, but would like to remain a chronicler only.

VERSE 6: THE CHRONICLE COMPARES FAVOURABLY  
WITH THE FILE OF A RECORD KEEPER

कायस्थोक्तिवदेवेयं<sup>1</sup> कृता स्मृत्यै भविष्यताम्<sup>2</sup> ।

दृष्टेमां ललित<sup>3</sup> काव्यं कुर्वन्त्वन्येऽपि पण्डिताः ॥ ६ ॥

This composition has been penned down simply for making it safe in the memory of the future, like the jottings of a record-keeper. After going through this, the learned other than me, might clothe it in more refined verse.

## Notes

1. A person born of mixed caste—a ksatriya father and a śūdra mother (cf. *MW*, 274; *Apte*, 267-68). Also a writer, a scribe. Kṣemendra and other Kashmiri writers of yore have taken it to be a clerk, a record keeper etc. (*Kalā Vilāsa*, v, 10).

2. Future generations might remain in touch with the life and rule of Sultān Hassan Shāh

3. Śrīvara takes himself to be a chronicler pure and simple. He does not make any tall claims for possessing superb poetic talent. It is perhaps said in humility, otherwise Śrīvara was not a poet of mean order.

SULTĀN HASSAN SHĀH (1472 AD TO 1484 AD)

VERSE 7: CAPITAL TRANSFERRED BACK TO NOWSHERA  
FROM NOWHAṬṬĀ

ततः श्री हस्सनो राजा व्यसनोऽप्युत्त<sup>1</sup> वासनः ।

शेकन्दरपुरी<sup>2</sup> त्यक्त्वा पित्र्यां प्राशस्त्यसुन्दरम्

अगमज्जनगरं<sup>3</sup> पितामहविनिर्मितम् ॥ ७ ॥

Thereafter, the illustrious Sultān Hassan with his mind relieved of vices, discarded "Sikandarpuri" (Nowhaṭṭā, the capital) of his father, and transferred (the seat of government) to Zaina-Nagar (Nowshera) built by his famed and affable grand-father (Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin).

## Notes

1. Whatever bad-habits Sultān Hassan had as a prince were discarded by him as a Sultān, the sense of responsibility dawning at him.

2. Sikandarpuri or Nowhattā was made the capital by Sultān Sikandar (JRRT, verse 589).

3. Zaina Nagari was founded as the capital city by Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidin (ZRRT, I, 5, 4).

## VERSE 8

सिंहासनोपविष्टः स निर्मलाम्बर भूषणः ।  
बभौ कुवलयानन्दी' शशीवोदयपर्वते ॥८॥

Adorned with spotless white robes he (Sultān Hassan) occupied the throne like the moon coming out of the eastern mountains bringing pleasure for the blue water-lilies.

## Note

1. कुवलय is the blue-lotus or *Kumud*, which blossom forth with the kiss of moonshine.

VERSE 9: MALIK HASSAN YATTU ANOINTS HASSAN  
AS NEW SULTĀN

मल्लिकोऽथाह्वद 'युक्तो विधाय तिलकं' स्वयम् ।  
सौवर्ण' कुसुमैः पूजामकरोन्व भूपतेः ॥९॥

Then Malik Ahmed Yattu himself anointed (Hassan) as the new Sultān and paid respects to him with golden flowers.

## Notes

1. Malik Ahmed Yattu was the favourite of Hassan as the Prince. It is obvious that Kuchai dynasty which had brought Haider Shāh in power had got eclipsed by the murder of Hassan Kuchai (ZRRT, II, 8, 79) and 'Yattus' seem to have gained precedence over them. Sultāns from Haider Shāh onwards were mere puppets in the hands of the powerful local factions.

2. Śrīvara has indicated that a Hindu tradition of *tilaka* was observed. It seems that the Sultāns were anointed as kings, according to Hindu and Islamic ritual.

3. सौवर्ण कुसुमैः "with golden flowers". Kashmir is a land of flowers and so it may not have been very difficult to use only golden flowers. But most probably, it were the golden sovereigns which were laid at the feet of the new Sultān, a tradition which continued in Kashmir till the reign of Mahārāja Hari Singh.

## VERSE 10

रौप्यासन' समुद्रान्तः कृत्वा छत्रपिधानकम् ।  
एकरोचतयेव' श्रीरक्षद् वंश भूतणम् ॥१०॥

The goddess of good fortune—Lakṣmī—made him sit on the silver seat with a canopy of (royal) umbrella over him, in order to

give protection to him, as the sole descendant and crest of his dynasty (Shāhmeers).

*Notes*

1. The throne was made of gold and might have been ornamented with a seat carved out of silver (ZRRT, II, 6).
2. The only son of Haider Shāh and so the sole successor to the throne of Shahmeers.
3. The ornaments of the Shahmeer dynasty which might bring name and fame to it.

VERSE 11: PEOPLE FEEL HAPPY AT THE CHANGE  
OF SULTĀNSHIP

चित्रं नवनृपस्यास्य मुखचन्द्रावलोकनात्<sup>१</sup> ।  
नागराननं<sup>३</sup> पद्मानां विकासः समपद्यत ॥ ११ ॥

Surprisingly the lotus faces of the city-dwellers blossomed on having a look at the moon-face of this new Sultān.

*Notes*

1. It was quite amazing, could not be believed. People had probably hoped that Behrām would succeed, who may have been popular and hence the poet was pleasantly surprised to see people happy.
2. The face of Sultān Hassan was as pretty as the beaming moon.
3. The lotuses actually blossom forth with the touch of Sun-rays. Here they are said to have beamed with the rays of the Moon radiating from the face of Sultān Hassan. The inference being that the people felt very happy on seeing Hassan as their new Sultān.

VERSE 12: HINDU CUSTOM ALSO OBSERVED AT THE  
CORONATION OF THE  
SULTĀN

अभिषेक क्रियारब्ध होम<sup>१</sup> धूममिषाद् भुवः ।  
हर्षेणैवोद्गतो राज्ञो सुखोच्छ्वास<sup>२</sup> इवाबभौ ॥ १२ ॥

Feeling exceedingly happy the breath of the entire territory (of Kashmir) attained all pervading lustre under the pretext of the smoke rising from the sacrificial fire initiated at the coronation of the Sultān.

*Notes*

1. Hindu custom of performing *yajñas*, on auspicious occasions also seems to have been observed at the coronation of Sultān Hassan. It might also suggest that Hindu population also joined the celebrations, as though they were happy at the ending of injustice and hardships perpetrated on them by the erstwhile Sultān (ZRRT, II, 124-126).



2. Entire Kashmiri population became very happy and heaved a sigh of relief on seeing that change in the Sultānship had taken place. Change is always taken for the better.

## VERSE 13

वाद्यमानोद्यतातोद्य तोद्यत्रतिरवच्छलात् ।  
सुप्रसन्नाः सुदेवस्य प्रोचुः पूर्णशिषो दिशः ॥ १३ ॥

Under the guise of the resounding beats of the musical instruments being played, the (four) all quarters, feeling very much gratified, were invoking untold blessings on the handsome Sultān.

## VERSE 14

ध्वजमाला बभ्रुदीर्घस्फुरद्रक्तपटाञ्जलाः<sup>1</sup> ।  
ज्वाला इव प्रतापान्नेर्निर्गता नवभूपतेः ॥ १४ ॥

The rows of the pennons with long and fluttering red buntings, shone like the flames coming out of the lustre of the new Sultān.

## Note

1. Red buntings are even today displayed when an important person is to be received.

## VERSE 15: SULTĀN HASSAN COMPARATIVELY YOUNGER

छाया<sup>1</sup> कुसुमकार्यास्ता बभ्रुः श्वेताः<sup>2</sup> प्रविस्तृताः ।  
चिरात् तरुणराजाप्या<sup>3</sup> हर्षहासा<sup>4</sup> इव त्रियः ॥ १५ ॥

After a long wait 'Lakṣmī' (on finding) a youthful Sultān gave out a mirthful laughter in the shape of very broad white flags (fluttering along) with the resplendent riot of colours of the flowers.

## Notes

1. 'Chāyā' also means blending of colours. Herein it might mean that small flags of various colours that had been installed along with the big ones of white colours all around.

2. Whiteness has always been associated with laughter in Sanskrit literature.

3. Hassan was comparatively younger at the time of becoming the Sultān, than his father Haider Shāh or grandfather Zain-ul-'Ābidin had been when they became Sultāns.

4. Lakṣmī—the royal prowess was glad on being wedded to a younger Lord possessing dash.

## VERSE 16: SERVANTS GIVEN SILKEN GARMENTS

कौशेयकोष्कलाः सर्वे सेवका नवभूषतेः ।

सुरद्राग्यतस्त्रस्य तस्मात् इव तेऽरुचन् ॥ १६ ॥

The entire retinue of the new Sultān, dressed in shimmering white silken garments, were like the glittering and sparkling ripples of the waves of (Sultān's) good look.

## VERSE 17: COTTON REPLACED BY SILK

कर्पासक परीधानं यत्र यत्रामषत् पुरा<sup>१</sup> ।

तत्र तत्रस्त तद्गज्ये कौशेयक<sup>२</sup> व्ययो महान् ॥ १७ ॥

In the previous (rule) cotton garments were (distributed), whereas during his (Hassan's) rule heavy expenditure was incurred on (purchasing) silk.

## Notes

1. During the rule of Sultāns, prior to Hassan only cotton garments used to be distributed amongst the servants on the occasion of coronation.

2. But Hassan gave silken garments to his servants, in place of cotton, which obviously resulted in heavy expenditure.

## VERSE 18

गज्यलाघे वसन्ताधे<sup>१</sup> सूर्यस्येव महीपतेः ।

प्रतापहारकाः<sup>२</sup> सर्वे दुष्टमेवा लब्धं ययुः ॥ १८ ॥

Just as on the approach of the spring, the vile clouds screening the lustre of the sun disappear, in the same way, all those who tried to challenge the Sultān, disappeared on his assumption of the sovereignty of the kingdom.

## Notes

1. Spring comes after the winter. Here in Kashmir the sun is seen very scarcely during the winter, being screened by the clouds off and on; but on the advent of the spring we have a clear sky with the sun shining in mellow glory over the entire valley.

2. Those who could snatch away, take away or threaten his authority.

## VERSE 19

एषिः प्रदीपः कुस्ते प्रकरां

विमर्शि चरिमन् सति सूर्यकान्तः<sup>१</sup> ।

तस्मात् समुत्थः स च पावकोऽर्घ्यस्

तमोपहः किं न करोति कार्यम् ॥ १९ ॥

The blazing sun sends down light and in his presence the sun-crystal attains shine. The flashes of fire emanating from it (sun-crystal) accomplish everything (as also) dispell the darkness.

*Note*

1 The sun-stone, sun-crystal when placed in the light of the sun emits heat and flashes of fire (Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam*, II, 74; cf. also *MW*, p 1243; V. S. Apte, 1121)

#### VERSE 20

आसन् पितृपितृव्याद्याः<sup>1</sup> यत्कृते विफलश्रमाः ।  
पौत्रेण हेलया प्राप्तं तद्राज्यं गतकष्टकम् ॥२०॥

For attaining which, the labour put in by his ancestors or paternal uncles etc. had been futile, that very kingdom came to be possessed by the grandson quite effortlessly and bereft of any kind of opposition.

*Note*

1. Reference being to Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, Ādam Khān, Behrām etc. Pitṛ means an ancestor, a forefather also. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had to contend with his elder brother Āli Shāh for getting the throne (*JRRT*, verse 749). Ādam and Behrām tried much to get the throne but failed miserably (*ZRRF*, I, 7, 200-201; II, 194).

#### VERSE 21

पितुः पितामहस्यापि पितृव्यस्य च संपदः ।  
भाग्यभाजं नृपं प्रापुः सर्वाः सिन्धुमिवापगाः ॥२१॥

That propitiously lucky Sultān inherited all the riches of his father, grandfather and the paternal uncle like the whole host of rivers flowing into the ocean.

#### VERSE 22: EMANCIPATED SULTĀN HASSAN TAKES LESSONS IN SIX SYSTEMS OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

षड्दर्शनपरिचयं सोऽग्रहीन्पत्सरेण्डितः<sup>1</sup> ।  
षड्दर्शनक्रिया यस्मिन् नैकमत्यमिवाययुः<sup>2</sup> ॥२२॥

Without any prejudice whatsoever, he got acquainted with the six systems of Indian philosophy, by dint of which the six fold philosophical dimensions attained the harmonious accord in him.

## Notes

1. Even though being a Muslim, he did not have any bias, hostility or prejudice towards the philosophical lore of the Hindus. This emancipated outlook might have been grafted in him by Śrīvara in whose charge Sultān Hassan as a prince was kept by his father Sultān Haider Shāh (ZRRT, II, 158).

2. The inference being that Śrīvara taught these six Indian Schools of Philosophy to the Sultān in such a way that the seeming variance of approaches discerned in these was most methodically and convincingly resolved by this great Pundit, so the Sultān did not feel confused at all.

**VERSE 23: AHMED YATTU AND HIS SON ARE MADE MINISTERS**

भूपतेरहदायुक्तो नियुक्तः सर्वकर्मसु ।

साचिव्यं पुत्रसंयुक्तः पुण्योद्युक्तः<sup>1</sup> सदाकरोत् ॥ २३ ॥

The Sultān appointed Ahmed Yattu as the chief executive, who being inspired for doing good (to the people) discharged the functions of the minister along with his son.

## Note

1. पुण्य is merit, or good or virtue, the fruit of good and meritorious actions. Ahmed Yattu desired to reap virtue out of doing good to the people and for his benefactor—the Sultān.

**VERSE 24: AHMED YATTU GRANTED THE JĀGIR OF 'NĀGĀM'**

अथ प्रथममेवाहदायुक्तं मल्लिकं नृपः ।

संग्राम<sup>1</sup> ग्रामनाग्राम<sup>2</sup> प्रमेय स्वामिनं व्यधात् ॥ २४ ॥

Thereafter, the Sultān forthwith granted the extensive jagirs of Sangrāma and the village of Nāgram (Nāgāma) to Malik Ahmed Yattu.

## Notes

1. This *Sangrāma* should not be confused with the same name of the village on Srinagar-Baramulla Road—which is a junction on the main highway to the right of which Sopore, Handwārā can be reached. The Sangrāma given here is situated within Nāgām.

2. This Jāgir of Nāgrāma (Nāgām) was usually granted to a prince (ZRRT, II, 10).

Sultān Hassan Shāh showed exceptional honour for Ahmed Yattu obviously for conniving to make him Sultān as against his uncle Behrām (ZRRT, II, 195-96).

VERSE 25. NAUROZ-AHMED, YATTU'S SON, BESTOWED  
YACHH PARGANĀ AS A JĀGIR

पुत्रोऽस्य नौरुजा<sup>१</sup>युक्तो द्वापलादिकार्यभाक्<sup>२</sup> ।  
इक्षिकाम<sup>३</sup>भजद्राज्यं<sup>४</sup> संग्रामविभवोर्जितः<sup>५</sup> ॥ २५ ॥

His (Ahmed Yattu's) son Nauroz, who performed the duties of a gate-keeper, etc. was made to enjoy the bounties of entire Īksikā (Yachh) *parganā* along with that of Sangrāma.

Notes

1. Nauroz. This name smacks of his being a Shia.
2. The officer on duty at the gate of the royal palace or the hall in which the Sultān would held court or received guests etc. *Deorhi Officer* was the usual designation for this post here during Dogra rule.
3. Yachh Parganā. Refer notes ZRRT, II, 11.
4. V.I. राष्ट्रं (cf. VVRI, p 147). But ours is a better reading.
5. Refer notes (ZRRT, II, 24).

VERSE 26: SULTĀN HASSAN WAS VERY GENEROUS

पानलीलान्तरे<sup>१</sup> तत्र प्रसादामृतवर्षिणा ।  
येन दाखिद्य दावाग्निः केषां<sup>२</sup> न क्षपितः क्षणात् ॥ २६ ॥

There, during the drinking party given by him (Sultān Hassan), through the nectarine showers of (his) favours, extinguished the forest fire of penury (afflicting) one and all, that very moment.

Notes

1. The drinking-party held by the Sultān, a part of felicitations indulged in at his coronation.
2. Those who approached him for favours, is meant here.

VERSE 27: TĀZI BHATṬ BECOMES A CONFIDENT OF THE SULTĀN

बहिर्देशे स्थिते<sup>१</sup> राज्ञि बाल्ये<sup>२</sup> यः सेवकोऽभवत् ।  
स ताजिभट्टो मल्लेकमतः<sup>३</sup> प्रापान्तरङ्गताम् ॥ २७ ॥

Malik Tāzi Bhaṭṭ who had been of great service to the Sultān when he was stationed on the outer border of Kashmir in his boyhood, earned his confidence for that very reason.

Notes

1. The territories of Rajouri, Lorin and Poonch are meant here. Also refer notes (ZRRT, I, 1, 126).
2. When Prince Hassan was in his boyhood. Refer notes—ZRRT, II, 144.
3. Tāzi Bhaṭṭ was recompensated by the Sultān for the service rendered to him during his princehood days. He made him one of his confidants (ZRRT, I, 1, 49).

Tāzi Bhaṭṭ and Tāj Tantrey seem to be two different persons as the nomenclature of their respective clans suggest.

#### VERSE 28: TĀZI BHAṬṬ MADE A PLENIPOTENTIARY

निग्रहानुग्रहव्यग्रः<sup>1</sup> समग्रे राज्यविग्रहे<sup>2</sup> ।  
दत्तदूत्याधिकारेण<sup>3</sup> राज्ञो जिह्वेव<sup>4</sup> सोऽभवत् ॥ २८ ॥

He (Tāzi Bhaṭṭ) was bestowed the authority of an ambassador (at large) for negotiating (deals on) curbs or favours to all those who were not on friendly terms with the State of Kashmir, thus becoming the tongue of the Sultān.

##### Notes

1. For adopting stringent measures or by overwhelming with favours
2. Those rulers on the outer periphery of Kashmir who were not on good terms with the Sultān's kingdom.
3. Ambassadorial rank was bestowed on Tāzi Bhaṭṭ for advising the Sultān as well as for negotiating a policy of restraint or kindness with the warring rulers. He was thus an ambassador at large commissioned to go here and there
4. The Sultān would speak his language in such policy matters is the precise connotation here. It is evident that Tāzi Bhaṭṭ was the adviser on war or peace (*sandhivigrahaka*), a virtual minister for foreign affairs.

#### VERSE 29: DECENTRALIZATION OF AUTHORITY

अधिकार<sup>1</sup> नदी पूर्व<sup>2</sup> स्फुरन्ती शतधाभवत्<sup>3</sup> ।  
तदा द्वितीययावृत्त्या<sup>4</sup> तस्मिन् कृतपदा बभौ ॥ २९ ॥

The over-bubbling river of authority pertaining to the past (now) broke into hundreds (of currents) and got stabilized for the second time then.

##### Notes

1. The river or source of authority—the Sultān so to say.
2. Earlier during the time of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin.
3. Became hundred fold, very much stable and strong.
4. It seems that Sultān Haider Shāh had dispensed with the Council of Ministers, advisers and diplomatic envoys, as he was under the spell of Pūrṇa barber (ZRRT. II, 33).

#### VERSE 30: VILLAGE GRANTS MADE TO THE DESCENDANTS OF JOṆA RĀJA

अन्येऽप्युच्चावचान्<sup>1</sup> ग्रामान् जोनराजानकादयः<sup>2</sup> ।  
पूर्वसेवानुसारेण<sup>3</sup> प्रासादं प्रापुर्जसा ॥ ३० ॥

Rājānaka Joṇa Rāja's (descendants) as also others were very

speedily favoured with high and low villages according to their past services.

*Notes*

1 It might suggest the villages situated on the slopes and those lying in the plains of the valley.

2 The descendants of Jona Rāja—the author of second *Rāja Taranginī* from 1148 AD to 1459 AD—can be easily inferred from this. Reference to the descendants of Kalhana, the initiator of *Rāja Taranginī* series, by Jona Rāja can help us build this (*JRRT*, verses 94-95).

It seems that the descendants of Jona Rāja were influential members of the state hierarchy (*ZRRT*, IV, 38 etc.) Sultān Haider Shāh might have withdrawn favours granted to them by his father Zain-ul-Ābidin but Sultān Hassan immediately on coming to power restored these favours to them as also to others. Hassan has also referred to the promulgation of rules and regulations etc. in force during the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin which might have been abrogated by Sultān Haider (*TKHSN*).

3 These descendants of Rājanaka Jona Rāja might have proved very useful to Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin, more so their progenitor Jona Rāja had recorded his history at the bidding of Shriya Bhatta—Sultān's very close associate (*JRRT*, verses 11-12).

VERSE 31 AHMED YATTU, MINISTER IN-CHARGE OF  
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

श्रीमल्लेकाहदः सर्वकार्ये' यां स्थितिमब्रवीत्' ।

तां नोदलङ्घयद् राजा वेला मिथुखिवोल्बणः ॥ ३१ ॥

The advice of illustrious Malik Ahmed on all administrative matters with regard to their precise (and necessary action thereof) was not disregarded by the Sultān, like the violent ocean (not crossing over its) shore.

*Notes*

1 In all administrative matters, general administration is meant here.

2 The position explained and disposal recommended by Ahmed Yattu with regard to administrative matters was always approved by the Sultān.

VERSE 32

पित्र्याः पैतामहा वापि विरुद्धा बन्धनेऽवसन् ।

भुङ्गदेशं धिया तस्य तेषां निष्कासनं' व्यधात् ॥ ३२ ॥

By virtue of his (Ahmed Yattu's) sagacity, those enemies of (Sultān's) father or grandfather who had been thrown into prison, were externed to the country of Bhutṭas (Ladakh etc.).

## Note

1. Actually expelled from the state—their home land. Exile was a common punishment in olden India.

**VERSE 33: SULTĀN HASSAN TAKES AFTER  
BUḌSHĀH**

सर्वदर्शन<sup>1</sup> संयुक्तो नृपो मन्त्रिविधेय<sup>2</sup> धीः ।

पितामहसमाचारं<sup>3</sup> प्रावर्तयत मण्डले ॥ ३३ ॥

The Sultān armed with every kind of perception made his intellect subservient to those of his counsellors, ushering in the course of conduct, like that of his grand-father in his kingdom.

## Notes

1. दर्शन among other meanings also connotes seeing, scrutiny, examination or perception.

2. Though the Sultān had a clear perception of things, yet he always carried his ministers with him. Before coming to any decision he would get the advice of his counsellors also.

3. This word can be explained in two ways. Sama-Ācāra—meaning either the manner of action taken by all, unanimous decision; or same as the conduct of his grand father. सम means together, as also, like, same as.

It seems that Sultān Haider's was one man's rule. Sultān Hassan reversed this and reverted to the practice as was observed by his grand-father Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

**VERSE 34**

स्वामी क्षमी कृतज्ञश्च मन्त्री भक्तः समयोज्झितः ।

संयोगोऽयं प्रजापुण्यैः<sup>1</sup> सुचिरेण निरीक्षितः ॥ ३४ ॥

The forebearing Lord and the obligingly devoted and inconceited ministers. This happy coincidence, born of the virtuous conduct of the people, was witnessed after a very long time.

## Note

1. पुण्य is a meritorious deed done by some body.

**VERSE 35: MAGREYS AND THĀKURS REHABILITATED**

उच्चासनेषु<sup>1</sup> मार्गेश<sup>2</sup> ठक्कुरादीन्<sup>3</sup> निवेशयन् ।

तद्दुतं<sup>4</sup> इव राजाग्रे स<sup>5</sup> निषण्णोऽभवत्तदा ॥ ३५ ॥

Thereafter, he (the Sultān) gave very important assignments to Magreys, Thākurs and others, (out of whom Magrey) was always in harness for running errands of the Sultān.



## Notes

1. Important posts carrying responsibility of great importance. These seem to be diplomatic assignments (refer next verse).
2. Refer notes supra.
3. Refer notes supra.
4. Messenger, envoy, or the one who runs the errands of his master.
5. The use of singular here has been made to single out Magrey from others.

## VERSE 36

हितं प्राणपणेनापि प्रभोः सम्पादयन्नयम् ।  
महेश्वरवदेत<sup>1</sup> सिन्नाभवद् भक्तिखण्डितः ॥ ३६ ॥

Effecting diplomacy conducive to the interests of his masters, even at the cost of his life, his (Magrey's) devotion for the Sultān like that for Lord Śiva did never wane.

## Note

1. Sanskrit chroniclers have always taken the sovereign of Kashmir as Lord Śiva (KLRT, I, 72; JRRT, verse 134).

## VERSE 37: MAGREY MADE IN-CHARGE OF CONSTRUCTION AND ROYAL HOSPITALITY

मठाग्र<sup>1</sup> हार<sup>2</sup> सदन<sup>3</sup> निर्माणातिथि पूजनैः<sup>4</sup> ।  
नृपोपचारैः<sup>5</sup> साफल्यमनैषीत् सर्वसम्पदः ॥ ३७ ॥

By constructing inns, colonies and quarters as also by entertaining the guests with due respect, (he, Magrey) executed the orders of the Sultān successfully bringing all round prowess (to him).

## Notes

1. The inns obviously for traders, travellers and pilgrims.
2. The colonies for those who had no shelter.
3. Quarters or rest-houses for guests etc.
4. Magrey seems to be in-charge of royal hospitality.
5. This word means service or remedy also. Here it will mean as to what the Sultān desired or ordered

## VERSE 38

कमलममलं दृष्ट्वा श्रीमत्स्वकोशविभूषितं  
मथयितुमथ प्राप्तो यावन्मदान्मदवारणः ।  
प्रकृतिमलिनस्तावन्मग्नः सपङ्कसरोवरे  
श्रवणचपलो बद्धो याति क्षयं मधुपैः सह ॥ ३८ ॥

No sooner does an irate elephant, having seen an immaculate

lotus, quite bewitching as a bud, reach it for trampling, out of his vanity, than that evil-intentioned (creature) with very light ears is taken hold of and gets destroyed along with honey-sucking bees.

*Note*

1 Herein elephant has been used euphemistically for Behrām (cf. next verse).

VERSE 39: BEHRĀM OPTS FOR MEASURING ARMS WITH  
SULTĀN HASSAN

अत्रान्तरे स बहामखानः पिशुनमोहितः<sup>1</sup> ।

देशान्तरोद्यमं<sup>2</sup> त्यक्त्वा युद्धायागोन्मदोद्धतः ॥ ३९ ॥

In the meanwhile Behrām Khān taken in by the evil-minded (conspirators) left the idea of going outside Kashmir and quite buffed up opted for giving fight (to Sultān Hassan).

*Notes*

1 Persian historians have mentioned that some *Amirs*—nobles incited him to give fight to Sultān Hassan and snatch the throne from him (*Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, p 448, *TKHSN*, p 209).

Śrīvara in the subsequent verse does say that these wicked people were the nobles in the service of the Sultān.

2. Actually he was dissuaded to cross over to another state outside Kashmir for which he had made up his mind earlier (*ZRRT*, II, 200)

VERSE 40: CONSPIRING NOBLES WRITE LETTERS TO  
BEHRĀM TO RETURN

तद्दलान्तरमेध्यामो वयं तव रणक्षणे ।

इति लेखैर्घृताशं<sup>1</sup> तमकुर्वन् राजपूरुषाः ॥ ४० ॥

“We shall join your forces at the time of the (actual) fight”—thus these nobles gave an assurance to him (Behrām) through letters.

*Note*

1. This fact has also been corroborated by Persian chroniclers (*TKHSN*, p 209).

VERSE 41: BEHRĀM REACHES KAMRAZ THROUGH  
KARṆĀH

कर्णाध्यन्तरतः<sup>1</sup> शैलानुल्लङ्घ्य कटकोत्कटः ।

क्रमराज्यं पुरं<sup>2</sup> प्राप्तः क्रमराज्यं जिहीर्षया ॥ ४१ ॥

Crossing the mountains through Karṇāh, (Behrām) with his fierce legions reached the headquarters of Kramrajya for wishing to grab (entire) Kramrajya.

## Notes

1. Karnā is perhaps the abbreviation of Karnāh (*STRT*, II, 405). This pass in Kishenganga Valley is hemmed in between mountains with a height of 12,000 to 13,000 feet.

2. The main town or head-quarters ... Kramrajya is meant here. It might have been Handwārā in all probability.

VERSE 42: THE SULTĀN RETURNS TO SRINAGAR  
FROM AVANTIPUR

तावन्मन्त्रियुतो राजा स्थितोऽवन्तिपुरान्तरे<sup>1</sup> ।  
तत्प्रत्यावृत्तिवातां तां श्रुत्वा तूर्णं न्यवर्तत ॥ ४२ ॥

By that time the Sultān had repaired to Avantipur along with his ministers; (but) on being informed about the return of Behrām shifted back (to the capital) in post-haste.

## Note

1. Persian historians mention Dināpur, Dipalpur or Veena Nagar instead of Avantipur in this context (*TABAK*, pp 448-677; *Hassan*, p 209).

VERSE 43: THE SULTĀN HOLDS A CABINET MEETING  
AT SOPORE

राजा सुय्यपुरं प्राप्तः पितृव्यागमविह्वलः ।  
आनीय सचिवान्सर्वान् सभान्तरिदमब्रवीत् ॥ ४३ ॥

The Sultān disturbed by the return of his paternal uncle reaching Suyyapura (Sopore) summoned all his ministers there and addressed this meeting thus:

## VERSE 44

पितुः क्रमागतं राज्यं पुत्रस्येत्युचितं<sup>1</sup> मम ।  
कोऽयं पितृव्यो ज्येष्ठोऽपि कनिष्ठो<sup>2</sup> निर्मितोद्यमः ॥ ४४ ॥

In all propriety I have inherited this kingdom as a son, in succession to my father. Who is this paternal uncle though senior in years yet very junior in claiming the kingdom?

## Notes

1. In all fairness, as also in accordance with the prevailing custom the kingdom of the father can only be inherited by his son.

2. Behrām has no eligibility for forcing his way to the throne is the precise purport here.

## VERSE 45

अथवा वीरभोग्यायां<sup>1</sup> भुवि कोऽयं नयो द्वयोः ।  
युद्धेन विजयी यः स्यात् राज्यभाक् सोऽस्तु मण्डले ॥४५॥

Otherwise, how can there be double standards in respect of the land being enjoyed by the brave?

Whoever gains victory in the war, he alone can hold sway over the kingdom.

## Note

1. Refer notes ZRR1, II, 187. Sultān seems to echo the words of his grand-father Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin (ZRR1, I, 7, 107)

## VERSE 46

श्रुत्वेति नृपतेर्वाक्यं प्रत्युचूर्मन्निनायकाः ।  
ये तेऽप्यादम<sup>1</sup> खानाद्यास्त्वदर्थं विधिना हताः ॥४६॥

Having heard these words of the Sultān, the principal minister replied—"It was definitely in your interests that Ādam Khān and others were killed by the fate."

## Note

1. These ministers wanted to emphasize upon the Sultān that had Ādam Khān and his faction been living, it would have been very difficult to defeat Behrām and Ādam Khān's combined force. Since Behrām is now fighting single handed it may be easier.

## VERSE 47

कोऽयमल्पबलस्ते स्यात् योद्धा स्थानपरिच्युतः ।  
किं तद्यावसरे नास्ति समित्युभय<sup>1</sup>वेतनाः ॥४७॥

He (Behrām) with his depleted forces and fallen from his high position can never be a match (for us in the battle), but it is not the opportune time (in engaging him in battle), since there are people drawing pay from both sides.

## Note

1. There were fifth columnists amongst us.

VERSE 48: THE MINISTERS ADVISE SULTAN HASSAN  
TO FLEE THE COUNTRY

अमुमेव मिलन्त्येते यदि किं क्रियते पुनः ।  
तदधृत्वा कोशसामग्रीमितो गत्वा बहिस्ततः ॥४८॥

If these (quislings) defect to his side, then we are undone. So, taking the royal treasury away with us let us leave the country.

## VERSE 49

देशमाक्रम्य<sup>1</sup> नः कार्यं सिद्धयत्येवाचिराद् विभो ।

श्रुत्वेति मल्लिकः प्राह भूपं तत्र सभान्तरे ॥ ४९ ॥

“Your Majesty: Attack the country, by this (strategy) we will be triumphant without losing any time”. Having heard this (suggestion) Malik (Ahmed Yattu) addressed the Sultān in that very meeting thus:

## Note

1. Some Persian historians have recorded that the Sultān was advised to attack Indian principalities (*TABAK*, pp 448-677), though it seems foolish. Śrivarā's version appears more reliable. It seems that the ministers afraid of defections in their army advised the Sultān to move out of Kashmir and collect a vast army of mercenaries on payment as the treasury was with him and then attack Kashmir to dislodge Behrām.

## VERSE 50: MALIK AHMED YATTU DOES NOT AGREE WITH THIS

तिष्ठत्स्वत्र<sup>1</sup> भवांस्तावन्मौनं<sup>2</sup> मन्त्रिसभान्वितः ।

स्वकीयादमखानीयान्<sup>3</sup> जेतुं तं विसृजामहे ॥ ५० ॥

Your goodself along with the Council of Ministers should desist (from taking any precipitate action), and wait (for the time being). I shall despatch men of Ādam Khān, who have sought asylum with us, for vanquishing him (Behrām):

## Notes

1. Ahmed Yattu advised the Sultān to rest quiet and not take any action on the counsel given by the ministers. Ahmed Yattu did not like the Sultān's going into self-exile so to say, and leave the door open for Behrām. May be he smelt some kind of perfidy on the part of the ministers.

2. To lie low, to rest quietly, or to sleep over this fantastic suggestion.

3. It seems that men of Ādam Khān, on whose support Behrām was banking, had sought shelter with the Sultān.

## VERSE 51: MALIK AHMED YATTU BOOSTS THE MORALE OF THE SULTĀN

ते चेज्जिता<sup>1</sup> वयं यामः पुनः सर्वबलान्विताः ।

कोऽयं तत्सम्भ्रमः कस्य<sup>2</sup> सहायः किं करोत्यसौ ॥ ५१ ॥

If they (Ādam Khān's men) are repulsed, then we shall march with a massive army. It is a false fear (that we are confronted with). He has no allies, so he cannot do us any (harm).

*Notes*

1. The strategy of Ahmed Yattu was to send a small army comprising erstwhile supporters of Ādam Khān. It would have two advantages. Firstly Behrām would be demoralised on seeing those very men fighting against him who had pledged support to him earlier. Secondly he might miscalculate the strength of royal army and feel encouraged to proceed further and thus walk straight into the trap devised by Malik Ahmed Yattu.

2. V.I. के 5 ख (VVR I, p 150).

VERSE 52: THE SULTĀN AGREES WITH THE ADVICE OF  
MALIK AHMED YATTU

श्रुत्वेत्यादिमतं तेषां विविधं निश्चयोद्भिन्नतः ।

मल्लेकाहद<sup>1</sup> मन्त्रेण कर्तव्ये प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ ५२ ॥

Having thought over the various alternatives spelt out by them (the ministers), he (the Sultān) (finally) decided to put the advice of Malik Ahmed (Yattu) into action.

*Note*

1. Persian historians also confirm that the Sultān concurred with the suggestion of Malik Ahmed Yattu (TABAK, pp 448-667).

VERSE 53

पितुः पितामहस्याथ सैन्यं वृत्वा निजान्तिके<sup>1</sup> ।

पैतृव्यान् सेवकान्स्वांश्च दत्वा तत्तद्वलान्वितान् ॥ ५३ ॥

Keeping the armies of his father (Haider Shāh) and of his grandfather (Zain-ul-Ābidīn) in reserve, under his own command, he (Sultān Hassan) improvising an army of the men of his uncle (Ādam Khān) and his own...

*Note*

1. This was done quite in keeping with the advice of Malik Ahmed Yattu, as suggested above.

VERSE 54

सफिर्य<sup>1</sup> डामरांस्ताजिभट्टादीन्<sup>2</sup> व्यसृजन्नुपः ।

योद्धुं बहामखानाय मावरीदेशवासिने<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५४ ॥

The Sultān commissioned Firya Dāmara, Tāzi Bhaṭṭ and others

to fight Behrām Khān, who was camping in the territory of Māvārī.

*Notes*

1. Srivara had made a reference to Firya Dāmara, earlier also as a staunch supporter of Prince Hāji Khān (Sultān Haider Shāh). Hassan's father (I, 1, 49).

2. Refer notes (I, 1, 49; III, 27).

3. Māvārī or Māvar is the stream flowing through Machhipura—Handwāra district (STRT, II, 425). Behrām Khān was camping there (refer also verse 41 earlier).

**VERSE 55: BEHRĀM OPENS FRONT AT  
DULIPORA**

अथ स्वप्लबलानेतान् जेष्यामीति त्वराकुलः ।  
तावद् बहाम खानः स प्राप दुलपुरान्तकम् ॥ ५५ ॥

"I shall overcome this handful of army"—so in hot-haste he (Behrām) reached Dulipora there and then.

*Note*

1. It is a village to the south east of Zolura on the road leading to Sopore. It is called Dulipor at present. Behrām proceeded further down from Handwāra to confront royal forces half-way at Dulipora. VVR gives v l as दुलपुरान्तम् (p 150) 'in the town of Dulapura'.

**VERSE 56: BEHRĀM IS LET DOWN BY THOSE WHO  
HAD PLEDGED SUPPORT TO HIM**

अनागतैः कृताश्रवासेरपि रजमहतमैः ।  
स्वात्मानं वञ्चितं मेने तन्निराशो नृपात्मजः ॥ ५६ ॥

Those influential persons in the state having assured him (Behrām) of their support not having joined his ranks made the prince (Behrām) think that they had let him down, so (he) became very despondent.

**VERSE 57**

तद्दिने राज्यलक्ष्मीः सा पितृव्यं भ्रातृपुत्रयोः<sup>2</sup> ।  
द्वयोरसीत् समारूढा कोट्योः सन्देहधीरिव<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५७ ॥

That day the royal fortunes (oscillated) between the paternal uncle and the nephew like weak kneed determination mounted on two extremities.

## Notes

1. Behrām Khān.

2. Hassan Khān.

3. During the battle victory and defeat alternated with each other on both sides. The royal fortune is likened to a person who cannot decide between two alternatives open to him, due to lack of determination. He is tossed between these two extremities. So was the 'good fortune of sovereignty'.

## VERSE 58: CAKAS GLOAT OVER THIS DYARCHIC RULE

चौरा इवान्धकारौघे द्वैराज्योपप्लव<sup>1</sup> प्रियाः ।

तुतुषु चक्रवाडाद्यास्तं श्रुत्वा<sup>2</sup> क्रमण्यज्याः ॥ ५८ ॥

On hearing this the hordes of Cakas belonging to Kramrājya desiring the perpetuation of confusion have out of dyarchy felt very happy like the thieves in gathering darkness.

## Notes

1. Dyarchy—double rule that of Sultān Hassan and Behrām neither of whom could claim decisive victory.

2. Reference being to Chaks who wanted to fish in troubled waters.

## VERSE 59

अथ जैनागिरि<sup>1</sup> यावदाययो<sup>2</sup> तद्रणाकुलः ।

दूतस्तावत् समागत्य भूपतेरिदमब्रवीत् ॥ ५९ ॥

But no sooner did (Sultān Hassan) impatient to give a fight came upto (the territory of) Zaingair (while pursuing Behrām) than an emissary of his reporting back said this.

## Notes

1. Jona Rāja describes the founding of Jaingiri (Zaingair) across Sopore by Sultān Zain-ül-'Ābidin (JRR7, verse 872). Dulipor which is included in Zobur village, where the first battle between Behrām's and Sultān Hassan's forces took place, is to the north west of Zaingair (refer verse 55 earlier). Behram was repulsed here but kept on fighting till he reached the boundaries of Zaingair. Sultān Hassan gave him a chase upto this point.

2. Sultān Hassan while pursuing Behrām reached the precincts of Zaingair, is suggested here.

## VERSE 60: BEHRĀM KHĀN AND HIS SON TAKEN PRISONERS

देव बहाम खानः सतनयो<sup>1</sup> नयविच्युतः ।

युयुत्सुः समरे बद्धः करीव मदनिर्भरः ॥ ६० ॥

"Your Majesty: Behrām Khān, like an elephant in rut, was eager



to give a fight but his strategy having failed has been taken prisoner in the battle along with his son."

*Note*

1. *Tabaqāt-i-Ākbarī* names Behrām's son as Yusuf Khān (pp 451-682)

#### VERSE 61

पतिते तद्रणोद्याने त्वदबलोद्धतसारसे ।  
तत्यजेऽनुचरैः खानः पौषे<sup>1</sup> पर्णैरिव द्रुमः ॥ ६१ ॥

When your forces with very high morals reached the battlefield, Khān (Behrām) was forsaken by his aides as the leaves (forsake) a tree in the month of Pauṣa.

*Note*

1. The month of Pauṣa—late December in Kashmir is taken to be the last stage of autumn in Kashmir, when hardly any leaf is left on the trees

#### VERSE 62

ततः संजर<sup>1</sup>मेराद्या गर्जन्तः सैन्यनायका ।  
दुष्टमेघा इवायाताश्चक्रुस्तच्छरवर्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥

Thereafter, Sanjar Mir and other army commanders fell upon him (Behrām), roaring like clouds, spelling disaster, and unleashed a rain of arrows over him.

*Note*

1. We come across this name earlier also in connection with the murder of Hassan Kuchai (refer notes *ZRRT*, II, 78).

#### VERSE 63

धन्यास्ते श्लाघ्यमरणास्मरणाः स्वामिनः पुरः ।  
स्मृत्वामितप्रसादानां<sup>1</sup> जीवं यत् तृणवज्जहुः ॥ ६३ ॥

Blessed is the memorable and reputed death of those, who remembering numerous favours of their Lord, renounce life like a blade of grass.

*Note*

1. Such devoted followers who wish to pay back the obligations of their masters by guarding his interest at the cost of their life; valiant soldiers and army commanders of Sultān Hassān are meant here.

## VERSE 64

तच्छुद्धये ऋणमवेक्ष्य मितप्रसादं  
 प्राप्ते क्षणे जहति ये निजजीवरत्नम् ।  
 शस्त्राणि पुष्पनिकरानिव संविदन्तो  
 धन्यास्त एव कतिचित् प्रभुसेवकेभ्यः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ६४ ॥

Blessed are those loyal servants of their master, (though) small in numbers, who taking an insignificant favour (even), as a loan to defray which, they lay down their lives at the hour of need, treating weapons (of war) as bunch of flowers.

## Note

1. Such loyal servants are few in number who would die for their master

## VERSE 65: SHIRĀZIS AND MAGREYS KILLED IN THE BATTLE

अहो देवस्य माहात्म्यं यत्तस्यैव<sup>1</sup> रणे भटाः ।  
 शिरालमार्गपाद्या<sup>2</sup> ये तद्भृत्याः प्रलयं ययुः ॥ ६५ ॥

It was the exalted eminence of the Sultān, that in the battle (initiated) by him (Behrām), his own servants and soldiers (consisting of) Śirāzis, Magreys and others were killed.

## Notes

1. In the context of the following verse where it is claimed that not a single soldier died from the Sultān's side, the meaning contained in it is to be construed as given above. Herein तस्यैव will indicate of Behrām and not belonging to Sultān Hassan.
2. The forces of Behrām seem to have been drawn from amongst the Śirāzis and Magreys who could not survive the onslaught of royal army.

## VERSE 66: BEHRĀM WOUNDED BY AN ARROW

इदं चित्रतरं यन्नः कटके कोऽपि न मृतः ।  
 किं त्वस्मद्गतं निर्मुक्तं शराग्रफलं<sup>1</sup> संघितात् ॥ ६६ ॥

It is more than a miracle that none amongst our army was killed, but (he) was smitten with the tip of an arrow released by a soldier (of ours).

## Note

1. Hassan has also written that Behrām was hit by an arrow on his face, (TAHS, Persian, p 209).

## VERSE 67: BEHRĀM SURROUNDED BY THE SULTAN'S SOLDIERS

निष्कण्टं नाशकत् कोष्ठात् खड्गं खानो रणोद्यतः ।  
 तेनफलायुधं खानो दीनस्त्वद्गतं वेष्टितः ॥ ६७ ॥

Khān (Behrām) bent upon fighting could not draw out his sword from the scabbard, hence with his weapons being of no avail, quite helpless Khān was surrounded by your soldiers.

## VERSE 68

चितानल इवासारैर्मथोष्मा समपद्यत ।  
यावत् समेत्य हन्तुं तं प्रारभन्कृपया द्रुतम् ॥ ६८ ॥

As soon as his (Behrām's) nerve began to give away like the showers over the (dying) fire of a pyre, (all the soldiers) collectively started to kill him. Then out of compassion, immediately...

## VERSE 69

तं फिर्यडामरस्तावदरक्षत्<sup>१</sup> बाहुपञ्जरे ।  
भूःपङ्किलातिवृष्टिश्च द्विजोऽग्रे<sup>२</sup> निःसहायता ॥ ६९ ॥

Firya Dāmara afforded him safety under the cage of his arms, (like) a Brahmin confronted with muddy terrain due to excessive rain, (hence) completely helpless.

## Notes

1 May be Firya Dāmara wanted to capture him alive under the orders of the Sultān.

2. Reference is to the greedy Brahmin who lost his life while desiring to take a gold—from a lion (*Pañcatantra*).

## VERSE 70

मृत्युभीतिरिति प्राभूत् किं किं तस्य न दुःखदम् ।  
शीतवातप्रयोद्विग्नाः मग्नाः केदार कर्दमे ॥ ७० ॥

The fear of death arose in him (Behrām) giving him every kind of pin-pricks, while stuck deep into the muddy field and torn with scare, cold and wind.

## VERSE 71

त्यक्त्वा तं तद्भटा नग्ना<sup>१</sup> गर्ताटा इव तेऽचलन् ।  
अर्जितां सर्वं सामग्रीं<sup>२</sup> पामरैः परिलुण्ठिताम् ॥ ७१ ॥

His desolate soldiers left him alone and wended their way (to places of safety) like the mice. All the provisions he (Behrām) had collected were looted by low born wicked people.

## Notes

1. नन (naked) or alone could be used both for Behrām or his soldiers.
2. The equipment of Behrām's soldiers was not spared from being taken away.

## VERSE 72

सक्रन्दं च सुतं पश्यन्त्यदृश्यः स विव्यथे ।

दध्यौ च क्व च मे भ्राता क्व घृत्याः क्व' गृहादिकम् ॥७२॥

His courage began to give way on seeing his son wailing aloud. In dire distress he thought "where is my brother, where are my servants and where is my home; etc."

## Note

1. Behrām could now realize that he had none to call his own. He had been thrown on the road so to say.

## VERSE 73

ससुतः शत्रुभिर्बद्धः कं पृच्छामि करोमि किम् ।

वरं मरणमेवास्तु' मा मास्तु मम जीवनम् ॥७३॥

"Whose advice I shall seek, what am I to do? When I have been enchained by my enemies. It would be better for me to die than to live (in this abject condition)."

## Note

1. Behrām is mentally prepared to court death.

## VERSE 74

फलितं वचनं मेऽद्य यदुक्तं जनकेन' तत् ।

धिङ् मां चिन्तामणिं<sup>2</sup> त्यक्त्वा येन काचमणिः श्रितः ॥७४॥

"What my father had said about me has proved correct today. Fie on me who has bartered away philosopher's stone for a mere glass-crystal."

## Notes

1 Reference is to the admonition of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn wherein he had exhorted Behrām to shun the company of Hāji Khān (Sultān Haider, *ZRRT*, I, 7, 89-93).

2 Behrām now realizes that his father was a wish-yielding gem and his brother Hāji merely a glass-crystal—worthless (cf. *Mahābhārata*, Śānti Parva, I, 12; *Naiṣadha Caritām*, III, 81).

Śrīvara quotes verbatim here from the treatises quoted above.

## VERSE 75

इत्यादि निन्दन् स्वात्मानं पश्चात्तापहृताशयः ।  
जीवन्मरणमापन्नः खानः सम्प्रति वर्तते ।  
पौषे<sup>1</sup> तरुखोन्नग्नः फलपत्रविवर्जितः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ७५ ॥

In this manner, heaping cavil at his own self, having lost the initiative through penitence, Khān (Behrām) now approached death while living, like a tree bereft of fruit and leaves, quite naked, during the month of Pauṣa, (December-January).

## Notes

1 By this month *Pauṣa* of Vikramī calendar which corresponds to November-December, the trees become absolutely naked, completely bereft of fruits and leaves.

2 In this Mss the word कुलकम् has been added after the word विवर्जित . but it appears as if it has no significance (cf, *VVRI*, p 153 nn).

## VERSE 76

राज्यं तव क्रमायातं दत्ते<sup>1</sup> देवेन<sup>2</sup> भुज्यताम् ।  
फलितो धर्मविजयः<sup>3</sup> सोऽयं भाग्यैर्महीपतेः ॥ ७६ ॥

O Sultān: enjoy (the bounties offered by the) kingdom given to you, by the (erstwhile) Sultān (your father) in order of succession, (since) such supremacy of religious injunctions fructifies through good-fortunes.

## Notes

1. The son should inherit the throne of the father, it is the eternal law of succession. A brother like Behrām has no eligibility to sit on the throne.

2. It can mean erstwhile Sultān Haidar Shāh as also the father of Sultān Hassan.

3 The *Sharā* (Muslim jurisprudence) also lays down that son should inherit the throne of the father. Herein this kind of injunction has been observed in toto, hence is the triumph of the religious dictates.

## VERSE 77

किमन्यत्तस्य कर्तव्यं यत्तत् तूर्णं समादिश ।  
श्रुत्वेति नृपतिस्तुष्टो दत्तवान् पारितोषिकम् ॥ ७७ ॥

Let us know without any delay as to what is to be done with regard to him (Behrām). On hearing this, the Sultān felt very much pleased and rewarded him with a prize.

## VERSE 78

जयवाद्यनिनादौषैः<sup>1</sup> सर्वं बलमतोषयत् ।  
अन्येद्युस्तद्भटा जैनगिर्या<sup>2</sup> कटकं वेष्टितम् ॥ ७८ ॥

Boosted the morale of his entire army by the mass of sounds emanating from (commissioning) the music (beholding his) victory. On the following day his (Sultān's) soldiers (negotiated) Zaingair besieged by the army.

## Notes

1. Refer *JRRT*, 872; *ZRRT*, III, 59.
2. Sultān's army had besieged "Zaingair" so that Behrām Khān does not escape

## VERSE 79

बहामखानमानिन्युः ससुतं भूपतेः पुरः ।  
संग्रामविजयोत्सिक्तं सत्कर्तुं स्वभटव्रजम् ॥ ७९ ॥

And brought Behrām Khān along with his son into the presence of the Sultān. Puffed up with his victory in the battle and for honouring his hordes of soldiers.

## VERSE 80

सहर्षो राजधानीं<sup>1</sup> तामारुरोह नरेश्वरः ।  
उच्चावचोक्तिं<sup>2</sup> मुखर पौरान्तर गतं नतम् ॥ ८० ॥

With utmost glee the Sultān ascended the royal city (capital). Hemmed in between the towns folk, some praised him and some heaped abuses (on Behrām).

## Notes

1. Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin had also built a royal residence at Zaingair (*TAHS*, p 193).
2. As the prisoner was being taken, the townsfolk acted that way.

## VERSE 81

भूमे रंघमिवेक्षन्ते<sup>1</sup> लज्जया च भयेन च ।  
रणक्षणभटन्यस्तहस्तध्वस्तविभूषणम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ८१ ॥

As if looking at the holes in the ground with shame mixed with fear, whose ornamented attire was reduced to shreds, by the soldiers at the time of fight when they laid their hands over him...

## Notes

1. Behrām did not have enough courage to look the people in their face.
2. His royal decorations can also be the meaning here. In the context of the following verse royal attire seems to be the more correct rendering.

## VERSE 82

दयालु नीच<sup>1</sup> दत्तात्म जीर्णवस्त्रावगुण्ठितम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
मुखलग्नेषुभेदोद्यद्रक्ताक्तधृतवेष्टनम् ॥ ८२ ॥

Covering (his body) with the tattered clothes, given to him by pitying low-caste people, which were getting soiled by the blood dripping from the wound, received from an arrow struck on his face.

## Notes

1. The people not of Behrām's rank. Not of blue-blood also be the purport here.
2. It can connote second hand or used clothes also.

## VERSE 83: CHAINS ARE PUT ON BEHRĀM KHĀN AND HIS SON

अलक्ष्मी<sup>1</sup> वीक्षितं दूरात् पितृव्यं<sup>2</sup> क्षणमैक्षत ।  
भाग्योर्जितस्य भूभर्तुरग्रे बद्धः<sup>3</sup> समालम्बजः ।  
दीनात्मा ददृशे परैः स्थिराः कस्य विभूतयः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ८३ ॥

(The Sultān) looked at his uncle (Behrām) deprived of all his fortune for a while from distance. The townsfolk stared at him (Behrām) quite forlorn, in chains along with his son, before the Sultān whose good-luck was in ascendance. Whose good days have remained permanent?

## Notes

1. Struck by penury, robbed of all fortune, status etc.
2. Uncle, father's younger brother Behrām Khān.
3. Behrām had been arrested and was obviously in chains.
4. Śrīvara tries to philosophize on this abject condition of Behrām by saying that every person has to contend with bad and good days in his life.

## VERSE 84

लोभाक्रान्तधियो विवेकमुचितं मुञ्चन्ति यन्मोहिता  
भुक्ता या मनसापि दर्पकचितात्यक्तुं न शक्या स्वयम् ।  
सन्तापाय भवन्ति सन्ततमलं नीताः परैश्चेद् बला-  
न्ना मा सन्तु भवेज्ज हन्त चपला वेश्या इवैता श्रियः ॥ ८४ ॥

Having been deluded, those who throw wholesome discretion to

winds, their intellect being obsessed with greed, who having tasted (the affluence) do not possess the nerve to banish it altogether from their minds, out of excessive vanity, when taken away by the foes under compelling circumstances, gives them incessant pain. How sad! These riches undependable like a harlot, should not have been here in this world.

## VERSE 85

उपेक्षितः<sup>1</sup> पिता तादृगस्वास्थ्ये<sup>2</sup> स्वार्थलिप्सया ।  
ज्येष्ठोऽप्यादम खानः स बाधितोऽपाय युक्तिभिः<sup>3</sup> ॥८५॥

Similarly, (Sultān Hassan's) father (Sultān Haider Shāh) though in bad health but for his selfish-ends, went into oblivion. The eldest Ādam Khān even was haunted by such schemings which spelt his disaster.

## Notes

1. Sultān Haider Shāh ruled for a very brief period—1470 AD to 1472 AD.
2. Though being in bad health, he did not forsake the ambition to grab the throne after his father—Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin (cf. ZRRT, I, 7, 68-73; II, 170-173)
3. Ādam Khān fought with his father Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin occasionally for getting the throne (I, 3, 80-96, etc.).

## VERSE 86

दुरशयापरो भ्राता त्रियोऽसाध्या<sup>1</sup> मयेक्षणात् ।  
राज्यलोभाद् भ्रातृसुते<sup>2</sup> तास्ता द्रोहधियः<sup>3</sup> कृताः ॥८६॥

The brother (of Sultān Hassan's father) harbouring evil-intentions out of greed for the kingdom and for appropriating the elusive riches, played dirty in various ways with his nephew.

## Notes

1. The riches, good days, fortune etc. very difficult to attain.
2. Sultān Hassan Shāh is meant here.
3. Perfidy is the exact meaning. The poet is wandering in all the above *ślokas*, why does a man for the sake of riches which are in the lap of one today and gone tomorrow, like a whore, acts perfidiously.

## VERSE 87

अद्यैतेन फलं प्राप्तं तदधर्मं<sup>1</sup> विनिश्चयात् ।  
दृष्ट्वा बद्धं तमानीतं खानमित्यवदज्जनः ॥८७॥

Having seen (Behrām) Khān brought in chains the people said: he has today got the fruit of indulging in irreligious activities.



## Note

1 The kingdom as per *Sharā* would be inherited by son, but *Behrām* wanted to grab it by force which amounted to running counter to religious tenets.

## VERSE 88

केऽप्युचुः स पितुः शापाद् विमूढः समपद्यत ।  
तथाहि तं पिता त्रातु पितृद्वये' रहोऽब्रवीत् ॥८८॥

Some said that he (*Behrām*) had turned idiotic due to the curse of his father, when once having argued with him, his father had thus admonished him in private.

## Note

1 Refer *ZRRT*, I, 7, 88-97

## VERSE 89 -

राज्यं त्वदग्रजाभ्यां मे नाशितं वैरतो मिथः ।  
तत्राप्यनिष्टौ द्वावेव मम चिन्ताज्वर प्रदौ ॥८९॥

My kingdom has been ruined by your two elder brothers (who are) at logger-heads with each other. In that case they both have been inauspicious and given me very anxious and feverish moments.

## VERSE 90

तदेतौ विनिवार्याहं युक्त्यादेश सुखाशया ।  
त्वामेव वर्धयिष्यामि त्वं मदेकाग्रयो भव ॥९०॥

So I shall avoid them tactfully and in the hope of bringing solace to the country, I would like to project you and you have got to be my only support.

## VERSE 91

श्रुत्वेति प्राह तं नाहं जातुचेद् भ्रातरं त्यजे ।  
यतो ज्येष्ठोऽस्ति मे द्विष्टो द्वयोः किं स करिष्यति ॥९१॥

Having heard this, he (*Behrām*) said (to his father) "I shall never prove false to my brother (*Hāji Khān*), even though the eldest (*Ādam Khān*) is inimical towards me yet what can he do to us two?"

## VERSE 92

श्रुत्वेत्याहाग्रजं हन्तुं त्वयेच्छुस्त्वां स रक्षति ।  
प्राप्त प्राधुणहस्तेन<sup>1</sup> भुजङ्गमिव वेश्मगम् ॥ ९२ ॥

Having lent his ear to this, he (Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin, his father) retorted back: "Does he (Hāji Khān) (not) nurse you for killing his elder brother like the one who would like to get a serpent in the house killed at the hands of casual visitor?"

## Note

1 The point made by Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidin is that Hāji Khān had no love for Behrām but would use him only to get rid of his elder brother Ādam Khān one day

## VERSE 93: BEHRĀM IS PROFICIENT IN SANSKRIT

सिद्धकार्यः सपुत्रः स बाधते यदि का गतिः ।  
तच्छ्रुत्वा संस्कृतज्ञः स श्लोकेनेत्युत्तरं ददौ ॥ ९३ ॥

"What will you do if after achieving his end he and his son make you uncomfortable?" Having heard this, he (Behrām) who had command over Sanskrit, replied thus in a verse.

## VERSE 94

विद्यातीर्थे श्रुतपरिचितां साधवः सत्यतीर्थे  
गङ्गातीर्थे सकल मुनयो योगिनोऽध्यात्मतीर्थे ।  
लज्जातीर्थे कुलयुवतयो दानतीर्थे वदान्या  
धारातीर्थे धरणिपतयः कित्त्वयं क्षालयन्ति ॥ ९४ ॥

At the hollowed spot of knowledge the well-versed in the Vedas, at the pilgrimage of truth the noble, at the sacred spot of the Gaṅgā the entire host of hermits, at the shrine of spirituality those given to abstract meditation, at the worthy place of bashfulness the ladies of high birth, at the rewarding spot of charity the benevolent and at the holy retreat of the blade (of a sword) the kings, wash away the sins."

## Note

1. This is one of the finest didactic verses written by Śrīvara. He asserts that one's learning is tested by the knowledge of the *Vedas*, goodness by adhering to truthfulness, the asceticism by resorting to the banks of the Gaṅgā, the yogis by their spiritualism, the young ladies of high families by their bashfulness, the benevolent by their charities and the kings by their swords.

## VERSE 95

तदाकर्ण्यब्रवीद् राजा सक्रोधं तं दुराशयम् ।  
बहुधा युद्धदृष्टोऽसि नाहं यत्रास्मि तत्क्षमः ॥ ९५ ॥

On hearing this the Sultān (Zain-ul-'Ābidīn) spitefully addressed him, the evil minded (Behrām) thus: "I have seen you many times engaged in war and when I could not prove equal (to my enemies).

## VERSE 96

वराकः खड्गधारार्थी तत्र त्वमसि<sup>१</sup> दर्पितः ।  
किं वच्युत्पाटेने<sup>२</sup> योग्ये नेत्रे पश्यामि दुर्धियः ॥ ९६ ॥

Helpless and in need of a blade of sword, you exhibited vanity (did not extend helping hand to me), I can only say that your two eyes deserve to be gouged, evil intentioned as you are...

## Notes

1. Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn hints at the perfidy of Behrām Khān with remorse when he did not extend a helping hand to his father during wars

2. Herein it seems that Śrīvara has translated the Kashmiri curse into Sanskrit verbatim.

## VERSE 97

तदेक एवं नष्टस्त्वं भवेः सानुशयोऽचिरात्  
इत्युक्तमस्मिन् पित्रा यत् तदद्य फलितं वचः<sup>१</sup> ।  
तं वीक्ष्येति कथालोकः स शोकोऽप्यकरोन्मिथः ॥ ९७ ॥

"So, ebbing with repentance you will be destroyed very soon." This is what his father had said about him (Behrām) and which has come true now. Having seen him (Behrām) the people recalled that episode and began to grieve amongst themselves.

## Note

1. Refer verse 74 earlier.

## VERSE 98

यथोचितैर्दानमानैस्तोषयित्वा<sup>१</sup> निजं बलम् ।  
तस्मिन्नेव दिने राजा तुष्टो नगरमाययौ ॥ ९८ ॥

The Sultān duly rewarded his troops with gifts and respectful

consideration. Being in high spirits he returned to his capital that very day.

*Note*

1 The Sultān overwhelmed his troops with munificence as also various considerations.

#### VERSE 99: BEHRĀM BROUGHT TO NOWSHERA BY BOAT

बद्धं रिपुं समादाय नौकारूढं<sup>1</sup> सुतान्वितम्<sup>2</sup> ।

श्री जैननगरे राजा वासे स्वे बन्धने<sup>3</sup> व्यधात् ॥ ९९ ॥

The foe (Behrām) bound in chains along with his son was brought by boat to Zaina Nagar (Nowshera), and kept in custody in his own palace.

*Notes*

1 The Sultān according to earlier verse returned to the capital Nowshera that very day. Perhaps he used a very fast means of transport: horse or chariot; but Behrām was brought to the capital by boat obviously from Sopore. He might have reached Zaina Nagari some days after the Sultān.

2 Śrīvara does not give the name of Behrām's son. Persian historians have called him Yusuf.

3 It can mean that either Sultān Hassan kept him captive in his palace or Behrām was kept under house-arrest in his own royal residence.

#### VERSE 100

जननी नृपतेः प्रीता दर्शनामृतहर्षणा ।

अमन्यत रणोत्तीर्णं पुनर्जातमिवात्मजम् ॥ १०० ॥

The loving mother of the Sultān feeling very happy on getting the enlivening glimpse of her son considered it to be his re-birth after registering victory in the battle field.

#### VERSE 101

शङ्कितो यौनसम्बन्धाद् भूपतिः कतिचिद्दिनैः ।

रुषावतारसीहादीन्<sup>1</sup> कारागारान्तरे व्यधात् ॥ १०१ ॥

After some days suspecting Avtār Sinha and others of sexual relations the Sultān feeling cross, lodged them in prison.

*Note*

1 This name Avtār Sinha is mentioned only once here. It is not known as to what position he held under the Sultān.

VERSE 102 MALIK JĀJA GIVES UNEASY MOMENTS  
TO THE SULTĀN

पापो मल्लिकजाजः<sup>१</sup> सपञ्चगह्वर<sup>२</sup> देशजः ।

पुनश्चादुक्तन्त्रेण तत्तदायासकार्यभूत् ॥ १०२ ॥

That villain Malik Jāja belonging to the territory of Pañca Gahvar, repeatedly employing the artifice of flattery became very troublesome (for the Sultān).

Notes

1. The Persian historians call him Malik Zādā. Śrīvara has also given him this name (cf, verse 143 infra).

2. This territory is included in Budil near Rajouri. It has been the seat of Khasās (JRRT, 132; ZRRT, 4212).

VERSE 103: MALIK JĀJA FLEECS THE PEOPLE

उत्कोच मुद्रादानादि प्रपञ्चाश्रितवञ्चनः ।

सुसंचयकृता येन देशोऽशेषो विलुण्ठितः ॥ १०३ ॥

That rascal through the diverse expedients of bribes and gifts in cash etc. had made a good collection (of wealth) and had thus looted the entire (population of the country).

VERSE 104: ABHIMANYU PRATĪHĀRA RESIGNS FROM  
THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

अभिमन्यु<sup>१</sup> प्रतीहारः स्वतन्त्रो<sup>२</sup> मन्त्रिमण्डले ।

स देवसरसि<sup>३</sup> स्वाम्यमभजद् बलदर्पितः ॥ १०४ ॥

Abhimanyu Pratīhāra (Padru), became independent of (not owing allegiance to) the council of ministers, puffed up with his might announced his lordship over Devasar (Divsar).

Notes

1. Abhimanyu Padru was attached to Prince Hāji Khān and helped him against Ādam Khān in getting the throne (ZRRT, 1. 7, 204, 208).

2. Became independent or did not own responsibility for the decisions taken in the council of ministers.

3. The territory of Devasar (Divsar) forms a part of Maraz in Anantnag district with Tehsil headquarters at Kulgam. It has received mention in *Nilamata Purāṇa* also (cf, verses 1495-96).

VERSE 105

लोत्रप्रतिग्रहक्षेत्र दत्तरुद्धिः पदे पदे ।

लुब्धः स निजमात्मानमनाशीर्भजनं व्यधात् ॥ १०५ ॥

That greedy (Abhimanyu) collecting booty at every step and creating obstructions (for free access) to his territory made himself an object of hatred.

VERSE 106: ABHIMANYU PADRU WANTS TO GET RID OF  
BEHRĀM KHĀN

शङ्क्या राजगृहासन्नः पितृव्यो बन्धनस्थितः ।  
त्वय्यन्यत्र स्थिते कोपि नीत्वा<sup>1</sup> द्वैराज्यमाचरेत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ १०६ ॥

(Even though) being in prison just close to royal residence (yet) your uncle cannot be trusted. On your being away (from the capital) somebody might take hold of him and establish double rule (here).

Notes

1. Actually the Sultān is advised by Abhimanyu not to spare the life of Behrām Khān. Some amongst Sultān's adversaries might get him released and declare him as the Sultān. Thus dyarchy will be initiated here in Kashmir.

2. It can also suggest, that Behrām may be rescued from his confinement and a government in exile announced in his name. This will definitely result in double rule. This advice given by Abhimanyu to the Sultān is obviously earlier to his declaring independence.

VERSE 107: BEHRĀM KHĀN IS BLINDED

इत्यादि प्रेरितोऽनेन नेयबुद्धिर्नेश्वरः ।  
क्रुद्धो बहामखानाय नेत्रोत्पाटनमादिशत्<sup>1</sup> ॥ १०७ ॥

In this and other ways being goaded by him (Abhimanyu) the Sultān of undependable intellect, flew into anger and ordered the gouging of the eyes of Behrām Khān.

Note

1 Thus the prophesy of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin, Behrām's father comes true (cf, verse 96 earlier).

VERSE 108: ZAINA RAINA PUNCTURES BEHRĀM'S EYES  
WITH HEATED IRON RODS

तस्य तूलाचिते<sup>1</sup> नेत्रद्वये तप्तां शिलाक्विकाम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
जैनराजानको लौहीं दुङ्नाशार्थमदापयत् ॥ १०८ ॥

Jain Rājānaka (Zaina Raina) in order to destroy his eyes, got his (Behrām's) two eyes covered with cotton, punctured with heated small iron pins.

## Notes

1. First of all Behrām's eyes were covered with cotton, he was blind-folded, so to say.

2. Then heated small iron pins were thrust into his eyes. It might also convey pointed steel instruments.

## VERSE 109

नैर्घृण्यमक्षि हर्तुर्यत् कृष्टाक्षस्य च या व्यथा ।  
द्वयं न शक्यते वक्तुं यथार्थं मादृशां गिरा ॥ १०९ ॥

Muse of the people like me, cannot precisely convey both these: the callousness of the person who blinded his eyes, and the pain which the piercing of the eyes (gave to Behrām Khān).

## VERSE 110

दुर्नीतिमवदन्<sup>१</sup> केचित् केचिदीश्वर<sup>२</sup>जुम्भितम् ।  
प्राक्कर्मपाकमपरे<sup>३</sup> नीचसङ्गमथापरे<sup>४</sup> ॥ ११० ॥

Some dubbed it as bad-polity, some as the will of God, some others (said) it was the accomplishment of past actions, and some (took it to be) the (fruit of) making friends with the bad persons.

## Notes

1. The people well-versed in polity said it was an unwholesome political move. The Sultān would thus alienate himself from the people.

2. Some (probably Muslim zealots) said it was the will of God.

3. Devout Hindus termed it as the fulfilment of his past actions—what Behrām had sown in his earlier birth, he was reaping now.

4. General public reaction was that blue-blooded Behrām Khān had mixed with low born people, hence this retribution. In this verse Śrīvara has very dexterously penned down the reaction of every section of the population to his inhuman act.

## VERSE 111

केचिद्भिभवैशस्यं कतरत्वमथापरे<sup>१</sup> ।  
तदन्धकरणं श्रुत्वा कोऽप्यवाच्यगिरोऽब्रवीत्<sup>२</sup> ॥ १११ ॥

Some termed this as the ultimate end of prosperity, and some as the timidity (on the part of Sultān Hassan). Having come to know about the blinding (of Behrām), some hurled invectives.

## Notes

1. Some said that Sultān Hassan being afraid of Behrām had got him blinded. Actually it was cowardice on his part.

2. Some expressed their sympathy with Behrām in this plight and abused the Sultān Hassan.

Herein Śrīvara has narrated the reaction of various segments of the Kashmiri society to the blinding of Behrām Khān.

#### VERSE 112

मानुष्यं मास्तु तच्चेत्स्याद् वरं प्राकृतवेश्मनि ।  
राजगेहेऽस्तु मा जन्म कस्यापीति न कोऽवदत् ॥ ११२ ॥

Who did not say that nobody should be born as a man, even if that be the case, yet it would be better to be born in an ordinary house than in the royal family.

#### VERSE 113

स्फूर्जद्भाग्यसमुद्भवन्नवनवप्रोल्लाससंपत्सुखः  
प्रायो वेति विभुर्विनोदकलया कालं विशालं क्षणम् ।  
दौर्भाग्योदितदुर्गतिः स्मृतनिजप्राच्यप्रकर्षोन्निते-  
स्तस्य प्राप्तमहाभयस्य स भवेत् स्वप्नोऽपि कल्पोपमः ॥ ११३ ॥

When the stars be in ascendance and luck smiles over the person in affording him ever-new stage of pleasure and opulence, (he) fully engrossed in deriving pleasure from it, often takes it to be just a moment through a long drawn affair. When falling on bad days with consequent discomfort, remembering his good old days when at the zenith of affluence (that very person) being (now) completely scared of this, takes this brief span as extending aeons of years.

#### Note

1. *Kalpa* or an aeon is a day of Brahmā or one thousand Yugas or a period of 432 million years of mortals.

#### VERSE 114

अयःशृङ्खलबद्धाग्निः सोऽन्यस्तत्रैव बन्धने ।  
स्मरन् विभवसामग्रीमनयच्छेषमायुषः ॥ ११४ ॥

That blind person (Behrām) with his feet bound with iron chains remembering the host of comforts (at his disposal) spent his last years in that confinement.

#### VERSE 115

नायं गीतैर्विना जातु वर्तते स्म गृहान्तरे ।  
इत्येव तस्य सारावा झिल्ल्यो जागरणं व्यधुः ॥ ११५ ॥



He could never afford to be in his house without (feasting on) music, hence the whimpering crickets (in that prison cell) made him lose his sleep.

*Note*

1. Herein Śrīvara would like to say that Behrām was lulled into sleep by sweet soft music in his house, whereas now the noise of the crickets in his cell did not let him have a wink of sleep.

VERSE 116

येऽम्बच्छयागृहे नित्यं सर्वाङ्गैः सेवकैर्वृतः ।  
अभूवन् केवलं तस्य भृत्यारचटकमत्कुणाः ॥ ११६ ॥

Who was always surrounded by his attendants on all sides in his bed room, had mere sparrows and bugs at his beck and call (now).

VERSE 117

चितानवलयो यस्य बभूव दुर्लभाम्बरैः ।  
दृष्टास्त एव तद्गृहे लूतातन्तुविनिर्मिताः ॥ ११७ ॥

The rows of curtains made of very rare cloth owned by him, (were replaced by) the webs woven by spiders, seen (here and there) in that cell.

*Note*

1. V.I. दुर्लभः सुरै (cf. VVRI, p 158 nn).

VERSE 118

यद्वपुः कोमलं पट्टतुलशय्यामभूदयत् ।  
तदा ततस्य भूपृष्ठेऽशयिष्टादृष्टविष्टम् ॥ ११८ ॥

Whose delicate body adorned the bed made up of silken and cotton sheets, had to lie down now on the naked earth bereft of even a layer of grass.

*Note*

1. This word means a layer or bed made of 'Kusa' grass.

VERSE 119

दीयतां दीयतां तस्य वाणी या त्याग्निः श्रुता ।  
विपत्क्षणेन सैवामृतं तत्तद्वस्तुपयाचने ॥ ११९ ॥

The words "may be given, may be given" heard from the (mouth) of that liberal (Behrām), were used in begging for this or that thing, in this time of misery.

## VERSE 120

गतं स्वाम्यं हता भृत्याः प्राप्तः परिभवो नवः ।  
बन्धनं शुक्ला बन्धैर्नैत्रोत्पाटनतो व्यथा ॥ १२० ॥

"(I) lost power and authority, (my) attendants were slain, came face to face with such an unusual humiliation, am bound with chains and suffered pain through the gouging of eyes."

## VERSE 121

इत्येवैकः स्मरन् दुःखं सोऽन्धो राजसुतश्चिरम् ।  
नाज्ञासीत् स्वात्मनस्तुल्यमपरं प्राक्कथास्वपि ॥ १२१ ॥

Thus that blind prince bemoaned his plight for long in his loneliness, and could not equate himself with any of those mentioned in ancient tales even.

## Note

1. Prince Behrām could not recollect any such person mentioned even in fiction to have suffered more than his own self.

## VERSE 122

कोशोज्ज्वलं कमलमेक्ष्य नवं समन्ता-  
दस्मिन् रमेऽहमिति तुष्यति चञ्चरीकः ।  
दोषानुषङ्गमधिगम्य<sup>१</sup> निबद्ध<sup>२</sup> मूर्ति-  
स्तत्रैव नाशमुपयाति विधौ विरुद्धे ॥ १२२ ॥

On seeing a lotus with its shimmering petals projecting ever-fresh newness on all sides, the black-bee feels happy and (revels at the idea of) sporting in it. On the arrival of the discomfiture of the dusk, quite lifeless, it gets destroyed therein when the destiny is adverse to it.

## Notes

1. Herein दोष will connote प्रदोष—dusk, evening, when the petals of the lotus close automatically.

2. Literally its body becomes a prisoner in it. It cannot come out, gets suffocated and dies within it, i.e. that very lotus which gives so much joy to the bumble bee, becomes the cause of its discomfiture.

VERSE 123: BEHRĀM IS KEPT UNDER HOUSE-ARREST  
AFTER BEING  
BLINDED

राजवासः स्वलीलार्थं निर्मितस्तेन यः स्वयम् ।

स एव बन्धनायाभूत्<sup>1</sup> को वेत्ति भवितव्यताम् ॥ १२३ ॥

That very palace which he (Behrām) had built for his merry-making, became a prison for him. Who can foresee what is to come?

*Note*

1. It is now obvious that Behrām had been kept under house-arrest.

VERSE 124: BEHRĀM DIES AFTER THREE YEARS  
OF CONFINEMENT

इत्थं वर्षत्रयं तावदनुभूतमहाव्यथः ।

अस्थिशेषतनुः क्लेशात् तस्मिन्नेव क्षयं ययौ ॥ १२४ ॥

In this way after experiencing terrible agony for three years his body was reduced to mere bones due to acute misery. Then his life came to an end in (that very palace).

VERSE 125

देशकालमनालोक्य वैरं यः कुरुतेऽग्निभिः ।

स नश्यत्यचिरेणैव शौर्यश्रीं मण्डितोऽपि सन् ॥ १२५ ॥

Without weighing the (propriety) of time and place, he who picks up quarrel with his enemies, does instantly perish even though armed with valour and riches.

VERSE 126: ABHIMANYU PRATIHĀRA FALLS OUT  
WITH AHMED YATTU

अभिमन्युप्रतीहारस्तत्तच्छौर्यमदोद्धतः ।

आयुक्त<sup>1</sup> पक्षं प्रबलं नासहिष्ट स निष्ठुरः ॥ १२६ ॥

The callous Abhimanyu Pratihāra puffed up with his bravery could not see eye to eye with Yattu's influential faction.

*Note*

1. Reference is to Ahmed Yattu who had been made commissioner of Nāgām and other places (cf. verse 24, supra).

## VERSE 127

स्वातन्त्र्येण स्फुरन् प्रावत्<sup>1</sup> स्फुरद्वाक्सार तोडनः ।  
दर्पादायुक्तपक्षस्य सूचीवाक्षिगतोऽभवत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ १२७ ॥

Being encouraged by his previous self-willed attitude, quite capable of thwarting the arrow-like (piercing) invectives hurled at him, (Abhimanyu Padru) became an apple of discord with Yattu's faction.

## Notes

1. Reference is to verse no 104 earlier.
2. Literally it will mean a needle getting into the eyes giving excruciating pain.

## VERSE 128

उपायान् कुर्वता तांस्ताच्छन्नकोपेन मन्त्रिणा ।  
बद्धं तं मल्लिकेनात्र<sup>1</sup> नावाप्यवसरः क्वचित् ॥ १२८ ॥

Keeping his anger concealed, the schemes of (minister) Malik for catching him (Abhimanyu) could not find any opportunity (to fructify) at all in these circumstances.

## Note

1. Malik was the family surname of Ahmed and *Āyukta* was his post.

VERSE 129: ABHIMANYU PRATIHĀRA  
IS ARRESTED AT  
BIJEBEHARA

एकदा तद्गृहं गत्वाश्वस्तं<sup>1</sup> श्री विजयेश्वरे ।  
तद्विया<sup>2</sup> नृपती राजधान्यन्तस्तमबन्धयत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १२९ ॥

Once at his instance (Ahmed Yattu's) the Sultān paid a visit to the unsuspecting (Abhimanyu Padru) at Vijayeshvara (Bijebehara) and got him imprisoned in his royal quarters.

## Notes

1. The Sultān overwhelmed Abhimanyu Padru with his visit at Bijebehara assuring him of his continued patronage.
2. It was actually a ruse planned by Ahmed Yattu.
3. Abhimanyu Padru now thought that the Sultān was kindly disposed towards him, and out of courtesy paid a return call at the Sultān in his royal residence at Bijebehara where he was taken into custody.

*Rajdhāni* will mean the place where the Sultān was temporarily staying at Bijebehara.

## VERSE 130

अभिमन्युः स्वयं ख्यातः पाण्डवाद्याश्च तत्सुताः ।  
शृगाल<sup>1</sup> वलदाभूवन् धिगिच्छन् विविधां विधेः ॥ १३० ॥

Thereafter, Abhimanyu (Padru) himself earned notoriety, and his sons Pāṇḍavas and others, behaved like jackals. The unpredictable will of destiny deserves to be despised.

## Note

1. His sons took to hiding like jackals, can be the inference.

## VERSE 131

यस्याहवे मुखमवेक्ष्य महा<sup>1</sup> गजेन्द्रा  
दूरं प्रयान्ति बलिनः<sup>2</sup> सशिली मुखौषाः<sup>3</sup> ।  
दर्पाद्दिशेद्यदि<sup>4</sup> न निर्मित कूटयन्त्रं<sup>5</sup>  
कस्तं निरोद्धुमलमुत्सहते मृगेन्द्रम् ॥ १३१ ॥

Who can keep a lion in check, coming face to face in the battle with whom is avoided even by the mighty elephants with their host of bumble bees, if due to his own vanity, he is not taken in by deceptive contrivances?

This *śloka* also has a double meaning, one for the lion and the other for a king. In the case of a warrior the meaning would be:

Who can keep a king in check, coming face to face with whom is avoided by great armies with their fund of arrows, if due to his own vanity he is not taken in by a deceptive army deployment.

## Notes

1. It means a king as also a lion.
2. बलिनः means an army as well as an elephant.
3. It means a host of bumble bees as well as a stock of arrows.
4. If out of vanity.
5. It means deceptive contrivances as well as deceptive army deployment, ie, scheming and plotting. That was how Abhimanyu Pratihāra was taken into custody.

A lion is either coaxed to falling into a pit with covering of hay over it, or made to enter a cage where a calf or a goat is tied in order to allure him.

## VERSE 132: TĀZI BHATT BRINGS ABHIMANYU PADRU TO THE CITY IN A BOAT

सपुत्रं हृतसर्वस्वं बद्ध्वा नौकान्तरे<sup>2</sup> ततः ।  
तजिमट्टः<sup>3</sup> समानीय करगारान्तरेऽसिपत् ॥ १३२ ॥

Consequently, deprived of all his belongings and bound with chains along with his son (Abhimanyu Padru) was brought (to the

city) in a boat by Tāzi Bhaṭṭ and was thrown into the prison.

*Notes*

1. It seems that one of his sons could not give a slip to the royal guards and was consequently arrested.
2. The most popular means of communication then, at least for the city.
3. Tāji (Tāzi) Bhaṭṭ must have been an accomplice of Ahmed Yattu.

VERSE 133: ABHIMANYU PADRU IS BLINDED

यादृग् बहाम खानाय कारयन्पतेरसौ ।  
वर्षेणैकेन' तादृक्षं नेत्रोत्पाटनमन्वभूत् ॥ १३३ ॥

The Sultān treated him (Abhimanyu Padru) in the same way as he had treated Behrām Khān and within an year he also had to suffer the gouging of his eyes.

*Notes*

1. Within a year of blinding Behrām Khān.
2. Refer verses 104, 107 and 108 earlier.

VERSE 134

यादृग् बहाम खानस्य व्यथाभूदतिदुःसहा ।  
अविन्दत् तादृशीं सोऽपि वक्तुं नान्येन शक्यते ॥ १३४ ॥

The excruciating agony which Behrām Khān had to suffer was likewise experienced by him (Abhimanyu Padru), and that cannot be described by any one else (other than the sufferers).

VERSE 135

यस्मिन्नेव दिने यस्मिन् मासे विप्रियमातनोत् ।  
तस्मिन्नेव दिने तस्मिन् मासे सोऽपि समासदत् ॥ १३५ ॥

The very day and the very month on which unpleasant commission was performed by him (Abhimanyu Padru), exactly synchronized with what befell him (later).

*Note*

1. Herein Śrivarā refers to the divine retribution being in store for Abhimanyu Padru.

VERSE 136: ABHIMANYU PADRU DIES IN THE PRISON

सोऽपि वर्षद्वयं भुक्त्वा सपुत्रो नरकव्यथाम् ।  
बहामखानवद् बद्धो' व्यसनान्तर्व्यपद्यत ॥ १३६ ॥

He (Abhimanyu Padru) too along with his son, running the gauntlet of hellish misery for two years, died in confinement like Behrām Khān in utter despondency.

*Note*

1 Refer verse 124 earlier. What a contrast was all this to the rule of Zain-ul-Ābidin?

It appears that court intrigues were becoming more common under Sultān Hassan.

VERSE 137

अद्यैव मददृशौ धन्ये याभ्यां मत्कुलवैरिणः ।  
सर्वस्व हरणं दृष्टं मरणं जैन भूपतेः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १३७ ॥

Today only my eyes have been gratified, when I have seen the death of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin, who had been an enemy of my family, and had taken away everything (of mine).

*Note*

1 Śrīvara recalls that Abhimanyu Padru had uttered such blasphemous words when Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin had expired (refer ZRRT, I, 202, 7 also.)

VERSE 138

इत्युचे निष्ठुरं यत्स दुष्टात्मा कृतलुण्ठनः ।  
तदुक्तिफलमापासौ तयोर्नाशोऽभवत्<sup>1</sup> फलम् ॥ १३८ ॥

Such were the callous words which that depraved looter (Abhimanyu Padru) had expressed. He did reap the fruit of that (unbecoming) expression, the fruit being the annihilation of them both (father and son).

*Note*

1. Refer verse 132, 136 supra.

VERSE 139

चिन्तितं जैन भूपेन संपन्नं नैव यत्पुरा ।  
हेलयास्याद्य पौत्रेण कृतमित्यवदज्जनः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १३९ ॥

“(The course of action) which Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin had conceived earlier but could not be accomplished, has been done by his grandson, without any difficulty whatsoever.” Thus said the people.

## Note

1. This was their reaction to the blinding of Abhimanyu Padru, ie, people were happy at the treatment to a bad man.

## VERSE 140

यत्कर्तुमिच्छति फणपत्रयं मनुष्य-  
 सेनेन तस्य नियमेन भवेद्दिनाराः ।  
 शृङ्गं विधत्ते हरिणः परमबुद्ध्या  
 शस्त्रं कुरुते तद्विधुर्महते तमेव ॥ १४० ॥

The person who intends to denigrate others, by that very rule gets his own self annihilated. The horns of the deer meant for piercing others, when made into a bow kills him with arrows discharged from it.

## Note

1. It is a strange statement made by the poet. One can hardly imagine a bow being made out of the horn of a deer, as it can have no resilience and there had to be some resilience in the bow before it can shoot an arrow.

## VERSE 141

दृष्टो रम्यश्चिरमुपवने वंशवाटो जनैर्वो  
 नाना वर्णैस्तुण गणगुणैर्वृषितो धूरिपत्रः ।  
 तत्रान्योन्याहन्न जन्नात् तादृगप्युत्थितोऽग्नि-  
 र्येनैस्तत्तदुपवनं गतं सर्वमेव प्रनष्टम् ॥ १४१ ॥

The people had feasted their eyes for long on a bamboo-grove within the garden adorned with multicoloured excellent bunches of grass with plentiful foliage. Therein, by reason of mutual friction, such a fire blazed forth, that it consumed all that was in the garden exclusively on that side.

## Note

1. The garden was not destroyed as a whole, but only the bamboo grove, which herein represents the sons of Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidin. The line of the Sultān did continue tainted by the scars of the mutual enmity of his sons.

## VERSE 142: THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISSOLVED

या वरकस्तथा रथ्यामवधौस्तमहीमुजाम् ।  
 अशिरोणैव कालेन सर्वा स्वनोपमाभवत् ॥ १४२ ॥

That delighted and time honoured council of ministers introduced



by the kings (of Kashmir), all that became a matter of dream in a very short time.

*Notes*

1. This word can mean a Muslim also (cf, *VVR*, p 161). This word has been taken in the sense of the honoured or hereditary (*Manu Smṛti*, VII, 54).

2. It seems that Sultān Hassan had no use for such Council of Ministers and acted like a despot. It can also be inferred from this that whichever influential faction of Kashmiris found favour with the Sultān did not allow others to share power, hence the Council of Ministers was dissolved. In the case of Sultān Hassan, Yattus had the upper hand (refer verses 126, 127 supra).

VERSE 143

क्रष्टुं<sup>१</sup> मल्लिकजदोऽयमन्धजं<sup>२</sup> खानमिच्छति ।  
उज्यायमिति केनापि राज्ञोऽग्रे पेशुने कृते ॥ १४३ ॥

“Malikzādā desires to take hold of the Khān, son of the blind (Behrām), for grabbing the kingdom.” Somebody made this slanderous report to the Sultān.

*Notes*

1. Actually to whisk him away from the prison.
2. This Malikzādā was an eye-sore for the Sultān (refer verse 102 earlier).
3. The actual name of Behrām's son has not been given here.

VERSE 144: MALIKZĀDĀ IS THROWN  
INTO THE PRISON

सर्वस्य हरणं कृत्वा कण्ठ्यां बद्धुमादिरात्<sup>१</sup> ।  
क्रुतेन तेन तद् द्रिष्टो न कः सौख्यं समासदत् ॥ १४४ ॥

After depriving him of all his belongings (the Sultān) ordered that he (Malikzādā) be thrown into the prison. On hearing this, all his foes, felt very much relieved.

*Note*

1. V.l. बद्धु for क्नु (*VVR*, p 161).

VERSE 145

प्राक्षेपैर्जिता यद्वतेन श्रीन्यायवर्जिता ।  
तद्प्राक्षेपतस्तस्मान्नीता उजाधिकारिभिः ॥ १४५ ॥

In the very same manner, in which he had accumulated wealth through unjust extortion, the Sultān's officers forcibly stripped him of all he possessed.

## VERSE 146

उत्कोचमुद्रादानादितत्तदायासकारणात् ।  
स विपत्पतितो नाभूत् कस्यापि करुणावहः<sup>1</sup> ॥ १४६ ॥

On account of accepting money by way of illegal gratification as also making (people) uncomfortable in many ways, nobody took pity on him in his plight.

## Note

1 It appears that he had been not only dishonest but also oppressive. Hence everybody was happy at his discomfiture and nobody sympathised with him.

## VERSE 147

कदर्यं हस्ते क्षणं सौख्यनिष्ठं  
विशत्यशुद्धं<sup>1</sup> प्रसप्तं धनं यत् ।  
कष्टेन निर्याति तदेव कृष्टं  
शुनीषणे लिङ्गमिव प्रविष्टम् ॥ १४७ ॥

The unclean riches which find their way into the hands of a miser giving him momentary pleasure, are very hard to snatch away from him like the phallus having penetrated into the vagina of a bitch.

## Note

1. The riches collected by unclean means.

## VERSE 148

एकैकं सञ्चितं वस्तु क्रष्टुं<sup>1</sup> कष्टेन तत्करात् ।  
नियुक्तैः पीडनं कृत्वा बिलान्तर्गतं सर्पवत् ॥ १४८ ॥

Those (officers) commissioned with this duty could with great difficulty and after using third degree methods get away with each of his boarded belongings like a serpent gone into burrow.

## Note

1. V.I. कृष्टं for क्रष्टुं (VVRI, p 162).

VERSE 149: PŪRNA, THE BARBER, AND MALIKZĀDA  
DIE IN PRISON

पूर्णनपित<sup>1</sup> मल्लिकज्जादाद्या हृतं सञ्चयाः ।  
बन्धनस्थारिवरं पूत्वा ते सर्वे प्रमयं<sup>2</sup> ययुः ॥ १४९ ॥

Pūrṇa, the barber, Malikzādā and all others whose hidden wealth

was taken away suffered imprisonment for a very long time and (ultimately) died.

*Notes*

1. Refer ZRRT, II, 52.
2. Those all died while in prison, so to say.

VERSE 150: THEIR FAMILIES WERE  
ALSO CONVICTED

तत्तद्राज्याहिताकांक्षिकुले<sup>1</sup> तस्य क्षयावधिः ।  
शापः श्रीजैनभूपस्य प्रसारितभुजोऽभवत् ॥ १५० ॥

The curse of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn spelling disaster, for all those wishing ill of the kingdom, (now) spread its arms into their families.

*Note*

1. The families or the inheritors of Pūrṇa and Malikzādā were not also spared from being punished.

VERSE 151

मन्त्रै राज्यविवर्धनं कुरुत धोः सत्यं ब्रुते मन्त्रिणो  
नाशं स्वामिनि कुर्वतां नहि सुखं स्याद् परत्रेह च ।  
यैर्यैजैन महीपतावपकृतं पुत्रैर्नु<sup>1</sup> भृत्यैर्नु वा  
तैर्लब्धं फलमीदृशं तदहिता मात्सर्यधीस्त्यज्यताम् ॥ १५१ ॥

O ministers: for sooth try to bring prosperity to the kingdom with your (wise) counsel. If you think of destroying your master, you cannot find repose either here or hereafter. Those of the sons and executives of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn who had made him uncomfortable reaped what they had sown. So, banish feeling of envy from your minds.

*Note*

1. This reference pertains to Ādam Khān and Behrām Khān the first and the last sons of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn and so also all those civil servants who had goaded these princes to rebel and do evil deeds.

VERSE 152

अन्येऽप्युच्चावचास्तस्य सेवका ये तदाभवन् ।  
तदनिष्टकराः सर्वे तद्वत्तेऽपि प्रमियिरे<sup>1</sup> ॥ १५२ ॥

Those of the high or low officials, who were malicious towards

him (Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn) then, were also likewise taken away by death.

*Note*

1. The poet is gloating over the fact that all those who have ill-will against their late monarch, also died.

VERSE 153

यावद्दसति वसन्तस्तत्रादिलसन्ति सख्यं वृक्षाः ।  
तस्मिन्निष्टे नष्टे ब्रष्टच्छाया न वेष्टते ॥ १५३ ॥

As long as the spring is in full bloom, the black-bees revel without any pause; they feel benumbed when their much desired friend is no more, being orphaned of its patronage.

VERSE 154

पूर्वं जैनपुः सैदनास्त्रिदीन् समागतान् ।  
पैगम्बरान्वये जातान् पूज्यान् ज्ञात्वा महागुणात् ॥ १५४ ॥

During earlier times, Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn learning that Sayyid Nasir and others, (who were) seeking asylum (in Kashmir), as belonging to the line of the Prophet and very esteemed due to their great qualities...

*Notes*

1. Refer ZRRT, I, 7, 47; This branch of Sayyids was called Bāhiqis (TKHSN, p 199).
2. Presumably seeking asylum here in Kashmir.
3. Prophet Mohammed is meant here.

VERSE 155: SULTĀN ZAIN-UL-ĀBIDĪN MARRIED HIS DAUGHTER TO SAYYID NĀSĪR

प्रोच्छासन् करस्पर्शदर्शितगुलसत्कृतीन् ।  
स्वमुत्तादनमानेन योस्तान् गृह्यधिपान् व्यधात् ॥ १५५ ॥

(He) showed uncommon respect (to them) by giving a dignified seat to him (in his court), and (also) touched him with his hand. He offered the hand of his daughter to him in marriage, and as a token of honour made over the administration of a district to this clan (of Bāhiqis).

*Notes*

1. Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn gave a place of eminence to Sayyid Nāsir in his Court.

2. There is a custom with Muslims to touch the hands of an exalted personage and then caress their beard with it. It might also connote that Sayyid Nāsir was very junior in years to the Sultān, hence he patted him with his hands out of affection.

3. This regard towards Sayyid Nāsir prompted the Sultān to offer his daughter to him in marriage.

4. It seems that Behu pargana was made over to these Sayyid for administrative purposes (cf. ZRRT, II, 19).

## VERSE 156

तेभ्यः सैदज्यमालादीन्<sup>१</sup> राजा ज्ञात्वा तस्मिन्निताम् ।  
प्रत्यमुञ्चत्<sup>२</sup> तदा देशात् तत्सञ्जयमवञ्चयन् ॥ १५६ ॥

The Sultān sensing that Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn and others were hostile to them (Sayyid Nāsir etc.), after depriving them of all their possessions, sent them away from the country.

## Notes

1. It seems that Jamāl-ud-Dīn belonged to some other branch of Sayyid and could not bear up with the exaltation of Sayyid Nāsir. Hence, tried to conspire against him.

2. Sayyid Jamāl-ud-Dīn was exterminated from Kashmir, so to say.

## VERSE 157

स सैदनासिरो घन्यो गण्यो धुरि धनीषिणाम् ।  
यो विचार्यायति<sup>१</sup> राज्ञि सति देशान्तरं ययौ ॥ १५७ ॥

He, Sayyid Nāsir, foremost in the hierarchy of such nobles, deserves kudos, who presaging the shape of events to come left for countries beyond the territorial jurisdiction of Kashmiri Sultāns during the life-time of Sultān (Zain-ul-'Ābidīn).

## Note

1. Sayyid Nāsir might have been astute enough to anticipate the anarchy which would engulf Kashmir after the death of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, hence he left Kashmir for good. Srivara has perhaps alluded tactfully to the exile of Sayyid from Kashmir at the instance of indigenous Kashmiri factions (cf. below).

VERSE 158: SAYYIDS ARE EXILED  
FROM KASHMIR

सुतोपनयनाद् राज्ञः सुचिरं यैर्नृपायितम्<sup>१</sup> ।  
बहुरूपादि राष्ट्राधिपत्यं नित्यसुखोज्ज्वलैः ॥ १५८ ॥

The commissars of Behu and other parganas on account of having married the daughter of the Sultān (Zain-ul-'Ābidīn) did enjoy the status of a ruler for long with unending luxurious comforts.

## Note

1. A veiled reference to the interference of Sayyids with the administration of the country can be gleaned here. They had become virtual Sultāns, so to say. Local Kashmiri factions disliked them and were consequently driven out of Kashmir by the Sultān (Zain-ul-'Ābidīn).

## VERSE 159: SAYYIDS ARE IN A QUANDARY

इतस्ततो भ्रमन्तस्ते केचिद्दिल्लीपुरं ययुः  
केचिद्भिभवलोभेन पुनर्निष्कासिता अपि  
नारमन्त बहिर्देशे माघे मधुकटा इव ॥ १५९ ॥

Some (amongst these Sayyids) wandering from one place to the other went to the city known as Delhi. Some though having been exiled, but out of greed for riches, continued to stay in the countries on the outer fringe of Kashmir, like the black-bees in the month of Māgha.

VERSE 160: THE SAYYIDS ARE TREATED  
AS FOREIGNERS  
BY KASHMIRIS

प्राप्ता ये परदेशजा<sup>१</sup> कणभुजो देशेऽत्र संपद्युता<sup>२</sup>  
गर्भेत्यादिव विस्मृतात्मचरिताः कुर्युः प्रजापीडनम्<sup>३</sup> ।  
ते तत्पापभरेण नष्टविभवा निष्कासिताः स्वामिना  
गच्छन्ति हृदकृष्ट मत्स्यतुलनां तज्जीवनाशाकुलाः ॥ १६० ॥

These foreigners subsisting on mere particles of grains, having got access into this country became very opulent. Having forgotten their (earlier) way of life like a neo-nate, they perpetrated untold excesses on the people. Weighed down under the burden of their sinful ways, their prosperity jilted them and were (consequently) extorted by the Sultān, (the Sayyids) are (now) despaired of their life like fish drawn out of the pond.

## Notes

1. Śrīvara considers the Sayyids to be aliens, as Kashmiris must have regarded them at that time.

2. On coming to Kashmir they became very rich, since every honour was bestowed upon them for being the descendants of the Prophet.

3. These Sayyids gained because of their influence in the royal court and relentlessly fleeced the people. Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had a Sayyid wife, he married his daughter to a Sayyid and Prince Hassan also got the hand of a Sayyid girl. Hence their influence at the court was very great.

## VERSE 161: LOCAL KASHMIRI FACTIONS GOT UNITED

राजा 'नकैष्ठकुरैश्च' तैर्मार्ग पतिभिः<sup>3</sup> सह ।

निबद्धयौन' सम्बन्धकृतैक्यो मल्लिकोऽभवत् ॥ १६१ ॥

The Maliks cementing matrimonial alliances with the Rājānakas, the Thakurs and the Magreys became one with them.

## Notes

1. Consult notes ZRRT, I, 1, 88, supra.
2. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 1, 44, supra.
3. Cf, notes I, 88, supra.
4. It is rather strange that the poet has used the word 'sexual relations' and not 'marriage relations', while evidently the latter are meant.

## VERSE 162

सर्वतन्त्राधिकारेण' राजतन्त्रमखण्डितम् ।

ताजभट्टाय मल्लिको मुष्टिबद्धमिवाकरोत् ॥ १६२ ॥

By appointing Tāzi Bhaṭṭ as the chief of entire administration, Malik (Ahmed Yattu) preserved the solidarity of the kingdom, as also kept him under his thumb.

## Note

1. It can also connote the chief of all the wings of army. Persian chroniclers have recorded that Tāzi Bhaṭṭ was made Mir-Lashkar—the commander-in-chief (TKHS, p 190).

## VERSE 163: MALIK AHMED YATTU NURSES A GRUDGE AGAINST TĀZI BHATṬ

पुत्रीकृतोऽयं सद्गुण्यो मदाज्ञास्मात् स्फुरत्यलम् ।

इति तस्याक्षमिष्टादौ' मल्लिकः स्फूर्जितं न कम् ॥ १६३ ॥

"I have fondled (the Sultān) like a son, so my orders get executed through him." The Malik had not forgiven (Tāzi Bhaṭṭ) for such outbursts though a favourite of him at first.

## Note

1. We learn later that Ahmed Yattu and Tāzi Bhaṭṭ fell foul of each other (ZRRT, III, verse 358).

## VERSE 164: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY GETS DIVORCED FROM THE SAYYIDS FOR HIS SISTER

खसारं वीक्षते स्वल्पं' मार्गेशोऽपि ज्याहंगिरः ।

खसारं सैदनिर्मुक्ति<sup>2</sup> दत्तपत्राङ्कितां व्यधात् ॥ १६४ ॥

Jahāngir Magrey seeing that his sister had suffered in her status, got a duly registered divorce deed for her from the Sayyids.

*Notes*

1. It seems that the Sayyids treated their consorts of Kashmiri stock rather shabbily. It was perhaps due to the fact that the Sayyids thought that the Kashmiri Muslims were inferior to them.
2. A divorce deed.

VERSE 165

तन्मार्गेशाग्रजां राजानुमतेन प्रसन्नधीः ।  
अभ्यर्थ्य ताजिभट्टाय मल्लिकस्तामदापयत् ॥ १६५ ॥

Malik (Ahmed Yattu) of clear perception begged of Magrey (Jahāngir) to permit his elder sister to enter into wedlock with Tāzi Bhatt, to which the Sultān also agreed willingly.

VERSE 166: TĀZI BHATT MARRIES THE SISTER OF  
JAHĀNGIR MAGREY

ज्यहंगिरोऽपि मार्गेशः क्षितिपालानुरोधितः<sup>१</sup> ।  
स्वाम्रजार्पणमेतस्मै चक्षमे नयदक्षणीः<sup>२</sup> ॥ १६६

At the instance of the Sultān, Jahāngir Magrey possessing sagacious political acumen was successful in making over his elder sister to him (Tāzi Bhatt).

*Notes*

1. It seems that Jahāngir Magrey was a bit-reluctant to accept this proposal but agreed to it, on the insistence of the Sultān.
2. Politically awake Jahāngir Magrey thus earned the pleasure of Sultān and Malik Ahmed Yattu both.

It might also suggest that the Sultān must have not taken kindly to the local factions uniting through matrimony with each other. They could pose a veritable danger to him. Hence Jahāngir Magrey was so eager for the Sultān's consent. As a diplomat he wanted to banish every kind of suspicion from the mind of the Sultān with regard to this alliance.

VERSE 167

चञ्चरीका इवोद्यानं कुल्या इव महोदधिम् ।  
भाग्यभाजं समायाति कलत्राणि च सम्पदः ॥ १६७ ॥

As the bumble bees to the garden, the rivers to the ocean, in the same way, wives and good fortune repair to the lucky simultaneously.



## VERSE 168

तां मार्गेशकुलोद्यानकल्पवल्लीं फलप्रदाम् ।  
तैः संपूर्णगुणैः पूर्णा घट्टो लक्ष्मीमिवासदत् ॥ १६८ ॥

The Bhaṭṭ (Tāzi) discovered a wish-yielding creeper in the family-garden of Margīśa (Magrey) (in the form of elder sister) rewardingly desirable, overwhelmingly full of all the good traits, like the goddess of wealth and fortune.

## Note

1. With reference to 'Kota' Jona Rāja has also used the same phrase (*JRRT*, verse 169).

*Kalpavallī* is an imaginary creeper or tree in the heaven. It appears as if this lady was beautiful as well as rich, because these are the traits of goddess Lakṣmī.

## VERSE 169 SULTĀN HASSAN SENDS SAYYIDS ALSO INTO EXILE

सैद निष्कासनं नैव संपन्नं जैनभूपतेः ।  
हेलयेवास्य<sup>2</sup> पौत्रेण कृतमित्यवदज्जनः ॥ १६९ ॥

The people said—"banishing the Sayyids (from Kashmir) had not been accomplished (fully) by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, something which his grandson has done without any difficulty whatsoever".

## Notes

1 Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had also banished Sayyids from Kashmir, but had not accomplished it fully (cf. verses 156-160). He did exile the clan of Sayyids belonging to Jamāl but could not do so completely because his own daughter was married in a Sayyid family and some Sayyids were the relatives of Nāsir—his son-in-law. Later Sayyid Nāsir left Kashmir, not under pressure but of his own will.

2 Now Sultān Hassan could depend on powerful local Kashmiri factions, hence sent Sayyid away, lock, stock and barrel. Second line of this verse is the verbatim repetition of verse 139 earlier.

## VERSE 170: SULTĀN HASSAN TAKES TO ERECTING BUILDINGS

कृते निष्कण्टके देशे मल्लिकाह्वद सम्मतः ।  
प्रतिष्ठारसिको रजा तत्सभा च तदामवत् ॥ १७० ॥

With the unceasing (efforts) of Malik Ahmed, when the country had been cleared of impediments, the Sultān and his entourage took fancy towards constructing (new) buildings.

## Note

1. This word need not be confused with council of ministers which had been dissolved by the Sultān (cf. verse 142 *supra*).

It will mean here "those who gave him company"—the royal court etc.

**VERSE 171: SULTĀN HASSAN GIVES GOOD RULE  
TO THE PEOPLE**

विवाहोत्सवसद्वेश्मनाद्ययात्रादिमङ्गलात् ।

नापरामप्रहीचिन्तां सौख्यं सुखितो जनः ॥ १७१ ॥

The people exceedingly happy with the good rule, had no anxiety other than (celebrating) marriages, (erecting) presentable houses, (attending) dramatic performances, (undertaking) pilgrimages and other such auspicious engagements.

*Note*

1. सौख्यं can mean 'good rule'. But it can even connote local rule; the people of Kashmir having risen to power, when the foreigners had been sent away.

**VERSE 172**

पञ्चाशद् वत्सरे<sup>१</sup> राजा निर्ममे निर्ममे हितः ।

दिदामठे<sup>२</sup> नदीप्रान्ते राजधानीं<sup>३</sup> मनोहरम् ॥ १७२ ॥

During the fiftieth year, the Sultān with unrelenting favours erected a bewitching royal residence on the river bank at Diddāmaṭha (Dadmār).

*Notes*

1. The fiftieth year of local Saptarsi calendar, ie. 4550 equivalent to 1474 AD.
2. The hospice built by queen Diddā who ruled over Kashmir from 980 AD to 1003 AD (*KLRT*, VI, 332-368). This locality in Srinagar is now known as Dedāmar (*STRT*, p 260) between 6th and 7th bridge on the banks of the Jhelum.
3. At times Sanskrit chroniclers of Kashmir have taken this word to mean 'a retreat of Sultān' just a royal residence where the Sultān would stay temporarily for some days, and not the capital as it means in the general sense (cf. *ZRRT*, I, 3, 35 etc.).

**VERSE 173: A QUADRANGULAR BUILDING CONSTRUCTED  
AT DIDDĀMAṬHA**

धन्याहमन्या किं शून्या<sup>१</sup> इत्येवाम्बुनि बिम्बिता ।

स्फुरच्चतुष्पिका<sup>२</sup> हस्तैर्नृत्यतीव दिवानिशम् ॥ १७३ ॥

I feel blessed and (in no way) alone with (the royal resort at Didamar) reflected in the water, as if dancing effulgently day and night with its four-pillared hands.

## Notes

1. Apparently this resort at Didamar must have been lonely one. Sultān Hassan asserts that it was not lonely, because he could see the reflection of the four pillared building in the waters and it appeared as if it was dancing with its four hands.

2. It might connote a hall resting on four pillars or a quadrangular courtyard.

## VERSE 174

मद्वश्येन<sup>1</sup> कृता केनापीदृशीति दिदृक्षया ।

स्वर्णच्छत्रच्छलाद्यस्याः<sup>2</sup> प्राप्तो व्योम्नो दिवाकरः ॥ १७४ ॥

Who amongst my scions has constructed it? With a desire to ascertain it, the Sun has descended from the sky under the pretext of the golden cupola (over this royal resort).

## Notes

1. Śrīvara treats Sultān Hassan as belonging to the line of the Sun, ie, the solar dynasty.

2. This building, it seems, had a golden dome over it.

## VERSE 175

यत्कारु क्लृप्त कोणस्थ दारुगारुड<sup>1</sup> मूर्तिभिः ।

त्रस्ताश्चरन्तो नायान्ति पक्षिणस्तन्मण्डपेऽध्वना ॥ १७५ ॥

On the corners of this (golden dome) the craftsmen had carved out images of Garuḍa in wood, (on seeing which) the birds felt scared and avoided that route through the space.

## Note

1. Chief of the feathered race, a mythical bird, which is supposed to be the enemy of the serpent-race.

It is a very interesting comment in the contemporary art. Garuḍa is supposed to be the mount of Viṣṇu and its figure, carved in wood, was on the corners of the dome of a Muslim king's residence which is rather a strange phenomenon.

## VERSE 176

गोल्खातोनामिषा<sup>1</sup> रङ्गी माता दिदेव देवता ।

विशालां धर्मशाला<sup>2</sup> साय्यकरोन्मद्रसाख्यया<sup>3</sup> ॥ १७६ ॥

The queen mother Gul-Khatoon, of divine dignity like Diddā, built a spacious religious lodge named Madrasā there.

## Notes

1. Actual name of the mother of Sultān Hassan and wife of Sultān Haider was Gul Khatoon.

2. धर्मशाला : in usual daily parlance means a rest-house where no fee is paid, a free lodge. Apparently it was meant for a religious purpose.

3. It might have been a school (Madrasā) founded for teaching Arabic, the Quran and theology etc. It seems that this school was built at Diddāmatha itself.

**VERSE 177: THE SULTĀN INAUGURATES THE MADRASĀ**

यत्प्रवेशे<sup>1</sup> नृपस्तुष्टो मात्रा सह समागतः ।

पक्षमेकं व्यधाद् भूरिव्ययशालि महोत्सवम् ॥ १७७ ॥

The Sultān feeling very happy in company of his mother arrived to inaugurate this (Madrasā). He spent a fortnight there indulging in very lavish festivals.

**Note**

1. Sultān Hassan was the first to enter this Madrasā, presumably he inaugurated it.

**VERSE 178: THE SULTĀN BUILD A "KHĀNQAH" IN THE NAME OF HIS FATHER**

प्रतिष्ठामर्घनिष्पन्नां<sup>1</sup> निर्लोड्यानुचितां<sup>2</sup> नृपः ।

नगरे पितृपुण्यार्थं<sup>3</sup> खानगाहं<sup>4</sup> विनिर्ममे ॥ १७८ ॥

The Sultān in order to undo the partly established unbecoming reputation (of his father) built a Khānqāh (a monastery) in the city for (restoring) merit to him (his father).

**Notes**

1. Sultān Hader on account of his excessive drinking and other vices did not enjoy good reputation (cf, ZRRT, II, 208).

2. V.I. निर्लोड्य (VVRI, p 166).

3. पुण्य is merit. Good deed which bring merit in the next world.

4. खानगाह is the same as Khānqāh, ie, a monastery where Muslim mendicants live.

**VERSE 179**

कुलोद्धरण<sup>1</sup> नागस्य तटभूमौ महीपतिः ।

वह्निदग्धं नवं चक्रे राजवासं मनोरमम् ॥ १७९ ॥

The Sultān rebuilt the captivating royal resort consumed by fire on the banks of Kuloddharāṇa spring.

**Note**

1. Refer ZRRT, I, 6, 3.

## VERSE 180

विजयेशानदीप्रान्ते राजवेश्म नवीकृतम् ।  
भाति भाति शयान्मध्यरत्नं हारावलेखि ॥ १८० ॥

The royal resort, renovated on the river bank at Vijayeshā (Bijebahara) due to its confounding splendour shone like a central jewel in a necklace.

## VERSE 181

छत्रं यत्र स्फुरत्पत्रं<sup>1</sup> वितस्ताम्बुनि विम्बितम् ।  
प्रेक्ष्य तुष्टैः सुरैर्मुक्तमिव सौवर्णं पङ्कजम् ॥ १८१ ॥

Where the umbrella like (dome) platted with gold-leaves was reflected with a shimmer in the waters of the Vitastā, on seeing which it seemed that the gods feeling highly gratified had made a present of gold-lotus (to the Sultān).

## Note

1. This word means a gold leaf or a thin sheet of gold also.

VERSE 182: ROYAL HEADQUARTERS BUILT ANEW  
AT SOPORE

भाति सुय्यपुरे राजधानी राज्ञा विनिर्मिता ।  
पुरातनी<sup>1</sup> परकीणी<sup>2</sup> हसतीव सुधासिता<sup>3</sup> ॥ १८२ ॥

The (new) royal headquarters built by the Sultān at Suyyapura (Sopore) catch the eyes with its nectar-like whiteness, as if jeering at the old (headquarters) infested with people not belonging (to royal blood).

## Notes

1. Reference is to the old headquarters built by Sultān Zain-ul-ʿAbidin the grandfather of the contemporary Sultān.

2. The purport being that the earlier headquarters were not now fit for the use of royal entourage. Those had become dilapidated, so as to become dens of the enemies. This can be another rendering of this phrase (V.I. दण्डी, (VVRJ, p 166).

The later reading will also mean dilapidated.

3. सुधा also means lime, cf. सौष.

## VERSE 183: ROYAL RESIDENCE BUILT AT ANANTNĀGH

राज्ञा कृतैरनेकाक्षै<sup>1</sup> खोद्याने<sup>2</sup> राजवेश्मभिः ।  
तद्दर्शनादनेकाक्षो नूनं स्वमभिनन्दति ॥ १८३ ॥

The Sultān got many royal residences built in his personal orchard at Anekākṣa (Anantanāgh) on which the Lord of gods—Indra—feeding his eyes thinks himself gratified.

*Notes*

1. This can be taken as the Anyeca pargana which included Anantanāgh as well as the tract immediately south and west of it (STR7, II, p 467).
2. This might have been his personal jagir, gifted to him as a prince.

VERSE 184

प्रतिष्ठविहिता राज्ञ नवा या निजमण्डले ।  
अन्यास्ता वर्णिता नात्र ग्रन्थगौरवतो मया ॥ १८४ ॥

Other new structures which the Sultān got put up in his kingdom, I have not described for (fear of) enlarging my composition.

VERSE 185

दिशमठेऽहमदायुक्तः कृतातुलगृहावलिः ।  
मसो'दागुजिरो'दारु शिलापिति' विराजितम् ॥ १८५ ॥

Ahmed Yattu, the builder of rows of houses at Diddāmaṭha (Didāmar) embellished a mosque and an ante-chamber with the wood and stone-foundations.

*Notes*

1. It is Sanskritized form of Kashmiri *Masid* (Masjid), a mosque.
2. It is Persian word *Hujira*—an ante-room, adjoining a mosque meant for solitary meditation.
3. Śrīvara would like to convey that wood and stone which had been used earlier by queen Diddā (980-1003 AD) in building a *maṭha* there, had now been used for building a mosque by Ahmed Yattu. In other words 'Diddāmaṭha' was converted into a mosque.

VERSE 186: A KHĀNQĀH IS BUILT AT THE SITE  
OF 'DEDAMAR'

खान'गाहेति विख्यातं धर्मवासं<sup>2</sup> विनिर्ममे ।  
येन नानादिगायात तत्तत्पथिकशालिना ॥ १८६ ॥

Erecting a religious sanctuary there, known as the famous Khānqāh, which was always thronged by wayfarers coming from various directions.

## Notes

1. Persian 'Khânqâh' means a place where *Darveshas* or savants live. This locality is known as 'Khânqâhi Sokhtâ' now, as it was burnt down later on.
2. A place of worship, a religious sanctuary.

## VERSE 187: THE SULTÂN INAUGURATES THIS KHÂNQÂH

दिदामठं पुं सर्वं ययौ नेत्राभिरामताम् ।  
प्रवेशे नृपमानीय षष्टिलक्षकृत व्ययम् ॥ १८७ ॥

By virtue of which the entire vicinity of Diddāmaṭha attained a form which delighted the eyes, (Ahmed Yattu) brought the Sultân to inaugurate it and spent sixty lakhs (on this occasion).

## VERSE 188: AHMED YATTU'S WIFE ALSO BUILDS A HOSPICE

दत्त्वा सति पुष्याग्रामं<sup>१</sup> सत्रं<sup>२</sup> यत्रावतारितम् ।  
शाहाभिघास्य भार्यापि मठं सुकृतकर्मठम् ॥ १८८ ॥

The village called Setipuṣa was attached to it as a permanent gift. By his (Ahmed Yattu's) wife named Shāhā for reaping virtue a hospice...

## Notes

1. It has not been possible to locate this village today.
2. It might connote an open house or *Waqf* as well. Muslims often attach some property through the income of which such religious endowments can be run smoothly. This kind of institution is called *Waqf* literally meaning reserved here for religious purposes.

## VERSE 189: AHMED YATTU'S SON NAUROZ ALSO FOLLOWS THE SUIT

खेरी<sup>१</sup> विषय मार्गान्तिर्निर्ममे सप्रतिग्रहम् ।  
तत्पुत्रो नौरुजायुक्तः कृत्वा धर्ममठं नवम् ॥ १८९ ॥

Was built on the road leading to 'Kheri' Pargana with utmost gratitude. Her son Nauroz Yattu after erecting a fresh religious convent...

## Note

1. According to Stein this Kheri is the present day Khur-Varvar which comprises as the fertile valleys descending from the Gulāb Garh and Muh passes of the Pir Pantsal to the Veshau river (STRT, I, 335 note).

The reference quoted above also informs us about the existence of *maṭhas* at

Kheri during the Hindu rule. These presumably might have been converted into mosques or *Serai*s for the travellers now.

#### VERSE 190

नगरात्<sup>1</sup> क्षिप्तिकां<sup>2</sup> यावच्छैल सेतुं नवं व्यधात् ।  
तद्द्वीपे सति यो हन्ति सर्वेषां पुरवासिनाम् ।  
स्तम्भनिर्मितदीर्घाश्मसेतुबन्धं कुतूहलम् ॥ १९० ॥

The island thus formed would dispel the curiosity of all the citizens about the very long *Setu Bandha* of stones supported by pillars.

#### Notes

1. It might also connote *Nagar* or *Nagari* often used by Persian historians in place of Srinagar.
2. The *Kutkol* was a channel of Vitastā taken out near old Secretariat in Srinagar.
3. Reference is to Śrī Rāma's building a dyke over the sea for crossing over to Sri Lankā (*RMN*, VI, 43-46).

#### VERSE 191

भ्रातरावपि तौ धन्वावन्यौ रिगक नूथकौ<sup>1</sup> ।  
व्यधातां क्रमराज्यान्तर्मठौ सौधं मनोहरौ ॥ १९१ ॥

The two brothers Rigaka and Nūthaka, deserve laurels for having constructed two attractive white stuccoed hospices within Kramarāja (Kamraz).

#### Note

1. Reference to two brothers here, reminds us of Nala and Neela, who devised the *Setubandha* as given in the preceding verse.

#### VERSE 192 TĀZI BHATT ALSO BUILDS A CONVENT

ताजिभट्टोऽपि भूपालवाल्लभ्यविभवोर्जितः ।  
करालविषये जैनपुरीं मध्ये मठं व्यधात् ॥ १९२ ॥

Tāzi Bhatt too inspired by the patronage of the Sultān, built a monastery in the middle of Zainapur in Karāla Viṣaya (Pargana).

#### Notes

1. This has been identified as the Advin Pargana (*STRT*, I, 97 note).
2. Zainapur is called Zainapur now. This town was founded by Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin (*JRRT*, verse 864).



## VERSE 193

कुचदीनपुरी<sup>1</sup> मध्ये चक्रेऽश्म<sup>2</sup> रचनां न्वाम् ।  
इन्द्रोऽप्योक्षेत<sup>3</sup> तां सोऽपि भवेत् कर्मकुतूहली ॥ १९३ ॥

And got the stone-work done in the interior of Qudma-din-pura (Qutub-ud-Din pura). Had, Indra, the lord of gods stolen a glance over it, he too would have been eager to have such work done (in the heaven).

## Notes

1. Mohalla Qutub-ud-Din pura near Ali Dakal V I कुचदेनपुरी (VVRI, p 168).
2. It might have been a mosque or a convent therein, which was reconstructed with stone-work and profusely ornamented.
3. Indra's abode was deficient in such artistic stone work.

## VERSE 194: IDI RAINA BUILDS A KHĀNQĀH AT BALDIMAR

एद राजानको<sup>1</sup> राजवस्त्रशोभाधिकारभाक्<sup>2</sup> ।  
खानगाहं सुनिर्वर्त्य बलाढ्य<sup>3</sup>मठकान्तरे ॥ १९४ ॥

Idi Rājānaka (Raina) the officer incharge of ornamenting royal robes, after constructing a monastery (Khānqāh) within the Balādhya maṭha (Baldimar).

## Notes

1. Idi Raina (Rājānaka) comes into prominence later. Here he is referred to casually.
2. It might mean even *toshākhānā* where all the articles for the use of the king are stored. Idi Raina was officer incharge of this department.
3. This *matha* was built by Balādhya Chandra, the ruler of Lar Pargana when he had seized half of Snagar during the reign of Rāja Deva (1213-1236 AD) (JRRT, verses 81, 82).

## VERSE 195

नवः पितृविहारान्ते निजजन्मभुवोऽन्तरे<sup>1</sup> ।  
येन लोकार्ति हृच्चक्रे विहारः सुगृहोऽज्ज्वलः ॥ १९५ ॥

Who, the dispeller of people's misery, in the precincts of his land of birth and at the fringe of the convent, built by his father, constructed a brand-new monastery, with neat and clean house.

## Note

1. Land of birth.

## VERSE 196

मठाग्रहारं मस्जिद<sup>1</sup> विहार गृहपंक्तिभिः ।

त्रिशंखिणाः प्रतिष्ठास्ता मण्डले येन करितः ॥ १९६ ॥

(By constructing) hospices, endowments, mosques, monasteries and rows of houses, he (Idi Raina) caused to be built some twenty to thirty structures in the country.

## Note

1. मस्जिद (VVR I, p 169).

## VERSE 197

सर्वदर्शनसंपन्नप्रतिपादितदक्षिणे ।

प्रतिहार्यक्षणे येन कोटिरेक व्ययीकृता ॥ १९७ ॥

Paying fees to those well-versed in all philosophies, he spent a crore on the occasion of the house warming (of the buildings).

VERSE 198: FIRYA DĀMARA BUILDS A KHĀNQĀH  
AT NOWSHERA

स फ़िय्र डामरो<sup>1</sup> जैननगरे सत्र<sup>2</sup> सुन्दरम् ।

मसोदाहु जरोदरं खानगाहं विनिर्ममे ॥ १९८ ॥

Firya Dāmara, built a mosque along with spacious meditation-cells and a lodge for the savants (Khānqāh) providing free boarding in the town of Zain-Nagari.

## Notes

1. Firya Dāmara must have wielded much influence with the Sultān as he had remained with his father Sultān Haider Shāh through thick and thin (ZRRT, I, I, 94 etc.).
2. A free kitchen where destitutes would get a free meal.

## VERSE 199: QUEEN HAYĀT KHĀTOON BUILDS A HOSPICE

हयात खातोना<sup>1</sup> उजबल्लमा विभवोज्ज्वला ।

मृगवाटापिधे<sup>2</sup> स्थाने मठं दग्धं नवं व्यधात् ॥ १९९ ॥

Hayāt Khātoon of meticulous grace and beloved of the Sultān, got the burnt hospice built anew at a place called Mrgavāṭa.

## Notes

1. She was the daughter of Sayyid Hassan and was married to Sultān Hassan

(TABAK, pp 450-680). She gave birth to Prince Mohammad who ascended the throne of Kashmir later.

2. Literally the pen or 'enclosure for rearing the deer'. Kings in general had often shown their taste for maintaining a deer-park. It might have been the case here also.

It might even indicate a particular place named as such. This cannot be identified specifically now.

VERSE 200: QUEEN MARIAM KHĀTOON ALSO BUILDS  
A MONASTERY

मोमार खातोना<sup>1</sup> राजमहिषी स्वधनैर्नवम् ।

राजधान्यन्तिके जैननगरे स्वमठं व्यधात् ॥ २०० ॥

The queen consort Momāra (Mariam) Khātoon got a convent constructed with her own money in the suburbs of the Zaina-Nagarī.

*Note*

1. Apparently it must have been Mariam.

VERSE 201: QUEEN ZULAL ALSO BUILDS A KHĀNQĀH  
AT NOWHATTĀ

जयरालाभिष्ठा<sup>1</sup> राजपुरी राजान्वयोदिता<sup>2</sup> ।

शेकन्धरपुर प्राप्ते खानगाहं नवं व्यधात् ॥ २०१ ॥

(The Queen) Jayarālā (Zulāl) by name, springing from the dynasty of the Rājā of Rājapuri (Rajouri) built a new retreat for divine (Khānqāh) in the vicinity of Sikandarpuri (Nowhattā).

*Notes*

1. Śrīvāra has recorded that Rājā Jayasimha of Rajouri had married his sister to Sultān Hassan when he was a prince (ZRRT, II, 146).

Jaya Pāla may be the Sanskrit rendering of Jalla or Zulāla—her name after being converted to Islam.

2. It seems that Sultān Hassan had three queens in his harem, Zulā Begum, Hayāt Khātoon and Mariam Khātoon in order of seniority respectively, while the first was a convert, the other two belonged to original Muslim stock.

3. This locality is now known as Nowhattā. It was founded by Sultān Sikandar, father of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin (JRRT, verse 589). Obviously the great grandfather of Sultān Hassan (v.l. शेकन्धरपुर, VVRI, p 169).

VERSE 202

श्री जैननगरे यस्या मसोदाहजिरादयः<sup>1</sup> ।

भान्ति प्रतिष्ठा यत्रैताः पुण्यकीर्तिमनोहराः ॥ २०२ ॥

Whose (Zulāla's) buildings including a mosque and a meditation

cell etc. built in Zain-Nagarī, shine in their virtue and heart-captivating fame.

*Note*

1 *Hujra* means a 'meditation cell'. It is a Persian word. *Masodā* is evidently a mosque.

**VERSE 203: FERA THĀKUR BUILDS A HOSPICE AT  
VIJAYEŚA (BIJEBEHARA)**

कर्मपत्यधिकारस्थो<sup>1</sup> नापितः<sup>2</sup> फेर<sup>3</sup> ठक्कुरः ।

विजयेश नदीपारे मठं चारुतरं व्यधात् ॥ २०३ ॥

The barber Fera Thākur appointed as the chief of executing (royal works) built a very beautiful hospice on the other side of the river at Vijayeśa (Bijebehara).

*Notes*

1 It connotes incharge of royal works. He might have been a chief superintendent of buildings at that time.

2 He might have been a barber by birth like Purna (ZRRT, I, 23).

3 We notice one Mir Thākur earlier. May be this Fera belonged to his clan (ZRRT, I, 1, 45).

These 'Thakurs'—foster-brothers of Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidin—fell from grace due to their own doings (ZRRT, I, 1, 44). Probably their descendants continued to be dubbed as barbers.

**VERSE 204 SAYYA BUILDS A BUDDHIST MONASTERY  
AT BIJEBEHARA**

सय्य<sup>1</sup>भाण्डपतिश्चक्रे<sup>2</sup> विहारं विजयेश्वरे ।

यो धर्मं सङ्गयुपकृद् बौद्धमार्गं<sup>3</sup> इवावभौ ॥ २०४ ॥

That Buddhist monastery which was built by Sayya, the caravan leader at Vijayeśvara (Bijebehara) for the benefit of the Dharma and Saṅgha, shone very conspicuously.

*Notes*

1 Sayya seems to be a Ladakhi, hence a Buddhist. Śrivarā has referred to *Sahya Desha* as Ladakh (ZRRT, I, 4, 50). Sayya might have been an original inhabitant of that place.

2 This epithet *Bhāṇḍapati* may be explained in more than one way.

a) Śrivarā has referred to the canons as *Yantra Bhanda* (ZRRT, I, 1, 77). May be Sayya was the head of the artillery division in the Sultān's army.

b) *Bhāṇḍa* means goods, wares, merchandise etc. in Sanskrit. May be he was a caravan leader. Caravans were regularly coming from Ladakh to Kashmir. This rendering seems more plausible in the context of subsequent verse wherein Lakshman Mir the brother of Sayya has been referred to as a trader, merchant.

3 The doctrines of Buddha or the Buddhist faith. This monastery obviously was meant for the Buddhists, accompanying Sayya with his merchandise. It might also suggest that Buddhist faith was still in vogue at Bijebhara in those days.

VERSE 205: ROCK TEMPLE OF GANEŚA ALSO BUILT

प्रासादं<sup>1</sup> लक्ष्ममेराद्या<sup>2</sup> भ्रातरोऽस्य वणिम्बराः ।

भीमस्वामिगणेशस्य व्यधुः शैलमयं<sup>4</sup> नवम् ॥ २०५ ॥

His (Sayya's) brother Lakṣma Mer and others, merchants of repute, built a fresh imposing shrine of Bhīma Swāmi Gaṇeśa carved out of stone.

Notes

1. This will mean a palatial shrine or temple. At present this shrine is not as imposing as, when it was constructed.

2. Mir must have been the title conferred on this merchant. Such convention of conferring Persian titles on Hindus had always been in vogue during the Mughal rule in India and also during the reign of Budshah in Kashmir (ZRRT, I, 3, 51).

3. Srivara had taken Bhīma Swāmi as the synonym of Gaṇeśa—the elephant-faced son of Lord Śiva and Pārvatī. Actually Bhīma or Bhīma Swāmi is the name of Lord Śiva.

4. The reference being to the rocks at the foot of Śārika-Parvat on which this shrine stands even today.

VERSE 206: STAUNCH MUSLIMS DO NOT TAKE KINDLY TO SUCH HINDU SHRINES

तद्गणेशालयं दृष्ट्वैवोन्नतं सुधयासितम् ।

द्वेषान्लेच्छमुखं<sup>1</sup> चित्रं भवत्येवासितं नतम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ २०६ ॥

Casting a glance over that holy abode of Gaṇeśa, painted immaculately in white, the faces of the rabid Muslims, surprisingly enough, became black and drooping.

Notes

1. The Muslims not friendly with the Hindus can be another rendering here.

2. Construction of Hindu shrines was never liked by the staunch Muslims, who thought that such a thing stood in the way of conversion.

VERSE 207: OTHER HINDU TEMPLES ALSO BUILT BY PUBLIC MUNIFICENCE

अन्येऽप्युचावचा वेश्म प्रतिष्ठा विविधा व्यधुः ।

याभिः स्वर्गोपमं भाति मण्डलं वेश्म मण्डितम् ॥ २०७ ॥

Others also erected temples of various denominations, large or

small, by which this country ornamented by such holy places, shone like the heaven itself.

VERSE 208

देशेऽस्मिन् विभवो भवन् कति नते यैः सञ्चयार्थे वयः  
संनतं न ततो मृतरूपहृताप्येककिनी ककिनी  
सोऽहं लब्धपदः करोमि यदि नो धर्मं प्रतिष्ठादिभी—  
रिक्तोऽयम्यमुतोऽचिरादिति मतिः पुण्यात्मनो जायते ॥ २०८ ॥

This country has produced so many affluent personages who stored wealth throughout their lives, and on their death could not even carry a single hoarded cowrie with them. Hence if I attain position and do not spend for religious endowments, then I shall have to depart from here sooner (or later) with arrears. Such kind of thinking is nurtured by the virtuous alone.

*Note*

The poet has made this observation, because he found quite a few royal ladies and others building religious mansions and doing other such meritorious deeds.

VERSE 209: THE CONVENTION OF CONFISCATING PROPERTY OF ADVERSARIES IS DISCONTINUED

कोपोद्दीपे नरेन्द्रस्य वेगादपि समुत्थिते ।  
द्विषामधोगतिर्जाता न तु तद्देश्मनां<sup>1</sup> क्वचित् ॥ २०९ ॥

Whenever the Sultān will run in an instant rage, he would humble the opponents but not (confiscate) their houses.

*Note*

1. We have seen earlier that the property of Abhimanyu Padru and others was attached by the state (ZRRT, III, 132). Probably he had realised that punishing the family was not very fair.

VERSE 210

योऽभूद् राजविरुद्धानां दण्डस्तद् गृहलोठनम् ।  
तद्राज्ये प्रथविष्णूनां तद्विकल्पोऽगलदधृदः<sup>1</sup> ॥ २१० ॥

The (old convention) of ransacking the house etc. of the persons of influence in the kingdom, inimical towards the Sultān, as a punitive measure was now dropped.

Note

- 1 It means how the attitude had changed in this regard.

VERSE 211: INDISCRIMINATE FELLING OF TREES

किमन्यद्वेशमनिर्माणव्यसने शाख्युपद्रवात्।

जाता वनभुवः शून्या द्विषां वसतयो यथा ॥ २११ ॥

What else (to say)? Indiscriminate felling of trees, used disproportionately in building houses rendered the forest land as desolate as the haunts of the enemies.

Note

Probably moved by the Sultān's building-spree, the people also took to putting up new structures. What could be cheaper and more easily available than wood? The poet is unhappy on this score.

VERSE 212: TAKKĀ STRUCK IN AN ALLOY OF STEEL,  
ZINC AND TIN

श्री तोरमाणदीनारान्<sup>1</sup> निष्चारानवेत्य<sup>2</sup> च।

द्विदीनारी<sup>3</sup> नागमयी<sup>4</sup> नवा तेन प्रवर्तिता ॥ २१२ ॥

Having noticed that the *dinārs* (*dinnāras*) introduced by the illustrious Tormāṇa, were going out of circulation, he (the Sultān) struck a fresh 'two dinnārī' in an alloy of steel, zinc and tin.

Notes

1. Apparently the *dindra* of Tormāṇa was also a small coin ~~and~~ commonly by the people.

According to Kāthāṇa, Tormāṇa put into circulation *dināras* struck in his own name (KLRT, III, 103). However, there is mention of Tormāṇa the second also in *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī* (V, 233) but he did not strike coins.

2. Presumably these might have gone into disuse for being in circulation for centuries together. It might also suggest that the Sultāns did not introduce any kind of new currency but continued with the older one being in vogue from the Hindu period.

3. Obviously a small coin till recently known as *takkā*, the value of which was two pice or 1/32 of a rupee.

4. In the subsequent verse we are told that owing to the scarcity of copper and subsequently the probable decrease in use in the mint, the nominal value of *dinnāra* had gone down. Perhaps Śrīvara would like to inform us that the 'two dinnārī' was struck in an alloy of steel, zinc and tin, called *Nāga* in Kashmiri. Lexicographers have often used local 'words' along with Sanskrit to indicate which the Sanskrit dictionaries have used the letter. (cf, Sir M. M. Williams, *Skt-Eng. Dictionary*, page XXXV, introduction).

## VERSE 213: COIN OF TWENTY FIVE GETS DEVALUED

पञ्चविंशतिको<sup>१</sup> योऽभूत् पुराणस्ताम्रनिर्मितः<sup>२</sup> ।

किञ्चिद्दूनीकृतश्चाभूद् द्रव्याप्राचुरलक्षणात् ॥ २१३ ॥

Due to the portents indicating scarcity of this metal, the coin of twenty five struck in copper in ancient times, was somewhat devalued.

## Notes

1. The coin which fetched twenty five *dinārs* in exchange.
2. This coin used to be struck in copper from the ancient times.
3. Due to the scarcity or non-availability of copper this coin was not struck in as much copper as it used to be earlier. Hence, its exchange rate got reduced and ultimately got devalued.

## VERSE 214 THE OYESTER IS SEPARATED AFTER OBTAINING THE PEARL FROM IT

मुक्तामणिं नृपतिमौलिषु योग्यमूर्ति

या वर्धयत्युपनतेन पयोधरेण ।

सा पावनी शुचिरुचिर्जननी सुमुखा

संगच्छते न चिरकालमनेन साकम् ॥ २१४ ॥

The pearl fit to be placed on the crown of the kings, nursed with bent down breasts by the pious, meticulously virtuous, ever-effulgent and presentable mother (oyster) does not remain with it for long.

## Note

1. A time comes when the oyster, the mother of pearls, must separate from the pearl. So had the time come on the Queen mother, to go.

## VERSE 215

सा शुक्तिकास्य जननी जननीतचिता ।

साध्वीव तिष्ठति चिरं वरभुक्तिकामा<sup>१</sup> ॥ २१५ ॥

That oyster like mother of his (Sultān) very popular with the people, did live for appreciably long span, like a pious lady, (now) desiring to enjoy the company of her spouse.

## Note

1. She wanted to share the company of her dead husband, i.e. passed away. The poet's hint could be towards physical union as well as spiritual.

This *śloka* is not included in the VVR/ edition text. However it is given in the footnotes (cf, p 171).



VERSE 216 : GUL-KHÂTOON, MOTHER OF THE SULTÂN  
BRETHES HER LAST

शैशवे स्वपयो दत्वा<sup>1</sup> राजा संवर्धितो यया ।  
गोल्खातोनास्य जननी साकस्मात् त्रिदिवं गता<sup>2</sup> ॥ २१६ ॥

Gul Khâtoon (the Sultân's mother) who had made him grow up in his childhood with her own milk, suddenly departed for heaven.

Notes

1. Royal-children were usually entrusted to wet-nurses for being fed with their milk (ZRR7, 131, 59). Herein, Gul Khâtoon fed Prince Hassan as an infant on her own milk.

2. त्रिदिव is the third and the most sacred heaven (MW, 458).

VERSE 217: GUL KHÂTOON WAS A RESTRAINING FORCE  
ON THE SULTÂN

कोपौर्वीकृते<sup>1</sup> राजस्तस्मैरलात्मनः ।  
सततं प्रतिबन्धाय<sup>2</sup> सिन्धोवेलेष याऽभवत् ॥ २१७ ॥

When feeling disturbed with rage, like submarine fire, the Sultân would be beyond himself. She (Gul Khâtoon) would always act as the bank of the ocean exerting restraint on him.

Notes

1. It is believed by Hindu tradition that an ocean nurses fire under its watery surface (Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I, chapter 14).

2. The Sultân's mother Gul Khâtoon, would always restrain him from taking any precipitate action.

VERSE 218: GUL KHÂTOON WAS VERY TOLERANT  
TOWARDS THE HINDUS

तां हिन्दुकसमाचार<sup>1</sup> शतपत्रविप्रभाम् ।  
स्मृत्वा सरुदितकन्दं शुशोच सकलो जनः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २१८ ॥

Remembering her who was like the lustre of the sun for the lotus, signifying collective conduct of the Hindus, everybody grieved and wept loudly (on her demise).

Notes

1. This phrase would connote the collective conduct of Hindus, i.e. their way of life, beliefs, ceremonies etc.

2. The entire population including the Hindus went into mourning.

## VERSE 219: THE SULTĀN PUTS ON BLACK ROBES

तथा वियुक्तस्तत्कालं राजा कृष्णाम्बरम्बरः<sup>1</sup> ।  
दिनश्रियेव पक्षोऽभूद् दुःख संकुचिताननः ॥ २१९ ॥

On being separated from her (mother) the Sultān, there and then put on black garments and his face drooped down with grief, like the lotus deprived of day light.

## Note

1. Wearing black robes signifies mourning for Christians, Jews and Muslims.

## VERSE 220

ग्राहयित्वांशुकं<sup>1</sup> शुद्धं व्यतीते दिन सप्तके<sup>2</sup> ।  
सव्ययं<sup>3</sup> मल्लिको राज्ञो व्यधात् दुःखनिवारणम् ॥ २२० ॥

At the expiry of seven days, Malik (Ahmed Yattu) made him (the Sultān) wear clean robes, and incurring great expenditure (by way of charity etc.) made the Sultān come out of grief.

## Notes

1. After the mourning was over, the usual robes were donned by the Sultān.
2. Among Kashmiri Muslims mourning does not continue for seven days. It is usually over by the Friday subsequent to the death of a person when *Fatihā* is recited at the grave of the deceased.
3. At the time of recitation, the congregation is served tea etc., and alms are given to the needy.

## VERSE 221

शाहामदीन<sup>1</sup> पुर्यत्तनौ सेतुं विपुलं नवम् ।  
तद्वनेनादिशत्कतु<sup>2</sup> तत्पुण्यसिद्धये<sup>3</sup> महीपतेः ॥ २२१ ॥

For ploughing back immense virtue (to her mother), the Sultān ordered the construction of a spacious new bridge of boats within Śāhabdinpura (Śādipur) from her (private) funds.

## Notes

1. Presently Shādipur founded by Sultān Shāhāb-ud-Dīn 1354 to 1373 AD at the confluence of Vitastā and Sindh.
2. The personal coffers of Gul Khātūn are meant here. It might even suggest the Zakāt money left behind by the Queen-mother for such benevolent works.
3. V.I. पुण्यद्वय for पुण्यसिद्धये (VVRI, p 172).

## VERSE 222

अभूत् सैदान्वये जाता वल्लभा या महीपतेः ।  
हयात् खातोना' रञ्जी प्रेमाश्वास विलासभूः ॥ २२२ ॥

Queen Hayât Khâtoon, the scion of Sayyid dynasty, to whom the Sultân was very much attached, became the sporting ground of (his) love and confidence.

## Note

1. Śrīvara has already said that Hayât Khâtoon was the most loved queen of the Sultân (III, 199).

## VERSE 223

पदार्थान् घोषभूषादिपरिवारसमन्वितान् ।  
अनन्यरसिको रजा तस्यै सर्वं समर्पयत् ॥ २२३ ॥

That uncommon lover, the Sultân, allowed her the use of well furnished dwelling with all the articles (of decoration) and a bevy of maid servants.

## VERSE 224

तयैकयैव रजेन्दुः सुन्दरगुणत्रया ।  
अविन्दत् परमानन्दं मालत्येव मधुव्रतः ॥ २२४ ॥

That moon amongst the Sultân (Sultân Hassan) on account of her wealth of beauty, and sterling qualities, derived the acme of pleasure from her alone, like honey-bees from white fragrant jasmine.

## VERSE 225

विषये सति भवति भवे कस्यचिदेवेप्सितो' लाभः ।  
वर्षति येषे कृषिकृत् कोऽपि मणिं मौक्तिकं लभते ॥ २२५ ॥

In this world only some one though in affluent circumstances, sees his desires consummate. At the pouring of rain some (fortunate) farmer alone does find jewel or a pearl.

## Note

1. Reference is to the other queens of Sultân Hassan, who seem to have been ignored by him, being eclipsed by Hayât Khâtoon.

VERSE 226: PRINCE MOHAMMAD KHAN IS BORN

महाराज्यां महीभर्तुरस्यां राजसुतोऽजनि<sup>1</sup> ।  
यस्य महदखानाख्यामकरोन्मौसलोचिताम् ॥ २२६ ॥

This very senior-most queen, of the Lord of the country (Sultān Hassan) gave birth to a prince who was named Mohammad Khān according to Muslim rites.

*Note*

1. According to Hassan two sons Mohammad Khān and Hussain Khān were born to Hayāt Khātūn (TAKHS, Persian, p 210).

VERSE 227: THE PRINCE IS GIVEN TO TĀZI BHATṬ FOR HAVING BROUGHT UP

ततः पूर्वाधिकप्रीते ताजिभट्टे<sup>1</sup> स भूपतिः ।  
स्वसुते रक्षणयादात्<sup>2</sup> सिन्धुहिन्दुमिवेश्वरे ॥ २२७ ॥

Thereafter, the Sultān with redoubled joy, gave over this son of his to Tāzi Bhatt for being brought up, just as the ocean (gave over) moon to Lord Śiva.

*Notes*

1. Hassan has also corroborated this (TAKHS, Persian, p 210).
2. It might even mean for protection etc. Sultān Hassan fearing lest some mishap by way of court-intrigue should visit his son, made Tāzi Bhatt responsible for his watch and ward.

VERSE 228: PRINCE MOHAMMAD BORN IN 1478 AD

चतुःपञ्चाशद्वर्षेऽथ<sup>1</sup> वैशाखे नरनायकः ।  
पुत्रजन्मोत्सवानन्दममजद् व्ययसुन्दरम् ॥ २२८ ॥

In the month of Baisākh (April-May) during the fifty-fourth year (of the local calendar), the Sultān derived immense pleasure from celebrating the auspicious occasion of the birth of his son with handsome expenditure.

*Note*

1. Fifty-fourth year of local Saptarṣi Calendar, ie, 1478 AD.

VERSE 229: QAWĀLIS ARE SUNG AT THE HAPPY EVENT

विदग्धचर्चरीपाल<sup>1</sup>नर्तकीनटगायनान् ।  
उद्दिश्य त्यागसिक्केन<sup>2</sup> वैभवेन्रवणायितम् ॥ २२९ ॥

Towards the talented masters of Qawālī and the songs sung by dancing girls and actors, even those having a penchant for renunciation were indulgent like the god of wealth (Kubera).

*Note*

1. It connotes striking the hands to beat time or those singers who repeat the lines off and on. It might mean a form of 'Qawālī' here.

VERSE 230 : 'KHILAT' AWARDED TO NOBLES AND  
MINISTERS

पट्ट कौशेय' वस्त्राप्ती राज्ये श्रीजैनभूपतेः ।  
सामन्त सचिवादीनामासीत् सत्कार सिद्धये ॥ २३० ॥

During the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn the Jagirdars, the ministers and others were recipients of a turban and silken robes as a token of honour.

*Note*

1. It might mean *khilat* awarded by Sultāns which comprised a turban and a robe.

VERSE 231: PEOPLE ASSOCIATE MEANINGFULLY WITH  
THESE FESTIVITIES

तद्वाज्ये विषयोदारव्यये सा प्राकृतालयात् ।  
उत्सवे चर्चरीपाल नटयैः प्रापि तैरपि ॥ २३१ ॥

During those festivities on which money was spent lavishly throughout his kingdom, the Qawāls and actors got such kind of *khilat* from people of moderate means even.

VERSE 232: THE SULTĀN IS HIMSELF A MUSICIAN

स्फीतराजश्रिया प्रीतो नृपतिर्नवयौवनः ।  
आनीतगीत' विन्दुर्यः<sup>2</sup> संगीत रसिकोऽभवत्<sup>1</sup> ॥ २३२ ॥

The young Sultān flattered by his expanding royal prowess, by inviting a choir of master musicians, himself developed taste for music.

*Notes*

1. Having brought into Kashmir, or invited to Kashmir can also be the rendering here. The Qawālī was introduced by Amir Khusro in India. It seems that the Sultān invited Qawāls of repute from there. Hassan has clearly indicated that the Sultān had brought some twelve hundred Qawāls from India (TAKHS, Persian, p 210).

2. V.I. संगीतविद्वर्गः for संगीतविन्दुर्य (VVRI, p 173).

3. Hassan in the reference quoted above, has further stated that the Sultān would always be busy in listening to the music of Rabāb etc.

#### VERSE 233

सङ्गीतज्ञं ज्यहङ्गेर मार्गेशाद्या सुखोदिताः ।  
तारका इव चन्द्राग्रे<sup>1</sup> व्यरुचन्त सभासदः ॥ २३३ ॥

Fluent and facile musician, Jahāngīr Magrey and other courtiers, would seem glittering like stars before the moon.

#### Note

1. The inference being that the Sultān was a past-master in music.

#### VERSE 234: THE SULTĀN WITNESSES DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES

कृष्णचन्द्रावली<sup>1</sup> राज रूपाभिनय नैपुणात् ।  
राज्ञे वरनटा<sup>2</sup> नाट्यात् तद्दर्शनं कुतूहलम् ॥ २३४ ॥

The ace-actors by giving an excellent dramatic performance to *Kṛṣṇa Candrāvalī* quite befitting for a royal personage, made Sultān very eager for such shows.

#### Notes

1. Actually the reference is to Radhā the daughter of Brsabhān, who loved Lord Kṛṣṇa. After her name a drama has been composed in Sanskrit known as *Candrāvalī*.
2. The best of actors.

#### VERSE 235

प्रलम्बं कृतं कश्मश्रुदन्तं भ्रूविक्रियाञ्जलैः<sup>1</sup> ।  
तालानुसारितदभाव नाट्य हास्यकथाक्रमैः ॥ २३५ ॥

With the grotesque and fantastic movement protruding of false beards, teeth and eye brows, while keeping pace with the musical beats of time, the dramatic performances punctuated with humourous series of anecdotes...

#### Note

1. V.I. अञ्जलै for अञ्जलैः (VVR/, p 174).

#### VERSE 236: MIMICS ALSO GIVE THEIR PERFORMANCES REPLETE WITH LAUGHTER

अनेकमुख्यवाद्यैश्च प्राणिभाषानुकारकैः ।  
पण्डिता पण्डितो भण्डो<sup>1</sup> मूर्तो हास्यरसोऽभवत् ॥ २३६ ॥

By manipulating various notable musical instruments and imitating the speech of sentiment beings (animals also), these past masters in mimicry, the jesters made the sentiment of humour, life-like.

*Note*

1. This might connote bhāṇḍas of later times.

VERSE 237: A LUTE OF TEN STRINGS IS INVENTED

मल्ला हस्सन नामापि पितुरभ्यधिको गुणी ।  
प्रथमं दश तन्त्रीकां मोदवीणामकारयत् ॥ २३७ ॥

Mullā Hassan, more talented than his father, first of all invented a *modavīṇā*, with ten strings

VERSE 238 SRĪVARA HIMSELF RENDERS PERSIAN SONGS INTO KASHMIRI

भाषाभिगीत 'सामग्रीं' पारसीगीतकौशलम् ।  
तुम्ब वीणाधरः सोऽहं नृपाङ्गणोऽप्यदर्शयम् ॥ २३८ ॥

At the bidding of the Sultān, I also demonstrated my skill in rendering Persian songs into the local dialect (Kashmiri), on a lute made of hollow-gourd.

*Note*

1. It might even suggest that Śrīvara sang Persian songs in indigenous Kashmiri music.

VERSE 239: THE SULTĀN COMPOSES SANSKRIT VERSES

गाथागीतप्रियो<sup>1</sup> राजा स्वयं संस्कृतपद्यवित् ।  
नादशंसामयं श्लोकं रगालाप्येममब्रवीत् ॥ २३९ ॥

The Sultān, admirer of *Āryā* metre, as also himself being a connoisseur of Sanskrit muse, composed this verse in enrapturing musical notes.

*Note*

1. Herein this word *gāthā* can be interpreted in more than one ways. It might mean religious poetry. It might also connote the local dialect eg, Prakrit. It will also convey the use of *Āryā* metre.

An *Āryā* metre is regulated by the number of syllabic instants of which the first and the third quarters must each contain 12, second 18 and the fourth 15 syllables.

## VERSE 240

शृङ्गा येन समुल्लसन्ति तरवो वस्याभवेयुर्मृगाः  
 पत्रे<sup>1</sup> चावतरन्ति दैवतगणा जल्पन्त्यदृष्टा<sup>2</sup> अपि  
 यो दुःखे च सुखे च मूर्खविदुषोर्बालस्य वृद्धस्य वा  
 प्रायः प्रीतिकरो ममास्तु सततं श्रीनादनामा रसः<sup>4</sup> ॥ २४० ॥

“By virtue of which music, the dry trees bring forth blossoms, the deer became tamed, the gods (from above) descend into the (poetic) composition and even spell out what had not been seen (or thought of before), that which is very pleasing, both in pain or pleasure for a fool, the learned, the child or the old; that pleasure called as emanating from the lilting sound (of music), may always be with me.”

## Notes

1. It is the written matter, poetic composition etc. The gods reside in the poetry of highest excellence.

2. The blessings of gods inspire the poet to scale the heights of imagination.

3. नद is sound. The blessed sound as well as the sense glued with it. Prosody has been called as *Nāda Vidyā* also.

4. रस is sentiments.

## VERSE 241: THE SULTĀN IS A PROFICIENT SINGER

श्रव्यकण्ठे नृपो गीत्वा रागैकालपितो बहून् ।  
 रागान् समोच्यगीतांश्च साश्चर्यान्निस्तदाकरोत् ॥ २४१ ॥

At that hour, the Sultān rendered a single musical note, with his sweet voice into many chants of uniform or loud tenor giving a surprise to all of us.

## VERSE 242: ŚRĪVARA HEADED THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

अधगायनवृन्दं तत् प्रवेशय ममाग्रतः ।  
 गीताङ्गाधिपते राज्ञामदान्मे नृपनायकः ॥ २४२ ॥

That towering Sultān then ordered me, the head of the music-department, “Admit that choir of musicians into my presence”.

VERSE 243: WAHĀB-UD-DIN IS MASTER  
INSTRUMENTALIST

आनीय स्थापिताः सर्वे नामग्राहं निवेद्य च ।  
 ते ते बहाबदेनाद्याः सर्वाद्या वृन्दनायकाः ॥ २४३ ॥



The choir-leaders Wahāb-ud-Dīn and all others on being ushered in with their (respective) musical instruments and allotted a seat after mentioning their names, (the Sultān) addressed them thus:

## VERSE 244

निर्दोषकण्ठ सञ्जातमञ्जुल ध्वनिरञ्जकः ।  
अपीतगीतबद्धतमात्तद्रवकमट्टकाः ॥ २४४ ॥

Affording pleasure to the distinguished audience with your melodious voice coming out of your faultless throat (now) entertain (us) with what you have learnt about music which melts the heart.

## VERSE 245

शिक्षकाण्डयः पञ्च<sup>१</sup>स्वप्नप्रकृतिचञ्चलाः ।  
अमुञ्चन् पञ्चव्याजात् पञ्चपुरसंज्ञयम् ॥ २४५ ॥

You, the five master-musicians, very up and doing in your (respective) display (of talent), have collected the real sentiment of love in the guise of being five.

## Notes

1. Under the pretext or guise of five the number of these master-musicians. It might also suggest the Indian *rāga pañcam*.

2. It means cupid, the god of love having five flowers as his arrows.

## VERSE 246

संगीतज्ञं नृपं तं ते श्रुत्वैवं तत्समुत्सकाः ।  
गीते शब्दगुणाः पञ्च दश संख्यास्थितिं व्यधुः ॥ २४६ ॥

Those eager (musicians) on hearing (such a compliment) from the Sultān, the connoisseur of music, rendered a fine syllabic song into fifteen instants.

## VERSE 247

केदार<sup>१</sup> गौड गान्धार देश<sup>२</sup>भङ्गाल<sup>३</sup> मालवाः ।  
कर्णाटा गायना राज्ञो रगाश्चाप्यस्फुरन् पुः ॥ २४७ ॥

The musicians from Karmātaka displayed (their mastery) over Kedāra, Gauḍa, Gāndhāra, Deśa, Bhaṅgāla (Bengal) and Mālavā melodies before the Sultān.

## Notes

1. For these melodies and notes thereon refer *ZRRT*, I, 1, 25.
2. This melody is usually sung right from morning to sunrise.
3. At *ZRRT*, I, 1, 25 the word used is बंगाल and not पंगाल.

## VERSE 248

मदनोद्दीपिता<sup>1</sup> रात्रौ नव्यभाव्यदशोज्ज्वलाः ।  
अशोभन्तानुगा राशो लासिका<sup>2</sup> दीपिका अपि ॥ २४८ ॥

During the night, impelled by the sentiment of love, even the danseuses in the service of the Sultān displaying—ever new and faultless mental impulses—shone like the lamp-stands.

## Notes

1. These melodies had a very infatuating effect on these danseuses.
2. लासिका means a dancing girl or a harlot, a keep, or an unchaste woman (cf. *MW*, 899 also *PEDQV*). These female dancers would sing to the accompaniment of music. It might suggest that these danseuses kept rhythm with these melodies as referred in the foregoing verse, with the movement of their foot and voice.

## VERSE 249: HINDU DANSEUSES EMPLOYED AT THE ROYAL COURT

रत्नमाला दीपमाला रूपमालाङ्किताभिधा<sup>1</sup> ।  
अकुर्वत्लासिका लास्यं<sup>2</sup> हावभाव मनोहरम् ॥ २४९ ॥

These danseuses Ratna Mālā, Dipamālā and Rūpamālā by name performed a dance-drama accompanied by captivating coquettish gestures.

## Notes

1. These are Hindu names obviously. It seems that dancing etc. by women being forbidden by Islam, Muslim girls did not take up to this profession kindly. Hence such female dancers were either imported or groomed from amongst the Hindu population in the State. During the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-'Abidin also such institution of Hindu dancing girls was in vogue (*ZRRT*, I, 4, 10).
2. *Lāsya* is a soft dance-drama, representing the emotions of love. They say it was invented by Pārvati as opposed to the boisterous masculine dance called *Tāṇḍava* (*MW*, p 899).

## VERSE 250

झम्पाकम्पा कुलाग्र प्रसरसरसता<sup>1</sup> धारसर्वाङ्गहार  
प्रारब्धाशास्य लास्योत्तर तरललसद्भावभावानुभावा ।  
उत्कण्ठकारि कण्ठोद्गत सतत तत स्फीति गीत प्रपञ्चा  
पात्रीयं<sup>2</sup> रम्यगात्री लसति सतिलका कीदृशी रत्नमाला<sup>3</sup> ॥ २५० ॥

Absorbed in frolicking tremble, moving forward with her captivating limbs, showering charming flavour, initiating the dance of her choice, brilliantly punctuated with uninterrupted flow of coquettish gestures, kindling passions with her sweet voice, while rendering a bewitching song in high or low pitch, this Ratnamālā, with her attractive body sporting a *tilaka* is an actress par-excellence.

## Notes

1. It can mean perspiration also due to exertion involved in dancing.
2. It can also connote 'having appropriate credentials' for dancing.
3. It may also be taken as the necklace of jewels. But it seems to be a proper noun here.

## VERSE 251

गुणिमदतृणदात्री प्रेसक्कनन्ददात्री  
 नखकरण<sup>1</sup> विधात्री रूपलावण्यधात्री ।  
 कलित ललित गात्री शुद्ध<sup>2</sup>संस्मृति यात्री  
 गुणिगण मणि पात्री रूपमालैव पात्री ॥ २५१ ॥

Rūpamālā is also a seasoned actress, for being the gem like receptacle of a host of talents. She humbles the vanity of the eminent (in this field), provides joy to the spectators, manipulates the symphony of new pauses, possesses beauty and grace; her body is exquisitely pretty, and she fondles music in its pristine purity.

## Notes

1. It will mean a musical instant or a pause *laya* which is of three kinds, *Druta*, *Madhya* and *Vilambita* (*Bharat Nāṭya Śāstra*, XXXI, 5).
2. Might connote Kashmiri music, unalloyed and original.

## VERSE 252

यस्या मुखं हिमरुचिर्ननु यद्विधात्रा  
 संपूर्णपर्वमवशेषतयात्रमुक्तः  
 आस्थानतामुपगतोऽस्य<sup>1</sup>रुचायमास्ते  
 नासाग्र<sup>2</sup> मौक्तिकमिषादमृतस्य बिन्दुः ॥ २५२ ॥

Verily her face has been adorned by the creator with the whiteness of the snow, and the lusture of the snowy peaks is present there, and the pearl of her nose-ring, resting on the tip of the nose is resplendent like the solidified drop of nectar.

## Notes

1. Actually being surpassed, dazed, solidified etc.
2. This type of nose-ring with a pearl or bead in it, is worn on nasal septum, dividing the two nostrils. It is different from the nose-ring worn on the tip of left or right nostril. It is even now very popular in the hill areas, from Kashmir to Nagaland.

## VERSE 253

आसां कर्णालिक प्रोतलम्बि मुक्ताफलच्छलात् ।  
मुखेन्दोर्निर्गता नूनं लावण्यामृतं<sup>1</sup> बिन्दवः ॥ २५३ ॥

Forsooth under the guise of the pearls (necklace) dangling down from their heads to the ears, the nectar drops of beauty and grace were oozing out of their moon-faces.

## Note

1. लावण्यामृत = The nectar of beauty.

## VERSE 254

इत्यादिशंसां कुर्वाणो नृपतिर्नवयौवनः ।  
लीलामित्रैः समं ताभ्यो मद्यपात्रमगाहत ॥ २५४ ॥

In this way, the young Sultān along with his friends, while paying glowing compliments to (these female dancers), accepted a goblet of wine from them.

## VERSE 255

तत्तत्कला परिचये कविवाक्प्रपञ्चे  
पञ्चेऽनु संचयनिभासु वराङ्गनासु ।  
संगीत चर्वणविधौ वसुधानृधोगे  
धन्या नृपाः प्रतिदिनं व्यसनं भजन्ते ॥ २५५ ॥

Such kings deserve admiration, who get introduced to the respective talent of the courtesans as if cupid personified, in giving expression to what the poets compose; who (the kings) know how to relish music as well as (the pleasure of) the earth; so indulge in such pastimes every day.

VERSE 256: PAVAR KADANA, A MUSICIAN, COMES  
TO KASHMIR

श्रुत्वा दिगन्तरात् कीर्तिं राज्ञः कर्णामृतप्रदाम्  
गीतकाव्यकलाख्यातः पवार<sup>1</sup> कन्दनोऽभ्यगात् ॥ २५६ ॥

Having heard about the fame of the Sultān, providing ambrosia to the ears, one Pavār Kadana, renowned for his (proficiency in) music, poetry and fine-arts, came from outside.

*Note*

1. Pavār is corruption of Parmār, a warrior clan. However, the class of musicians as referred to here are professional 'Pavāria singers' seen in Uttar Pradesh. Kadanam or Gadnam (refer verse 266 infra) is the name of his caste.

VERSE 257

गायते सोऽनुगीतानि<sup>1</sup> स्वकृतानि सप्तान्तरे ।  
तुष्टो महीपतिस्तस्मै व्यधात् कल्क<sup>2</sup>वर्षणम् ॥ २५७ ॥

Singing his own compositions in response to the bidding (of the Sultān and others), in the audience-hall, the Sultān feeling very much pleased, showered gold on him.

*Notes*

1. This word can be construed in two ways:
  - a) A song composed at somebody's bidding;
  - b) It might also suggest songs composed after initiating compositions of celebrated authors, a parody etc.
2. It connotes rewarded him with untold wealth. It can also suggest that 'Gold coins' were showered over him while in the act of singing more ravishingly. We come across such scenes usually even now when money is showered on the talented singers.

VERSE 258: SARVALEELĀ—A KASHMIRI  
TALE IN POETRY  
EXISTED THEN

प्रबन्धगीत<sup>1</sup> चतुरः कदाचित् स नृपाग्रगः ।  
अगायत् सर्वलीलाख्यं<sup>2</sup> प्रबन्धं देशभाषया<sup>3</sup> ॥ २५८ ॥

Once he (Pavār Kadana) very adept in singing a serialised tale, sang a long ballad, named *Sarvaleelā* in local dialect.

*Notes*

1. A continued tale serialised in cantos. We have such tales in Sanskrit, Persian, even in Kashmiri e.g. Gulrez etc.
- Srivarā himself rendered Persian *Yusuf-Zulekhā* into Sanskrit captioning it *Kathā Kauluka*.
2. This poetic composition is not extant at present.
3. Herein it connotes Kashmiri—the local language. It needs not be confused with Hindi or Hindustani for which Srivarā has used the word *Hindusthān Vācā* (ZRRT, II, 215).

## VERSE 259: THE SULTĀN DID NOT KNOW KASHMIRI

अनभिज्ञतया<sup>1</sup> राज्ञा पृष्टोऽहं तस्य लक्षणम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
तूष्णीं भरतशास्त्रादेः सोदाहरणमब्रुवम् ॥ २५९ ॥

Not being conversant (with Kashmiri) the Sultān asked me about its (*Sarvaleelā*'s) salient characterisation, (in terms of story and music). Immediately quoted from *Bharata (Nāṭya) Śāstra* and other (treatises) along with examples.

## Notes

1. It seems that the Sultān had not learnt Kashmiri. The court language was apparently Persian.

2. The Sultān was a connoisseur of music himself, the barrier of language stood in his way for assessing the merit of *Sarvaleelā*. So, he asked Śrivarā about it. The Sultān knew Sanskrit also, hence Śrivarā could easily satisfy his curiosity by applying norms as given in *Bharata-Nāṭya Śāstra* with examples in this Kashmiri composition for bringing out the poetic excellence of this treatise.

## VERSE 260

पदपाठ स्वरैस्तैस्तु तालरागैर्मनोहरम् ।  
श्रुत्वा षडङ्गं ते मत्तो राजाभूदुदिताशयः ॥ २६० ॥

On lending ear (to the song) with perfection blending of syllables, recitation, expression, musical instant and modes, melody etc., comprising the six components of (a musical composition), the Sultān emancipated disposition felt drunk (with it).

## VERSE 261

तदगीतस्याङ्गं वैकल्यं<sup>1</sup> ज्ञात्वा<sup>2</sup> मामब्रवीदिदम् ।  
गीतदर्पभृता वादं कुर्वन्नेन सभान्तरे ॥ २६१ ॥

(But) having (also) comprehended the lapses in the harmonious co-ordination of (six) components in his song (the Sultān) addressed me thus: "Engage yourself in a competition with this puffed-up songster, just in this very audience-hall."

## Notes

1. It might mean lapses, defects, shortcomings etc.

2. The Sultān knew *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra*, hence could very well pin-point such defects in Pavār's rendering.

## VERSE 262

तथेत्युक्ते महाराजो द्वयोर्वादमकारयत् ।  
सभायां विहिते वादे गीतग्रन्थावलोकनात्<sup>1</sup> ॥ २६२ ॥

Having said so, the great Sultân made us measure talent with each other. At the conclusion of this competition in the hall and after consulting the treatises on prosody...

*Note*

1. Referring the controversy to the evidence as given in books on music.

**VERSE 263: A KASHMIRI IS PRAISED FOR HIS  
EXTRAORDINARY TALENT**

श्रुत्वा प्रबन्धाम्तः स साश्चर्यो गदनोऽभवत् ।  
अहो काश्मीरिकोऽपिदृक् चतुरः सर्वशास्त्रवित् ॥ २६३ ॥

Having heard the composition rendered by me, Gadana (Kadana) was wonder-struck. "It is very surprising that a Kashmiri like you, is so very proficient in knowing the (intricacies of prosody) as given in all the texts (on music)."

*Note*

1. Suggestive import being that a Kashmiri could not be expected to know so much about music, since he was quite cut-off from the mainland.

**VERSE 264: ŚRĪVARA IS AWARDED *KHILAT***

इत्युक्त्वालिङ्ग्य मां मे त्वं गुरुत्विब्रवीत् स्फुटम् ।  
कौशेयकपरीधानं प्रसादान्दिताशयम् ।  
अक्रोन्मां नृपस्तूणी तद्वादजयरीजितः ॥ २६४ ॥

Having said so, he embraced me and without mincing words acknowledged me as his preceptor. Being gratified by my victory over him in this (music) competition, the Sultân just at that very moment honoured me by the award of a silken robe making me exceedingly happy.

*Note*

1. Actually a *khilat*, as a token of the Sultân's consideration for the talent of Śrīvara.

**VERSE 265**

घोषाः<sup>१</sup> स्वोत्पत्तितोषा गतिगुणचतुराः पीवराङ्गास्तुरङ्गाः  
स्फुरितं यज्ञोपवीतं<sup>२</sup> कनकमणिचितं द्रव्यमन्यच्चभष्यम् ।  
वस्त्रोदघोताश्च पोत<sup>३</sup> निजवपुषि धृता वस्त्रयोगाः सभोगाः  
राज्ञा श्री हस्सनेन प्रसभ<sup>४</sup> मिह मयि श्रीवरे किं न दत्तम् ॥ २६५ ॥

Jagirs making my progeny comfortable, hefty horses very proficient in their speed and merit, a good number of *Yajñopavītas* studded with gold and precious stones, profuse wealth of various denominations, the boats embellished with cloth (curtains), the precious robes adorning his own body, Sultān Hassan bestowed all this on me (Śrīvara) forcibly.

#### Notes

1. It might mean a royal proclamation—*Pand*—a permanent endowment for him as well as for his heirs.
2. Ordinary *Yajñopavīta* is a simple affair made of cotton thread. Herein the Sultān gave him this sacred thread threaded with gold and pearls.
3. The pleasure-boats—profusely decorated barges.  
Herein Śrīvara seems to refer to Kashmiri adage, for going up a hill a horse, for going down stream a boat which signifies extraordinary luck of a person.
4. Without Śrīvara's asking for it, or against his wishes even.

#### VERSE 266: PANEGYRIES COMPOSED IN PRAISE OF THE SULTĀN'S FOREFATHERS

नयः शंसदेनोऽभून् मन्त्री चालाभदेनः<sup>१</sup> ।

वीरः शाहाभदेनः<sup>२</sup> स कुहदेनो विवेचकः ॥ २६६ ॥

Shams-ud-Dīn (Shahmeer) was a diplomat par-excellence, Alā-ud-Dīn was a good counsellor, Shahāb-ud-Dīn was valorous and Qutub-ud-Dīn possessed acute observation.

#### Notes

1. Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn (Shahmeer) was the first Sultān of Kashmir. He ruled over Kashmir from 1339 AD to 1342 AD.
2. Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn ruled here from 1343 AD to 1354 AD.
3. Sultān Shahāb-ud-Dīn was a brave conqueror and ruled over Kashmir from 1354 AD to 1373 AD.
4. Sultān Qutub-ud-Dīn's span of rule was 1373 AD to 1389 AD.

#### VERSE 267

श्रीशेखरशाहोऽपि यवनेन्द्रमत<sup>१</sup> प्रियः ।

आलि शाहोऽभवद्<sup>२</sup> दाता श्रीमाञ्जुन महीपतिः<sup>३</sup> ॥ २६७ ॥

Sultān Sikandar adored Islamic tenets, 'Alī Shāh was of charitable disposition and the great Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn.

#### Notes

1. Sultān Sikandar the iconoclast, who ruled Kashmir from 1389 AD to 1413 AD.
2. The highest dignitary of Muslims—Prophet Mohammed is meant here.
3. Sultān 'Alī Shāh the elder brother of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn who ruled over Kashmir from 1413 AD to 1420 AD.



4. Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn Budshāh ruled over Kashmir from 1420 AD to 1472 AD.

VERSE 268

सर्वशास्त्रप्रियः सर्व भाषाकाव्यविचक्षणः ।  
राजा हैधरशाहः<sup>1</sup> स तन्त्रीवाद्यविशारदः ॥ २६८ ॥

Had equal love for entire theological literature (of the Hindus and of the Muslims), was a connoisseur of poetry, couched in all languages. Sultān Haider Shāh was very proficient in manipulating all notes of a lute.

*Note*

1. Sultān Haider Shāh the father of Sultān Hassan ruled Kashmir from 1472-74 AD.

VERSE 269

संगीत निपुणः सोऽयं हस्सनेन्द्रो नरेश्वरः ।  
एकैकगुणबाहुल्या प्रसिद्धा नृपमण्डली ॥ २६९ ॥

This very Sultān Hassan, the Lord of the people, is quite adept in music. This line of Sultāns is famous for possessing one overwhelming distinction each...

VERSE 270: THE SULTĀN IS A POET AND A MUSICIAN  
CONCURRENTLY

मण्डलेऽस्मिन् जनैर्दृष्टेत्यवोचन्नुपतेः सभा ।  
श्रुत्वा राशो महागीतं रगा लप्तिमनोहरम् ।  
श्री ज्यहङ्गिर मार्गेश मुख्याः पादौ ववन्दिरे ॥ २७० ॥

The people of this land have been a witness to this all, thus proclaimed the Sultān's conclave of courtiers. On listening to the impressive song composed by the Sultān and rendered into catchy music, Jahāngir Magrey and other prominent counsellors would fall at his feet.

VERSE 271

देशेऽस्मिन् परवञ्चनात् प्रकुरुते लोको यदा सञ्चयं  
तत्तद्भर्मीविपर्ययेण च भजन् स्वाचारिणः सारताम् ।  
उत्पातैर्विविधैस्तदा समुदिताः संपीडयन्ति प्रजा  
दुर्वात्यानलदाह दुर्हिममहा शैत्यस्य भेदामयाः ॥ २७१ ॥

When the people of this country fill in their coffers by defrauding others, proclaim the futility of their inherent code of conduct on being converted to one or the other faith, then scourges of various kinds raise their head in the form of hurricanes, fires, unprecedented snow fall and intolerable cold in order to heap misery on the people.

VERSE 272: NEO-CONVERTS KILL A COW

कदाचित् पौरवणिजो गोवधं<sup>१</sup> नगरान्तरे<sup>२</sup> ।

म्राजमहिन्दुकाचारचक्रु<sup>३</sup> मौसलवल्लभाः<sup>४</sup> ॥ २७२ ॥

Once the city traders who had subscribed to Hindu way of life, right from their birth, killed a cow within the town for earning pleasure of the Muslims.

Notes

1. Cow-slaughter could be freely indulged in by Muslims by birth, but Śrīvara is pained to see that erstwhile Hindus, neo converts, plied this unworthy trade without any compunction whatsoever.

2. Under the very nose of surviving Hindus who had thronged the city for fear of safety. The suggestive import being that the country-side had embraced Islam and the Hindus who had not accepted this whole sale conversion were concentrated in the city.

3. These cow-killers might have embraced Islam very recently since at birth they had been Hindus.

4. These neo-converts wanted to demonstrate that they were more staunch Muslims than the others, more loyal than the king.

VERSE 273

यत्र गावो हता भुक्तं तन्मांसं तैर्दुःशयैः ।

सविहारः सनगरः शुद्धयै चाग्नौ<sup>१</sup> न्यमक्षिपत् ॥ २७३ ॥

The convent or a town, where cows were killed and their flesh taken by the depraved, consigned itself to fire for being purified.

Note

1. Advance notice of the devastating fire (cf, verse 277 infra) is given by Śrīvara here.

VERSE 274: A HURRICANE ENGULFS THE COUNTRY

अथ नैर्ऋत दिग्वातो जातोत्पातशताचितः ।

अकस्मादुदधूद् देशे प्रत्युहापात दुःसहः ॥ २७४ ॥

Suddenly the hurricane blowing from south-westerly direction, visited this country, bringing in its train myriad calamities, unleashing unbearable impediments.

VERSE 275: ASTROLOGY PREDICTS DOOM FOR  
THE COUNTRY

आरम्भ एव कोऽप्येतं श्लोकं सुनुर्विपरिचितः<sup>१</sup>।  
गणरात्रं समालोच्य दुर्वतिं तं महान्दुतम् ॥ २७५ ॥

Son of a learned person at the very commencement of this unprecedented terrible gale after studying its (bad effects) for many nights composed this verse.

*Note*

1. Obviously the son of a well-read astrologer is meant here. The son seems to have taken after his father.

VERSE 276

छरवर्णेन<sup>१</sup> मेघेन चन्द्रवर्णेन<sup>२</sup> भानुना ।  
नैऋतिनातिवृतेन<sup>३</sup> हा प्रजे क्व गमिष्यसि ॥ २७६ ॥

Alas: O people how can you escape from (the bad effects) of donkey coloured clouds, moon-coloured sun and the violent south-westerly gale.

*Notes*

1. The grey coloured clouds are supposed to bring too much rain.
2. The sun having become very mellow like the moon, actually having been reduced to almost zero.
3. This violent gale are the south-western winds coming from Arabian sea to Kashmir during the months of June-July. They bring plentiful rains and this is the season when floods usually visit Kashmir.

VERSE 277: FIRE BREAKS OUT IN THE BEEF MARKET

वत्सरे पञ्चपञ्चाशो<sup>१</sup> प्रवरोरापुरान्तरे<sup>२</sup> ।  
गोसौनिकप्रणो<sup>३</sup>पान्तादकस्मादुदपूच्छिखी ॥ २७७ ॥

In the (local) fifty-fifth year within the precincts of Pravareśapurā fire suddenly broke out quite close to the beef market.

*Notes*

1. This local Saptarṣi year (4555) corresponds to 1479 AD.
2. Śrīvara would like to say that the fire broke out in the vicinity of Pravarpurā—

the city founded by king Pravarsena II around Hari Parbat (KLRT, III, 348; verses 278, 279). Gojwārā and Nowhattā localities are quite near it.

3. It seems that there were beef markets in these localities then, obviously for catering to the Muslim population.

#### VERSE 278: FIRE SPREADS UP TO GOJWĀRĀ

मारी<sup>1</sup> तटेक पार्श्वस्था गुल्किखाटिकावधिः<sup>2</sup> ।

शणान्नगरभूदाहात् दग्धारण्यमिवाभवत् ।। २७८ ।।

In a moment the fire spread as far as the garden laid out by Gul-Khātoon (Gojwārā), in the vicinity of Mārī (canal) and the city was entirely consumed like wild fire.

#### Notes

1. Mārī—Mar canal.
2. Sultān Hassan's mother Gul-Khātoon had laid out a garden there. Present Kashmiri name of this locality is Gojwārā.

#### VERSE 279: JĀMĀ MASJID MEETS MARTYRDOM

भूर्ज त्वन्वायुनोदधूता<sup>1</sup> ज्वलन्ती सज्जवागता ।

बृहन्पस्त्रेद<sup>2</sup> छत्रान्तः<sup>3</sup> पपातोत्पातदूतिका ।। २७९ ।।

A burning (piece of) birch-bark propelled by the wind with intense velocity came from within the large mosque (Jāmā-Masjid) and fell on (its) dome, presaging a great disaster.

#### Notes

1. Till recently the roofs of the houses in Kashmir were generally made up of layers of clay and dry birch-bark leaves or sheets. This obviously combustible material would catch fire easily and engulf the whole locality. Kalhana has also given us copious notices of such disastrous fires in ancient Kashmir.

2. The Jāmā-Masjid or Masjid-i-Jamia, where congregational Friday prayers are held. It was built by Sultān Sikandar (1389 AD to 1413 AD). Hassan and other Persian chroniclers also corroborate that Jāmā-Masjid was completely gutted by the great fire in Hijra 885, ie, 1479 AD. This very date is given by Śrīvara also. Herein the chronicler has given exact Kashmiri translation of *Bad-masheed* into Sanskrit (TAKHSN, p 211).

3. The canopy or the domes over the Jāmā-Masjid must have had also birch-bark covering for understandable reasons. Śrīvara further on has recorded that it was gold-plated (verse 285).

#### VERSE 280: QUADRANGULAR JĀMĀ-MASJID WAS PAINTED WHITE

प्रसारिता चतुर्दिक्षु<sup>1</sup> यत्र पित्तिः सुधासिताः ।

श्रीशेकन्धर<sup>2</sup> भूभर्तुर्मूर्ता कीर्तिरिवाभवत् ।। २८० ।।

Where the side walls (of the mosque) painted white on all the four sides, do personify the (spotless) renown of Sultān Sikandar as it were.

*Notes*

1. This is a rectangular building to which Śrīvara refers here.
2. We get notice from Śrīvara here that this mosque was built by Sultān Sikandar.

**VERSE 281: TANK FOR ABLUTION WAS SITUATED  
INSIDE THE MOSQUE**

व्यधाद् यदन्तर्जनता<sup>1</sup> प्रणता पुनरुत्थिता<sup>2</sup> ।

त्वङ्मत्सरोवरोत्पुङ्ग<sup>3</sup> तरङ्गवलिपङ्क्तिताम् ॥२८१॥

In the interior of which the (Muslim) congregation kneeling and standing up again and again (while offering Namāz) resembled the diffusion of the up and down waves in the adjacent tank.

*Notes*

1. Obviously the Muslim congregation is meant here.
2. Kneeling and standing up—is an essential part of the Namāz.
3. The tank for ablutions where the Muslims wash their hands and feet before offering the Namāz.

**VERSE 282**

मन्त्रपाठोद्यते यत्र यवनानां कदम्बकम् ।

गुञ्जन्मधुप गर्भाब्ज सहस्रमिव गजते ॥२८२॥

Here (in that mosque) the congregation of Muslims, quite ready to mutter Quranic texts, would look splendid like thousands of lotuses with the humming honey-bees inside their core.

**VERSE 283: FRIDAY PRAYERS WERE HELD  
AT THIS MOSQUE**

चतुर्दिग्द्वार<sup>1</sup> निर्गच्छच्छुक्रवारागता<sup>2</sup> जनाः ।

कुर्वन्ति भूगतम्लेच्छ<sup>3</sup> तदहर्निर्गम भ्रमम् ॥२८३॥

On Fridays the assemblage of people (having come to offer Namāz) while going out from the doors on all the four side-walls would create the delusion of the buried Muslims coming out (of their graves).

*Notes*

1. This spacious mosque had a door each in its four side walls enabling the

congregation to come out comfortably. However, it is a curious statement made by Śrīvara. Usually the mosques have three gates, there being the dome and adjacent structure on the fourth. Even the largest mosque in the east, the great mosque opposite the Red Fort in Delhi has only three gates.

2. On Fridays collective Namāz is a must for the Muslims.
3. Those Muslims who had died and were laid in a grave.
4. According to Muslim belief, on the Day of Judgement the Muslims will arise from their graves, for being presented before God for receiving justice. Christians and Jews also subscribe to this view.

#### VERSE 284: THE MOSQUE HAD FOUR MINARETS

यन्मध्योच्च चतुःस्तम्भ दम्भाद्<sup>1</sup> विधिदिदृक्षया ।

चतुष्पादिव<sup>2</sup> तद्धर्मः प्राप्तो भात्युज्झितस्थितिः ॥ २८४ ॥

The four minarets within this mosque (representing) the four fundamental tests for verifying the observance of their faith stood there with unwavering firmness and shining brightly.

#### Notes

1. This mosque had four minarets, as every big mosque has
2. It appears that Śrīvara was pointing towards the four fundamental duties of a devout Muslim. These are *Namāz* (prayers), *zakāt* (charity), *roza* (fasting during the month of Ramzan) and *Haj* (at least one pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina in one's life-time). However, some scholars assert that more important than the last two, which can't be observed everyday, are *Tawaqul* (faith in God and the Prophet), *sabr* (contentment) and *shukr* (gratitude) and thus they made it five.

#### VERSE 285

स्वर्णच्छत्रच्छलाद्यत्र मायार्कणं कौतुकात्<sup>1</sup> ।

कर्णदातुमिवाभ्यर्णं भजन् भाति दिवाकरः ॥ २८५ ॥

Under the pretext of golden canopy, with an eagerness to listen to the magic (words), the Sun, shone brightly, lending his ears.

#### Note

1. Reference being to the rituals, the hands and the ears have to go through before Namāz is offered. With the *Azān*, the person calling Muslims for Namāz, one seals one's both ears with fingers, then the washing (*Wazu*) of hands upto elbows from downside up, washing face upto ears etc. takes place. Namāz starts with touching both the ears with hands etc.

#### VERSE 286: KASHMIR WAS A THEOCRATIC STATE THEN

तन्महासदनं व्याप्त गगनं रचनाद्भुतम्<sup>1</sup> ।

म्लेच्छदर्शनं राजार्थं रक्षादुर्गश्रियं ददत् ॥ २८६ ॥

That big building, a sky-scraper, with unparalleled carvings, afforded the splendour of a castle, meant for defending the Muslim theology for the Sultān.

*Note*

1. Lattice-work done on the windows and door-panels etc. is meant here.

VERSE 287

कुर्वत् कल्पाग्निं निर्दग्धविरक्ज्वालावलिप्रमम् ।  
क्षणमात्रात्तदा यातं भित्तिं मात्रावशेषताम् ॥ २८७ ॥

Within a jiffy then, (that very massive building) was reduced to its bare plinth on being completely burnt by overleaping flames creating the delusion of the big fire attendant on the dissolution of world.

VERSE 288: ID PRAYERS WERE SAID AT THIS MOSQUE

निमित्तजां विद्यां यस्यां म्लेच्छा कुर्वन्ति भक्तिः ।  
एषामहोत्सवाद्येषु गणशो मिलिताः सदा ॥ २८८ ॥

On Id and other (festivals) within which (mosque) the Muslims would without any break undergo collectively whatsoever all the prescribed injunctions with devotion.

VERSE 289: PALACE OF BEHRĀM KHĀN ALSO BURNT DOWN

तत्तद्दहामखानीय<sup>१</sup> पञ्चवासादिभिर्गृहेः ।  
सताण्डव चमत्कारं<sup>२</sup> खाण्डवानायितम्<sup>३</sup> ॥ २८९ ॥

The five terraced palatial houses of Behrām Khān and others were reduced to ashes with violent bang.

*Notes*

1. The paternal uncle of Sultān Hassan (refer ZRRT, III, verses 39-79, 107-109, 124).
2. Reference is to the raging fire which consumed Khāndava forest at the instance of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna (*Mahābhārata*, I, 2, 128).
3. V.I. चटत्कारं for चमत्कारं (VVRI, p 182).

VERSE 290: BOATS IN THE JHELUM WERE EVEN BURNT

ज्वलद्भूर्जत्वचो याता वितस्तासलिलान्तरम् ।  
दग्धा जलगता<sup>१</sup> नावाः शेकुः शमयितुं न याः ॥ २९० ॥

The burning birch-bark leaves reached the water of the Jhelum, by which the boats on its watery surface were totally consumed; and which (fire) no one dared to bring under control.

*Note*

1. Herein we are led to believe the testimony of Hassan who says that Khānqāh Moulla was also burnt down in this fire. This shrine stands on the bank of Jhelum, hence the burning birch-bark leaves could easily fall on the boats below. Otherwise the Jhelum is quite far away from Jamā-Masjid, so such leaves could not fly over this distance easily (TAKHSN, p 211).

VERSE 291: THOUSANDS OF HOUSES BURNT DOWN

पुरपत्तनघोषेषु तदुपप्लव वायुना ।  
सहस्रसंख्या<sup>1</sup> वेश्मौघास्तद्दिने जज्वलुर्नके ॥ २९१ ॥

Thousands of houses in the city, town and suburb, were set ablaze by that ghastly gale.

*Note*

1. Hassan has said that ten thousand houses were burnt down in that great fire (TAKHSN, p 211).

VERSE 292: HUNDREDS OF FISHERMEN DROWNED  
IN THE WULAR LAKE

उत्पातवात जातोर्मि महापद्म<sup>1</sup> सरान्तरे ।  
शतसंख्यादिने तस्मिन् किराताः प्रलय ययुः ॥ २९२ ॥

Hundreds of low-caste fishermen and fowlers were drowned on that day when the engulfing waves were propelled by that doomed hurricane in the Wular lake.

*Notes*

1. महापद्मसर is the Wular lake.

2. Literally this word means a low caste mountain tribe who live by hunting. Here it might suggest fishermen and also fowlers whose occupation was to catch fish and aquatic birds.

VERSE 293

वर्णाचारविर्पयासः समासः कुजवत्सरः<sup>1</sup> ।  
पुरश्री विहितोद्वासे निवासक्षयकार्यभूत ॥ २९३ ॥

That month during the year of the Mars, reversing the conduct of the (four) castes spelt disaster for the grandeur of the city and make (people) homeless.



## Note

1 The year of Mars is thought to be inauspicious for the country and its people according to Hindu astrology

**VERSE 294: THE OLD CHANGES HANDS WITH THE  
NEW**

अथवापूर्वकर्तृणां<sup>1</sup> जाते पुण्यक्षये सति ।  
नवीनकर्तुं निर्माण<sup>2</sup> कीर्त्यं कुरुते विधिः ॥ २९४ ॥

Otherwise, the virtue amassed by the old builders having been spent up, the destiny makes room for the new, so that, what they build does merit fame.

## Notes

1. The earlier kings who founded cities and erected buildings etc., is meant here.

2. The new kings will not suffer by comparison in respect of the constructions put up by them when the old ones are not there at all. Actually the purport being that old order changeth yielding place to new. The old order changeth with the help of national calamities.

**VERSE 295: JĀMĀ-MASJID IS REBUILT BY THE  
SULTĀN**

निर्मिता तादृशी यज्ञा सा महासदनस्थितिः<sup>1</sup> ।  
पुण्यश्रीरिव या स्फीता विभाति नगरान्तरे ॥ २९५ ॥

The Sultān (re)constructed that imposing shrine keeping its plan intact and lustrous in its splendour within the city, like the expanded prowess of virtue.

## Note

1. Sultān Hassan rebuilt this Jāmā-Masjid without making any change in its size and plan whatsoever.

**VERSE 296: NEW HOUSES ARE BUILT IN THE  
CITY**

अचिरात् सा पुरी दग्धा नवीकृतगृहा बभौ ।  
भूपं तरुणमेवैक्ष्य विहिता तरुणीप्रिया ॥ २९६ ॥

Without any waste of time that burnt city attained its (former) beauty with the houses built anew, as if seeing the youthful Sultān it was transformed into his young beloved.

## VERSE 297

भूपाल दुर्व्यसनजाः प्रभवन्ति दोषाः  
 नाशाय यद्यपि हिमाध्वनि मण्डलेऽस्मिन् ।  
 अन्योन्य मन्त्रिवर<sup>1</sup> वैर समुत्थदोषो  
 राज्यं समस्तमपि नाशयति क्षणेन ॥ २९७ ॥

Though the idiosyncrasies born from the bad-habits of the kings in this snow-bound country, have spelt disaster, yet the shortcomings emanating from the mutual bickerings of the senior ministers destroy whole of the kingdom quite instantly.

## Note

1. Śrīvara now prepares the reader to receive the news of the mutual rivalry of the ministers of Sultān Hassan, and hints that the kingdom will be destroyed as quickly as the city by the fire.

## VERSE 298

शक्तिस्फीतं समुदय लसत्सप्तधात्वङ्ग भङ्गं<sup>1</sup> ।  
 धत्ते नित्यं यदपि सुभगं सर्वकार्यक्षमत्वम् ।  
 दोषा वातादय इव महामन्त्रिणोऽन्योन्यदुष्टा  
 यत्रैते स्युर्गलति नचिराद् देहवत् तत्र राज्यम् ॥ २९८ ॥

Though wielding uninterrupted authority, resplendent in its fame and name, with its seven constituents in perfect health, the kingdom like the body always efficient in discharging its pleasing obligations does not take time to vanish through the mutual avarice of the ministers in power, as when the body is afflicted with inflammation of joints.

## Note

1. The human body and the kingdom are both supposed to have seven constituents each. When *vāta* (the wind), a very important constituent of human body is disturbed, one gets *vāta-roga*, inflammation of the joints. This leads to immobility and the person is soon destroyed. Similarly when the ministers, a very important constituent of the state, become diseased, the state becomes afflicted and is soon destroyed.

## VERSE 299

अत्रस्थैः सर्वदा रक्ष्यः स्वभेदः<sup>1</sup> प्रभविष्णुभिः ।  
 चार्वाकाणामिवैषां<sup>2</sup> हि भयं न परलोकतः ॥ २९९ ॥

The kings in full authority here should always guard against the

dissensions in their camp since like the Cārvākas, they (the ministers) do not have any fear of the other world.

#### Notes

1. The acrimony, division, dissensions etc. amongst those who profess to be loyal to the king. The king should be careful.

2. Cārvāka was the founder of a cult in ancient India. His followers were hedonists and materialists and did not believe in soul, God or the other world. They are often mentioned in literature, especially *Bārhaspatya Sūtras*. They have also been noticed by Kalhaṇa (*KLRT*, IV, 345). Their main aim was immediate pleasure. Śrīvara here suggests that the main aim of the ministers is also immediate gain (cf, *MW*, p 394).

#### VERSE 300

ललितादित्य देवोक्तामिति नीतिं विलंघ्य ये ।

मियो वैरं प्रकुर्वन्ति ते नश्यन्तीह मन्त्रिणः ॥ ३०० ॥

The ministers ignoring the terms of guidance spelt out by illustrious Lalitāditya, indulged in inimical attitude towards each other and thus get annihilated.

#### Note

1. Reference is to the brief code of political wisdom given by Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa one of the illustrious rulers of ancient Kashmir, which *inter-alia* suggests those who wish to be powerful in this land must always guard against internal dissensions (*KLRT*, IV, vs, 344-59).

#### VERSE 301: ERODED BY INTERNAL DISSENSION

मल्लाएसा<sup>1</sup> कदर्याक्खाना<sup>2</sup> दीनां विरोधतः ।

स्वभेदजं राज्यं दृष्टं श्रीजैनभूपतेः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३०१ ॥

During the rule of illustrious Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn, Millā Ishāq, Daryā Khān and others on account of (mutual) enmity had subscribed to the erosion of the kingdom through internal dissensions.

#### Notes

1. The prefix Mullā with his name might suggest that he was a powerful religious head.

2. His mention has been made earlier also (*ZRRT*, I, 7, 52).

3. Reference being to the closing years of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn's rule (*ZRRT*, I, 7).

#### VERSE 302: INTERNAL DISSENSION SPELLS DOOM FOR THE COUNTRY

तदाप्रभृति ते नैव दृष्टे नाशेऽत्र मण्डले ।

मन्त्रिणो नैव कस्यापि मत्सरो विरमत्ययम् ॥ ३०२ ॥

Since that time (Zain-ul-'Ābidin) having foreseen the doom awaiting this country, none of the ministers could shake off avarice.

## VERSE 303

अहो द्वेषपिशाचोऽयं रूढो राजसभाशये ।  
केनापि मन्त्रिणा नैव जीयते सर्वनाशकः ॥ ३०३ ॥

It is surprising that this goblin of hostility, raised its head in the well intentioned council of ministers, and none of the ministers could overcome this agent of wholesale destruction.

## VERSE 304

रोगो हतप्रयोगो व्यालो वा धृतमहाविषज्वालः ।  
नाग्निस्तादृग् भयकृत् प्रकृतिविरोधो यथा देशे ॥ ३०४ ॥

In this country an irremediable disease, a serpent with burning powerful poison of the fire, has not been as dreadful as the rivalry amongst the ministers.

## VERSE 305: MALIK AHMED YATTU IS TAKEN

अत्रान्तरेऽहमदायुक्तो युक्तोऽपि नयसम्पदा ।  
अधीर इव नाशाय नेयबुद्धित्वमग्रहीत् ॥ ३०५ ॥

In the meanwhile, Malik Ahmed Yattu though endowed with diplomatic prowess, became impetuous and not using his own discretion invited (his) doom.

## VERSE 306: NAUROZ WORKS UP HIS FATHER AGAINST TĀZI BHATT

एकदा पितरं पुत्रा बिजने<sup>1</sup> नौरुजादयः<sup>2</sup> ।  
इत्युचुर्दूषणां ताजिभट्टीयां विभवासहाः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३०६ ॥

Once, feeling sour at the exalted position of Tāzi Bhatt, the sons (of Ahmed Yattu), Nauroz and others spoke, degradingly about him before their father in utter confidence.

## Notes

1. When their father was alone, when there was nobody around
2. Nauroz was the eldest son of Malik Ahmed Yattu.
3. Actually the sons of Ahmed Yattu did not like Tāzi Bhatt's coming into prominence as the exclusive favourite of the Sultān.

VERSE 307

निग्रहानुग्रहैकप्रः समग्रे मन्त्रिमण्डले ।  
उग्रो<sup>1</sup> भट्टः प्रजाया वैदेशनाशाय वर्धितः ॥ ३०७ ॥

In the entire council of ministers that violent Bhaṭṭ possesses the sole authority to punish or favour (anybody) and is being fondled for ruining the country by heaping misery on the people.

Note

1. Śrīvara has translated the Persian word 'Tāzi' into Sanskrit उग्रो, here.

VERSE 308

तत्रापि दुग्धपितृता<sup>1</sup> रजसूनोर्नृपास्पदे ।  
अग्रे ययौ समायोगः सोऽयं दाहाय दुःसहः ॥ ३०८ ॥

There in the palace, he enjoys the exclusive right of being milking-parent to the prince. This connection has gone too far in hurting us, with which we cannot put up.

Note

1. Tāzi Bhaṭṭ was entrusted with upbringing of Prince Mohammad (ZRRṬ, II, 227).

VERSE 309

राज्ञी राजावदश्चास्मै<sup>1</sup> सेनानीरयमेव हि ।  
प्रबलं बाधते ह्यस्मान् यदि नायं प्रणाश्यते ॥ ३०९ ॥

He has found favour with the queen and the Sultān and others. He is also the commander-in-chief of the army. If he is not destroyed, he will surely give us much trouble.

Note

1. V.I. वचश्चास्मै for वदश्चास्मै (cf, VVRI, p 184).

VERSE 310

इत्याकर्ण्य सुतैरुक्तं वैगुण्यादवलोक्य च ।  
पुत्रीकृतेऽपि मल्लोक्तज्ञापट्टे व्यरज्यत ॥ ३१० ॥

Lending ear to what his sons had said and discerning bad points in Tāzi Bhaṭṭ though having reared him like a son, yet Malik (Ahmed Yattu) harboured disaffection (for him).

VERSE 311: MALIK AHMED YATTU GETS  
INCENSED

उज्याङ्गानि समस्तानि योजरक्षत् समया दृशा ।

प्रक्नुष्य संक्षयात् सोऽपि शनैरसीत् स्थलम्पतिः ॥ ३११ ॥

He, (Malik Ahmed Yattu) who had nourished all the wings of administration with equal concern, slowly got derailed from his well groomed understanding, due to the stock of previous virtues having been dried up.

VERSE 312

स्वार्थं परित्यज्य विघोर्हिते ये

कुर्वन्ति तत्कार्यं कृतावधानाः ।

विनाशकाले<sup>1</sup> समुपस्थिते ते

भवन्त्येकस्माद् विपरीत चेष्टाः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३१२ ॥

Keeping their selfish ends at a distance, those who for doing good to the authority in power, use every means with meticulous care for accomplishing it, when the time for their own downfall comes, those very persons suddenly indulge in activities quite unbecoming.

Notes

1. When their day is done, those whose downfall is imminent, bad days are ahead.

2. Such people under the influence of the impending downfall contradict or reverse what they had done earlier (cf, *Bhagavadgītā*, II, 63).

VERSE 313: MALIK HATCHES A PLOT AGAINST  
TĀZI BHATT

इति चिन्ताकुलस्तांस्तानुपायान् मल्लिकवेष्टकरोत् ।

अथैकदाब्रवीद्राज्ञः सभायां मल्लिकः कृपा<sup>1</sup> ॥ ३१३ ॥

Hence, Malik with his fingers crossed employed all the means to that end. So, once feeling incensed, Malik gave vent to his feelings in the Sultān's council of ministers thus:

Note

1. *VVRI*, p 185 has one line before the first line in this floka and the second line of this floka is appended to the next and so on. The line is: *प्रणविमुष्य एते दूषितः कथं विष* which when rendered in English would mean: "How should this person, exercising influence over the Sultān, be steered clear of."

The subsequent body of verses is changed by this additional line.

VERSE 314: TĀTĀR KHĀN, THE GOVERNOR OF PUNJAB,  
ATTACKS JAMMU

रज्येनाप्तेन किं राजन्नाक्रान्ता' बाह्यभूः परैः ।  
चिन्ता कस्यापि नैवास्ति यावत्सर्वं प्रणश्यति ॥ ३१४ ॥

What is the use of inheriting a kingdom when the enemies have attached its outer borders. Everybody seems to be complacent here till everything perishes.

*Note*

1. Reference is to the attack of one Tātār Khān the governor of the Punjab on Jammu, Rajouri etc. (TAKHSN, p 209). Also refer ZRRT, verses 320-324.

VERSE 315

वरं स्वयंमहं यामि तदाज्ञा दीयतां विभो ।  
इतिश्रुत्वाब्रवीत् ताजिभट्टस्तं साहसोत्सुकः ॥ ३१५ ॥

"O Sultān, it would be better if I am given the permission to go there." Having heard this, Tāzi Bhaṭṭ eager to display his valour said:

VERSE 316

यात्रायै दीयतामाज्ञा सेनानीर्मत्परोऽधिकः ।  
तच्छ्रुत्वा सर्वसामग्रीं दत्वा मल्लिकचोदितः' ॥ ३१६ ॥

"Allow me to lead the royal forces as none can excel me as a general." Having listened to this (plea), as also vehemently endorsed by Malik, making over every kind of (war) material.

*Note*

1. Malik had thought that Tāzi Bhaṭṭ would be killed in the battle with Tātār Khān and he would thus conveniently get rid of him.

VERSE 317

रजा तं कटकोपेतं बाह्यदेशं व्यसर्जयत् ।  
भीत्या प्रीत्या च नीत्या' च जग्मुस्तमनु सेवकाः ॥ ३१७ ॥

The Sultān despatched him (Tāzi Bhaṭṭ) along with troops to principalities on the outer fringe (of Kashmir). The forces under his command followed him either out of fear, or love or as a matter of policy.

## Note

1. It seems that Malik had taken the commanders into his confidence for demonstrating loyalty to Tāzi Bhaṭṭ, so that being puffed up he would meet his doom as speedily as possible.

VERSE 318: TĀZI BHATT HALTS THE ADVANCE OF  
TĀTĀR KHĀN

मधुपा<sup>1</sup> इव गर्जन्तो यातुमधुकरेश्वरम्<sup>2</sup> ।

राज प्रक्रिया रम्यं दृष्टातं व्ययशालिनम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३१८ ॥

Followed him like the humble bees following the lord of bees. Being handsomely proficient in accomplishing the mission of the Sultān, and considering him as a viable impediment (for the advance of Tātār Khān).

## Notes

1. मधुप is the honey-drinking bee.
2. Queen of bees.
3. This word also means a hindrance, an impediment or an obstacle.

## VERSE 319

नृपा राजपुरीयाद्या<sup>1</sup> बभूवुर्विस्मिताशयाः<sup>2</sup> ।

अन्येयजभदेवाद्या<sup>3</sup> समस्ता मद्र मण्डले ॥ ३१९ ॥

The hopes of the princes of Rajouri etc. revived as also of Ajab Deva and others in the entire Madra region (Jammu).

## Notes

1. The rulers of Rajouri, Lorin and Poonch on the outer borders of Kashmir are meant here.
2. Tāzi Bhaṭṭ's appearance on the battle-front was surprising for these chieftains, as he was a God-sent aid for them, for repelling the advance of Tātār Khān into their territories.
3. Hassan also has given the same name for the ruler of Jammu (TAKHSN, p 209).

## VERSE 320: TATĀR KHĀN IS DEFEATED

ततार खानमुत्सृज्य<sup>1</sup> तुष्टास्तमुपतस्थिरे<sup>2</sup> ।

तदुपोद्भलिता<sup>3</sup> मद्राः क्षुद्रा<sup>4</sup> विद्रावितारयः ॥ ३२० ॥

So, defecting from Tātār Khān they readily took his (Tāzi Bhaṭṭ's) side. The depleted army of Madra (Jammu) on being reinforced by them could (easily) annihilate their foe.



## Notes

1. The chieftains of Rajouri etc. had first thought of allying themselves with Tātār Khān for their safety.

2. But then seeing the army of Tāzi Bhaṭṭ in best spirits aligned themselves with him and jointly helped Jammu army to prevail over Tātār Khān. Actually Tāzi Bhaṭṭ had to pass through these territories of Poonch, Lorin and Rajouri for confronting Tātār Khān at Sialkot (cf, verse 321).

These princes kept their forces at the disposal of Tāzi Bhaṭṭ.

3. The army of these principalities as also under the command of Tāzi Bhaṭṭ reinforced the small army at Jammu.

4. It might mean depleted, small or very tiny in comparison with the army of Tātār Khān.

VERSE 321: THE PUNJAB TREATED VERY BADLY BY  
THE FORCES OF TĀZI BHAṬṬ

देशतत्तारखानीय<sup>1</sup> सोपद्रवमचीकरन् ।

दहनं शुगालकोटादौ<sup>2</sup> मस्जिदां खान निर्मिताम् ॥ ३२१ ॥

They really oppressed the land of Tātār Khān. At first they consigned a mosque built by (Tātār) Khān at Sialkot to flames.

## Notes

1. The whole of Punjab is meant here. Tātār Khān was the governor accredited there from Delhi Sultanate.

2. Sialkot is to be construed from it. Actually Sanskrit name for it is Śākala. Here Śrīvara seems to have used this word meaning a Jackal intentionally suggesting that the people of Sialkot were overwhelmed like jackals by the lion-like forces of the Sultān under Tāzi Bhaṭṭ. May be by that the name Sialkot was becoming more popular and Śrīvara heard it that way or thought that it was a corrupted form of Śrīgālakoṭa.

VERSE 322: ŚRĪVARA DOES NOT APPROVE OF  
TĀZI BHAṬṬ'S VANDALISM

सामान्य कुलजोऽप्येष<sup>1</sup> निःसारोज्जुमितो जनैः ।

अचित्त्य कृत्यकार्यासीत् स्वामिस्नेह प्रभावतः ॥ ३२२ ॥

Being a scion of an ordinary family (Tāzi Bhaṭṭ) was considered to be of no substance by the people since he would engage himself in rash activities bereft of prior cool calculation as a result of the Sultān's love for him.

## Note

1. Tāzi Bhaṭṭ had risen from the ranks, therefore, deserved every praise. But for his acting rashly and without cool calculation he was looked down upon by the people.

## VERSE 323

पुरपत्तन घोषादीननयत् स्मृति शेषताम्<sup>1</sup> ।

प्रतापस्तस्य तत्कालं<sup>2</sup> तीक्ष्णांशोरिव दुःसहः ॥ ३२३ ॥

Cities, towns, colonies etc. were reduced to bare name by him whose heat had become unbearable like that of the sun at that time.

## Notes

1. Persian chroniclers also endorse the fact that Tāzi Bhaṭṭ ransacked Sialkot (TAKHSN, p 209).

2. This word means valour, glory, brilliance etc. also.

## VERSE 324

तड्ढित्यादि देशस्य राजलोकभयं व्यधात्<sup>1</sup> ।

करदी कृत्य सामन्तांस्तत्तत्साहस<sup>2</sup> निष्ठुरः ॥ ३२४ ॥

He (Tāzi Bhaṭṭ) sent a shiver into the bones of Delhi Sultāns and their subjects. On account of his callous and aggressive nature made the rulers (around Kashmir) pay tribute (to the Sultān).

## Notes

1. V.I. जनोलूकभयं for राजलोक भयं (VVR I, p 187). "The people were afraid of being cut down" is the meaning of the other reading. Both convey the same sense.

2. It means a neighbouring prince, the principalities of Jammu, Rajouri etc. are meant here. Actually Tāzi Bhaṭṭ had gone to help these rulers for protecting the borders of Kashmir. Had they been defeated by Tātār Khān, he would have invaded Kashmir even. Now registering a thumping victory over Tātār Khān, Tāzi Bhaṭṭ made these princes pay tribute to the Sultān.

## VERSE 325: TĀZI BHATṬ RETURNS TO KASHMIR

स्वदेशं प्रत्यगात्तूणी पूर्णस्तुरगैः सम्पदा ।

स्वामिकार्यं वशान्पन्त्री पुत्रं पश्यति शत्रुवत्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३२५ ॥

And returned in hot haste to his own country quite triumphant with his prowess of horses. A minister influenced by fulfilling the obligations towards his master treats a son as his foe.

## Notes

1. It might either mean the cavalry or the horses in a large number brought to Kashmir by Tāzi Bhaṭṭ. It might suggest also that neighbouring princes were asked to pay the tribute in terms of horses (cf, verse 324).

2. Śrīvāra has alluded to political strategy wherein the interests are permanent, friends and foes change.

## VERSE 326: IN POLITICS A FOE CAN BECOME A FRIEND

शत्रुमप्यतिवैरहं पुत्रवत् परिरक्षति ।

इत्यादि नीतिमुल्लङ्घ्य मल्लिको दैव मोहितः ॥ ३२६ ॥

And even fondles a sworn enemy like a son. Ignoring these tenets of political expediency, Malik (Ahmed Yattu) deluded by (bad) luck.

VERSE 327: MALIK AHMED YATTU WORKS FOR THE  
RUIN OF TĀZI BHATT

तदुत्कर्वासहस्रस्य दर्पनाशोद्यतोऽभवत् ।

सबलो बाधते सर्वान् वाल्लभ्यादिति शङ्कितः ॥ ३२७ ॥

Could not put up with his (Tāzi Bhatt's) coming into prominence, so engaged himself in humbling his vanity. "On account of royal patronage he (Tāzi Bhatt) has become very strong and might harm us as well." (Thinking) thus becoming suspicious.

VERSE 328: MALIK AHMED YATTU POISONS THE SULTĀN  
AGAINST TĀZI BHATT

मल्लिकस्तं प्रति कुट्टो भूपं द्वेषमजिग्रहत् ।

अत्रान्तरे सुतो राज्ञः कनीयान् होस्सनपिषः ॥ ३२८ ॥

And losing his temper poisoned the Sultān against him (Tāzi Bhatt). In the meantime the younger son of the Sultān named Hussain...

VERSE 329: YOUNGER HUSSAIN ENTRUSTED TO  
MALIK NAUROZ FOR UPBRINGING

पयोदानाथ<sup>१</sup> मल्लिके नैरुजय<sup>२</sup> समर्पितः ।

तेन कुलेन तद्भूपं विवेक<sup>३</sup> विद्विषितः ॥ ३२९ ॥

...was made over to Malik Nauroz for being brought up. Having heard this, he (Tāzi Bhatt's allegiance to the Sultān)/received a shock.

## Notes

1. Literally 'for feeding with milk'. May be wet-nurses were employed for this purpose in the household of the Maliks. Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin had likewise entrusted his first two sons Ādam and Hāji to two factions of Thākurs (ZRTT, I, 1, 59).

Sultān Hassan had made over his first son Mohammad to Tāzi Bhāṭṭ (ZRRT, III, 227) and the second he entrusted to Malik Nauroz.

2. He was the son of Malik Ahmed Yattu (ZRRT, III, 306).

3. Śrīvara wants to convey here that Tāzi Bhāṭṭ's devotion to the Sultān was shaken or got diffused. He could feel that Malik Ahmed Yattu had gained favour with the Sultān.

#### VERSE 330

आगच्छन् कटके भट्टो ययौ मन्दप्रतापताम् ।  
तस्य सेनागतस्याथ नेय बुद्धिर्नृपिस्वरः ॥ ३३० ॥

While coming back with his forces, the glory of Bhāṭṭ (Tāzi) had virtually dwindled. Returning with his legions, the Sultān of petulant intellect...

#### VERSE 331: THE SULTĀN GIVES A COLD SHOULDER TO TĀZI BHĀṬṬ

सत्कारं चोचितं तस्मै नाकरोद् विरसीकृतः ।  
अथतस्यापकारार्थं मल्लिकः स्वयमक्षमः ॥ ३३१ ॥

Having lost his warmth for him (Tāzi Bhāṭṭ) did not accord him the well earned welcome. Now Malik (Ahmed Yattu) could not count on his own strength for harming him (Tāzi Bhāṭṭ).

#### VERSE 332: MALIK AHMED YATTU FORTIFIES HIS INTERESTS BY CALLING BACK THE SAYYIDS TO KASHMIR

दधे गतानां सैदानां पुनरागमने मतिम् ।  
यदीया तनया' राजस्तव पुत्रवती प्रिया ॥ ३३२ ॥

So, he (Malik Ahmed Yattu) pondered over the return of exiled Sayyids. (He said) O Sultān! the son-bearing daughter of those Sayyids is your loving wife...

#### Notes

1. Sayyids had been expelled from Kashmir by Sultān Hassan himself (ZRRT, III, 156, 169).

2. Daughter of Sayyid Hassan Hayāt Khātoon was one of the queens of Sultān Hassan (ZRRT, III, 198, 222).

#### VERSE 333: MALIK SENDS LETTERS TO SAYYIDS AT DELHI TO RETURN

रक्ष्यः श्वशुर पक्षः स कथं नानीयते त्वया ।  
इत्यादि प्रेरणाद्वाञ्छो राजाराधनतत्परः ।

सोपधीन्<sup>1</sup> व्यसृजल्लेखान् सैदान्दिल्लीश मण्डले ।। ३३३ ।।

(Hence) those in-laws deserve to be given protection, why should they not be recalled by you. Thus with such and other motivations (Malik) eager to earn the pleasure of the Sultān, sent letters to the Sayyids at Delhi offering false inducements.

*Note*

1. सोपधि means 'faked', 'fraudulent'. Probably the poet wants to convey that Sultān Hassan had not authorised him to do so.

VERSE 334

तस्यैवह प्रभवति जनो दुर्नयैर्दूषणाद्यै-  
रेतद् बुद्ध्या नयति न वयः स्वं कथं गाढमूढः ।  
सर्वा पृथ्वी जयति न कथं तन्त्रमन्त्रोर्जितोऽसा-  
वित्या शङ्क्यो भवति पुरुषो भाग्यभाग् यावदास्ते ।। ३३४ ।।

As long as the stars of good-fortune smiles over a person despite his wrong policies and other shortcomings, people treat him as their overlord. Why then does he an idiot of first waters not plan his life likewise, (exploiting their support) and conquer the whole of the earth through his waxing state-craft and well thought out scheming, and becomes hesitant consequently.

VERSE 335

अपकृत्य<sup>1</sup> पुनः सैदान् यदानयति मल्लिकः ।  
तेन स्यात् सर्वनाशोऽस्येत्यवदत् तीक्ष्णधीर्जनः<sup>2</sup> ।। ३३५ ।।

"Malik (Ahmed Yattu) is recalling the Sayyids after having humbled them (earlier). This might boomerang on him as his disaster," such was the reaction of people endowed with sharp intellect.

*Notes*

1. Reference is here to the exile of Sayyids ordered by Sultān Hassan (ZRRT, III, 169).

2. Jōṇa Rāja has used this word in the sense of 'a hangman' or the 'desperadoes' employed for killing people (ZRRT, 517). Śrīvara seems to have kept his Kashmiri intuition intact. In Kashmiri it connotes a person endowed with very quick perception.

## VERSE 336

सैदानयनवृत्तान्तं बुद्ध्वा श्रीफिर्यडामरः<sup>1</sup> ।  
गृहं गत्वाऽहमयदायुक्तं युक्तमित्यब्रवीद् वचः ॥ ३३६ ॥

Firya Dāmara learning about the recalling of Sayyids, called on Ahmed Yattu at his residence, addressing him with this appropriate plea.

## Note

1. This person had been very faithful to Sultān Haider the father of the present Sultān Hassan (ZRRT, I, 1, 94).

## VERSE 337: FIRYA DĀMARA ADVISES MALIK AHMED YATTU AGAINST RECALLING SAYYIDS

ताजिभट्टो विधेयोऽयं भृत्यवद् वर्तते त्वयि ।  
तदेतं रक्ष युक्त्यास्य विधाय मदशातनम् ॥ ३३७ ॥

This Tāzi Bhaṭṭ is submissive towards you and follows you like a servant. So, give him protection diplomatically, satisfying his ego tactfully.

## VERSE 338: SAYYIDS WERE LOOKED UPON AS FOREIGNERS BY KASHMIRIS

मा प्रवेशय सैदांस्त्वं दुर्घरान् देशकण्टकान् ।  
तुरुष्क<sup>1</sup> पुष्कलाशवासान् यत्नानिष्कासितानपि ॥ ३३८ ॥

Do not admit these intransigent Sayyids (into Kashmir), who are like a thorn for our country. They had been exiled with great effort, so do not hold copious promises to these Turks (foreigners).

## Note

1. Literally a Turk, a foreigner, an alien, not indigenous.

## VERSE 339

एकनाशार्थमिच्छ चेत् सर्वनाशस्तदागतेः ।  
पोतैकहेतोश्चैत्यस्य ज्वलनं किं समर्थते ॥ ३३९ ॥

If you desire to destroy one (Tāzi Bhaṭṭ) then (Sayyids) coming (to Kashmir) will mean wholesale destruction. Is it proper to set fire to the entire fig-tree for (roasting) a tiny bird?

## VERSE 340

नूनं स पुत्रमृत्यस्य<sup>1</sup> नाशो न भविता चिरत् ।  
यत् सैदानयने बुद्धिर्जाता भाम्य विपर्ययात् ॥ ३४० ॥

Surely the doom of the executive, along with that of his son will not be delayed now. Since due to adverse luck, the thought of recalling Sayyids has cropped up.

## Note

1 Malik Ahmed Yattu was the highest executive—the prime-minister—at that time.

## VERSE 341

कृतापक्वग्रान्<sup>1</sup> सैदास्तानानिनीषुर्भवान् यदि ।  
विषमुष्टिं<sup>2</sup> क्षिप घात्यां सान्नायां तत् स्वमृत्यवे<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३४१ ॥

If your excellency desires to recall the Sayyids humbled already, it will amount to mixing a handful of poison in the plate full of food causing your own death.

## Notes

1. Firya Dāmara is quite right in emphasising that Sayyids to pay off old scores in terms of their exile will definitely disturb the peace of the country. It was a well-considered prophecy made by Firya Dāmara (cf. ZRRT, IV, 92).

2. Sayyids were taken to be very vicious by Kashmiris. Their recalling would be suicidal for Malik as well as the country.

3. Refer ZRRT, III, 418, 421.

## VERSE 342

मद्बचो गृह्यते सत्यं शम्भन्येन<sup>1</sup> त्वया न तत् ।  
विपत्तौ स्मरणीयं स्यान्मयि लोकान्तरं<sup>2</sup> गते ॥ ३४२ ॥

If you do not accept these words of mine, which I genuinely believe are true, you will recall them in your misfortune, when I shall have departed from this world.

## Notes

1. Firya Dāmara tries to assert that he had no personal axe to grind vis-a-vis this advice.

2. Everything did happen as predicted by Firya Dāmara (cf. ZRRT, III, 351, 355).

## VERSE 343: MALIK AHMED YATTU LIVES IN FOOL'S PARADISE

श्रुत्वेति मल्लिकः प्राह किं कुर्वन्ति मयि स्थिते ।

एकदा ज्ञातसामर्थ्याश्चाटुकरा भवन्ति नः ॥ ३४३ ॥

Having listened to this Malik (Ahmed Yattu) replied "When I am in authority what can they do, once having known power, they will turn our flatterers."

## VERSE 344

तथेत्युक्त्वा गते तस्मिन् शम्भन्यत्वादृणादृते ।

सैदानयनसंकल्पान्न मनाग्न विरराम सः ॥ ३४४ ॥

Having said that one who knew what had to happen, left, while (Malik Ahmed Yattu) did not change his mind even a bit regarding the recall of Sayyids.

## VERSE 345

ज्ञातायतित्वादुपदिष्टमिष्टै-

र्गङ्गाति वाक्यं न हि नष्टचेष्टः

कष्टे निविष्टः स हि वक्ति शोका-

द्भिर्ह मामतिष्ठ न हितोपदेशे ॥ ३४५ ॥

The one who has lost his initiative turns a deaf ear to what his well-wishers adept in foreseeing the coming events advise. When overwhelmed with trouble laments woefully "fie on me as I did not act upon the advice of friends".

## VERSE 346

ततो लेखान् समालोच्य तस्योत्कण्ठित मानसाः<sup>1</sup> ।

हंसा<sup>2</sup> इवायुः सैदाः कृतपक्षपरिग्रहाः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३४६ ॥

Thereafter, giving thought to the letters sent by him (Malik Ahmed Yattu), the Sayyids with longing eagerness in their hearts, came like swans waving their wings.

## Notes

1. Besides, 'in their heart' this word can mean the Mansrovar Lake also which is supposed to be the usual hunt of swans.

2. In hordes like the swans, the Sayyids came to Kashmir.

3. It might mean 'collecting their kit' also. The Sayyids came with their allies etc. to Kashmir. In the context of swans this word पक्ष will mean 'wings' and in that of the Sayyids their allies, sympathisers etc.



VERSE 347: SAYYID MIYÂN HASSAN CALLS ON  
THE SULTÂN

अथ प्रथममेवेह स मेयाहस्सन्नोऽग्रणीः<sup>1</sup> ।  
अग्राप्त नौरुजायुक्त युक्तो भूपाग्रमाययौ ॥ ३४७ ॥

Then here (in Kashmir) the chief (of the Sayyids) Miyân Hassan accompanied by trusted Nauroz Yattu first of all, called on the Sultân.

*Note*

1. Father-in-law of Sultân Hassan. His daughter Hayât Khâtoon was his queen (TAKHSN, p 210). 'Miyân' is a honorific Persian term meaning 'Sire, honourable' etc. This term was later owned by the Dogra Rajas of Jammu also.

VERSE 348: KHUYAHOM GIVEN AS JĀGIR TO  
SAYYID HASSAN

विहितान्योन्यकं शंसन् मल्लिकोऽस्मै प्रसन्नधीः ।  
खोयाग्रमं<sup>1</sup> प्रदेशं तं स्वकीयं स समर्पयत् ॥ ३४८ ॥

After exchanging greetings with each other, Malik (Ahmed Yattu) feeling pleased with him made over his personal Jagir Khoyāśrama to him (Sayyid Hassan).

*Note*

1. Khuyahom Pargana on the northern bank of the Wular lake is meant here. Peer Hassan the celebrated author of *Tārīkh-i-Hassan* also belonged to this place.

VERSE 349: SAYYID HASSAN IS MADE DEWAN-I-KULA

यत् सैदहस्सनेनापि सिद्धादेशाधिकारिता<sup>1</sup> ।  
तस्य तेनैव नशाय सिद्धा देशाधिकारिता<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३४९ ॥

Sayyid Hassan having obtained the authority to settle land disputes culminated in disintegrating the solidarity of the country.

*Notes*

1. This office in ancient Kashmir related to land-settlement. During Sultānate rule it was designated as 'Dēwān-i-Kul'.

2. The purport being that he divided the land into very small holdings.

VERSE 350: KASHMIRIS FEEL PANICKY AT THE SWELLING  
NUMBERS OF SAYYIDS

क्रमात् समागतैः सैदैरक्रान्ते मण्डले बलैः ।  
आभ्यन्तरश्च बाह्यश्च काश्मीरास्तत्रसुर्जनाः ॥ ३५० ॥

These irresistible Sayyids having come to this country in one wave after the other, made the Kashmiris living inside and outside very panicky.

VERSE 351: AHMED YATTU BEGAN TO REPENT  
FOR HIS MISCALCULATED  
POLITICAL VENTURE

सैदांस्तस्मिन् दृष्ट्वा तुस्माद् भूपतेर्मतात् ।  
नृप जायाविधेयत्वात् तद्विधेयक्रमागतम् ।  
सपुत्रः सोऽह्यदायुक्तो बभूवानुशयाकुलः ॥ ३५१ ॥

Ahmed Yattu along with his son, being at the mercy of the Sultān who was under the thumb of his wife, on seeing the Sayyids growing haughty because of their horses and the blessings of the Sultān became distracted with remorse.

VERSE 352: IT IS NO USE TO BECOME WISER AFTER  
THE EVENT

पश्चान्दवेद्या<sup>१</sup> मनुजेषु बुद्धिः  
कार्ये कृते सा प्रथमं यदि स्यात् ।  
मित्रार्पितश्रीः परिभूत शत्रु<sup>२</sup>-  
नको भवेत् संतत सौख्यभागी ॥ ३५२ ॥

If the (cool) judgement after the work has been done, had dawned before it, then who would not have enjoyed every kind of comfort by bestowing wealth on his friends and humbling his foes.

*Notes*

1. It will not pay if somebody is wise after the event. He should have pre-judged and known about the shape of things to come. Ahmed Yattu lacked this completely.
2. The friends are to be made stronger.
3. The enemies should be nipped in the bud. People of cool and calculated judgement alone can tell a friend from a foe.

VERSE 353: SAYYIDS WANT TO TAKE AWAY THE WIFE  
OF TĀZI BHATṬ

अथ सैदाः स्वतन्त्रास्ते कलत्रहरणेच्छया<sup>१</sup> ।  
बन्धनं ताजिपट्टाय कर्तुमैच्छंश्छलैषिणः ॥ ३५३ ॥

Those crafty and self-willed Sayyids in order to kidnap his wife desired to send Tāzi Bhaṭṭ to prison.

## Note

1. Tāzi Bhaṭṭ was married to the sister of Jahāngir Magrey. She was a divorcee from Sayyids. Perhaps they wanted to bring her back to their fold, (ZRRT, III, 165-166) or may be she was rich and beautiful.

VERSE 354 TĀZI BHATT SEEKS HELP FROM  
MALIK AHMED YATTU

एकदानिष्टमाकर्ण्य स्वात्मनः सैद चिन्तितम् ।

मल्लेक सदनं प्रायात् ताजिपट्टो भयाकुलः ॥ ३५४ ॥

Once on being informed that Sayyids were planning to harm his person, Tāzi Bhaṭṭ feeling scared, called on Malik (Ahmed Yattu) at his residence.

## VERSE 355

सैद विस्फूर्जितं दृष्ट्वा साशङ्कः सोऽभवद्यदा ।

स फिर्यादामरो वृद्धस्तत्कालं प्रमयं ययौ ॥ ३५५ ॥

When he (Malik Ahmed Yattu) was feeling suspicious on noticing the ascendancy of Sayyids, that very time the senile Firya Dāmara, breathed his last.

## Note

1. Refer ZRRT, III, 342.

VERSE 356: FIRYA DĀMARA DENIED THE HONOUR  
AT HIS DEATH

प्रतिहार्यादिसुकृतैरिह<sup>1</sup> वा पर दुर्लभाम् ।

य एक सकलस्लाघ्यामलब्ध्वा न्यक्षणे क्रियाम् ॥ ३५६ ॥

Establishing his merit by (scheming) counter-offensives and other (strategies) he (Firya Dāmara) a rare commodity in this world or hereafter, had won the unequivocal praise of all, but could not be laid to rest with befitting funeral rites.

## Notes

1. Here this work will mean defence, counter-offensive etc.
2. Perhaps the Sultān under the influence of Sayyids treated his death at a low key. Sayyids had perhaps learnt that Firya Dāmara thought ill of them and wanted to dissuade Ahmed Yattu from recalling them. Hence, he was not given the honour due to him, at his death.

VERSE 357: SOLDIERS SENT TO TAKE TĀZI BHATṬ  
INTO CUSTODY

तच्छ्रुत्वा नृपतिस्तूर्णं क्रुद्धः सैदं प्रतारितः ।

येदं तु तं व्यसृज्ज्जोन राजानक<sup>1</sup> मुखान् भटान् ॥ ३५७ ॥

Having heard this (that Tāzi Bhatt had maligned Sayyids at the residence of Ahmed Yattu), the Sultān cut to quicks and instigated by the Sayyids despatched (a contingent) of soldiers under the command of Joṇa Rāja to imprison him (Tāzi Bhatt).

*Note*

1. This might either mean the famous soldiers forming a contingent of a division named 'Joṇa Rājānaka' or the commander of these soldiers was Joṇa Rājānaka (Zoon Razdān). This platoon of soldiers seems to be favourite of the Sultān, perhaps for its loyalty and tact so has been commissioned on such errands off and on (ZRRT, III, 374 etc.).

Joṇarāja has recorded earlier that Kalhana's successors though Brahmins had turned highway men (JRRT, 101 etc.). Herein those coming from the line of Joṇa Rāja, a Brahmin likewise, had adopted the profession of soldiers after their obvious conversion to Islam. Śrīvāra has always retained the Hindu names of neo-converts.

VERSE 358: TĀZI BHATṬ KEPT UNDER  
HOUSE ARREST

स्वगृहे<sup>1</sup> स्थाप्यतां बद्धो हृतस्वोहृतरक्षकः ।

इत्युक्तो मल्लिकस्ताजिभट्टं तेभ्यः समर्पयत् ॥ ३५८ ॥

"He (Tāzi Bhatt) should be chained, his belongings confiscated and he be kept under the guard of soldiers in his house", (the Sultān) having ordered thus, Malik (Ahmed Yattu), made over Tāzi Bhatt to the custody of guards.

*Note*

1. It seems that Tāzi Bhatt was kept under house arrest. However, Persian chroniclers have recorded that he was sent to the prison (TAKHSN, p 210).

VERSE 359: TĀZI BHATṬ IS GIVEN PENSION ALSO

तथैव स्थापितो बद्धः पुण्यशेषतयात्मनः ।

कालं वृत्त्या कृतायायः सकुटुम्बोऽत्यवाहयत् ॥ ३५९ ॥

Though imprisoned in that way (house-arrest), his personal virtue not having dried up, (Tāzi Bhatt) spent the time with his family quite contented with the pension (he already had).

## VERSE 360

भूर्यक्यय पुण्यः सबद्धोऽपि स्वगृहान्तरे ।  
सकुटुम्बः सुखं तस्यौ मणल इव मानसे ॥ ३६० ॥

Though put under arrest, he (Tāzi Bhaṭṭ) having earned merit by profuse charitable disposition, felt very comfortable along with his family in his house, like a swan in the Mānsrovar (lake).

## VERSE 361

विभवे दानभोगं यः करोति सुकृतेच्छया ।  
एतद् भ्रष्टः समाप्नोति भूयस्तत् ताजिपट्टवत् ॥ ३६१ ॥

For reaping virtue he, who shares his prosperity (with others) though deprived of it, does attain it again like Tāzi Bhaṭṭ.

## Note

1. Apparently Tāzi Bhaṭṭ was a very charitably disposed person and now in his incarceration he was fairly well off.

## VERSE 362

एवं मल्लिकार्जुनेन परोद्रेका सहिष्णुना ।  
ध्वस्तप्राया व्यधीयन्त सर्वे ते प्रपविष्णवः ॥ ३६२ ॥

In this way, Malik Ahmed (Yattu) intolerant about the ascendancy of others, got those influential people who mattered more or less annihilated.

## VERSE 363

कृतापकारी सैदेभ्यो भागिनेय' प्रणाशनात्  
ज्यहन्तिरोऽपि मार्गेशो मल्लिक शङ्कितोऽभवत् ॥ ३६३ ॥

Jahāngīr Magrey, the sworn enemy of Sayyids, on account of the humbling of his sister's progeny became suspicious about Malik.

## Note

1. Reference is to Tāzi Bhaṭṭ's house-arrest along with his progeny (ZRRT, III, 358).

## VERSE 364

सर्वाधिकार सामग्री स्वपक्षस्य समर्पिता ।  
प्रतीहारदि' वीरन्द्राः त्वार्थबुद्ध्या विनाशिताः ॥ ३६४ ॥

“He (Malik Ahmed Yattu) has made over all authority to his own faction, for gaining selfish ends has got exceptionally valorous Pratihāra (Padru) etc. destroyed.”

*Note*

1. Reference is to Abhimanyu Padru who was imprisoned and his eyes were also gouged (ZRRT, III, 132-134).

VERSE 365: THE SULTĀN IS DISENCHANTED WITH  
MALIK AHMED YATTU

इत्यादि दूषणै रजा मल्लिके विरसोऽभवत् ।  
रक्षणयुक्त्या स्वमात्मानं कदाचित् प्रजा दर्शनः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ३६५ ॥

Due to such and other bad actions, the Sultān became disinterested in Malik (Ahmed Yattu). He (Malik) would keep himself safe through tactful sagacity and would appear (in public) very sparingly.

*Note*

1. Malik Ahmed Yattu had become too powerful and even the Sultān was apprehensive now.

VERSE 366

नैकत्रावस्थितिस्तिष्ठन्<sup>1</sup> स्वराष्ट्रान्तः<sup>2</sup> स्थितिं व्यधात् ।  
अथागात् कुसुमक्रीडां<sup>3</sup> कर्तुं सैदसमन्वितः ॥ ३६६ ॥

(Malik) would not stay at one place, (but) remained within the kingdom. Then went in company of Sayyids to witness blossoming flowers.

*Notes*

1. Malik Ahmed Yattu in order to forestall any attempt on his life changed his quarters now and then.

2. It might also suggest that Malik was observing the turn of events within the country.

3. कुसुमक्रीडा is apparently 'playing with flowers'. But it might mean as feasting the eyes on blossoms—especially almond—and fondling these, playing with these.

VERSE 367: THE SULTĀN GOES TO WITNESS  
BLOSSOMS

भवनोपवनं<sup>1</sup> रजा शक्रश्चैत्ररथं<sup>2</sup> यथा ।  
विधाय लीलां पुष्पाणां नौकायातो महीपतिः ।

मार्गेशनौरुजायुक्तः पानलीलां व्यगाहत ॥ ३६७ ॥

The Sultān (repaired) to the garden in the vicinity of his palace like Indra to the heavenly orchard laid out by Citra Ratha. Having witnessed the variegated flower-show and arriving back in a boat, had a drinking party with Nauroz Yattu.

*Notes*

1. It might also suggest the name of a garden.
2. This garden in heaven was laid out by Citra Ratha and belonged to Kubera, the God of wealth (BVGT, III, 23).

VERSE 368

सर्वे परस्परं क्षीवास्ततद्वाचानुबन्धिनः ।

ते वृष्ण्य<sup>१</sup> इवान्योन्यं चक्रुर्वाक्सारताडनम् ॥ ३६८ ॥

All of them becoming tipsy, they hurled abuses at each other and like Yadavas dealt blows at one other with the daggers of invectives.

*Note*

1. Reference is to the clan of Vṛṣṇis or Yādavas who took to drinking and quarrelled with each other as their end was near (*Mahābhārata*, Mausala Parva).

VERSE 369

क्षोभे प्रवृद्धे क्रुद्धोऽथ त्यक्तमस्तकवेष्टनः<sup>१</sup> ।

अगात् कर्तुमुपालम्भं नृपो मल्लिक<sup>२</sup> मन्दिरम् ॥ ३६९ ॥

The agitating excitement having taken a serious turn, the Sultān loosing his temper, with his bare head went to the residence of Malik (Ahmed Yattu) for heaping caviel at him.

*Notes*

1. The royal turban had dropped down from the head, as the Sultān had lost control over himself, or the Sultān had placed it inside while drinking. Then he became so angry with Nauroz that he forgot to place the turban on his head and went to the house of Maliks.
2. It seems Malik Nauroz the son of Malik Ahmed Yattu had given such a serious offence to the Sultān, when they all had lost their wits.

VERSE 370

प्रसादितोऽपि स प्राप राजधानीं क्रुधान्वितः ।

पुत्रदुर्नयजः शोको मल्लिकस्य मानसम् ॥ ३७० ॥

Though appeased, he (the Sultān) went back to his capital in a very bad mood. The agony generated by the discourtesy shown by his son (to the Sultān) weighed heavily on the mind of Malik.

## VERSE 371

अन्येषुहितांस्तस्य राजा विरल मानसः ।  
रक्ष्यो नायुक्त पक्षो मे व्यक्तमित्यब्रवीद्रहः ॥ ३७१ ॥

On the following day, the Sultān quite distracted mentally confided secretly with his (Malik's) rivals—"It is not proper for me to express safety for Malik's faction."

## VERSE 372

अवश्यमेवच्छिद्रं<sup>1</sup> तं समासाद्य विरोधिनः ।  
अपकराय संनद्धा देहे दोषा इवामवन् ॥ ३७२ ॥

On coming to know about his misfortune (of Malik), his opponents, keen to destroy him, were ready to do him harm, like the maladies do to a body.

## Note

1. Malik had lost the favour of the Sultān which was a signal for his rivals to do him harm.

## VERSE 373

एज्ये योसोमखानं चेत् कुर्युः किं क्रियते<sup>1</sup> त्वया ।  
एष्यो नीत्वा तदन्यस्मै देहोऽनं रक्षणाय भोः ॥ ३७३ ॥

(Your Majesty) If they (Maliks) instal Yusuf Khān on the throne, what will you do then? Therefore, he should be taken away from them and made over to some one else for being brought up.

## Note

1. The Maliks seemed to have been a powerful faction in Kashmir then. They could declare the young prince Yusuf Khān who was under their care as the Sultān and continue to rule the country in his name.

## VERSE 374: JONA RĀJĀNAKA IS MADE THE PROTECTOR OF PRINCE YUSUF KHĀN

तथेत्युक्त्वा नृपोऽन्येषुजोऽनं राजानकं द्रुतम् ।  
विन्यस्य रक्षणे युक्त्या<sup>1</sup> मल्लिकार्जुनं खानमग्रहीत् ॥ ३७४ ॥



“Let it be so”—having said this the Sultān next day tactfully took (Yusuf) Khān away from Malik, and immediately made ‘Joṇa Rājānaka’ responsible for his safety.

*Note*

1. युक्त्या is tactfully, without arising suspicion.

VERSE 375

पुत्रं विन्यस्य घृषाग्रे तद्दिने स्वगृहस्थितः ।  
अपकर्ताज्जिम् शत्रूणां प्रातरित्यब्रवीत् प्रियाम् ॥ ३७५ ॥

That day not attending his office, (Malik Ahmed Yattu) kept his son with the Sultān and in the morning confided to his wife: “I shall do harm to my enemies.”

VERSE 376: THE SULTĀN SUMMONS JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY

अत्रान्तरे मार्गपतिर्नृपाहूतो बलान्वितः ।  
स्वराष्ट्रात् साहसोद्युक्तो नगरे तूर्णमाययौ ॥ ३७६ ॥

In the meantime, Magrey (Jahāngir) in full spirits and along with his legions, arrived in the capital in hot-haste on being summoned by the Sultān from his district (where he was posted).

*Notes*

1. Jahāngir Magrey is referred to here.
2. Apparently it refers to the territories of which he was the commissar. It seems that Jahāngir Magrey was posted at Bangil Pargana, (ZRRT, II, 381).
3. Since the Sultān apparently was annoyed with Malik Ahmed Yattu, he wanted to play Jahāngir Magrey against him.

VERSE 377

प्रातः श्रुत्वाथ मत्सेकः सबलोऽगान् नृपान्तिकम् ।  
रुषा निवृत्तो रुद्धोऽपि चित्तया दक्षिणस्थया ॥ ३७७ ॥

Then in the morning, having heard so, exasperated Malik called on the Sultān along with his body-guards, though obstructed and detained by the kite, stationed to his right.

*Notes*

1. Malik apprehended some harm to his own self, hence took his trusted soldiers along with him.
2. The kite appearing on one's right side, while one proceeds to accomplish some desired object, is thought to be inauspicious by the local people.

VERSE 378: INAUSPICIOUS OMENS CONFRONT  
MALIK

पादाभ्यां ताडयन् वक्षो गच्छतोऽस्य तुरङ्गमः ।  
प्रविष्यत्स्वामि विरहाच्छुक्तेवासु मुखोऽपवत् ॥ ३७८ ॥

While on move, his horse dealt blows to frontal (two) hoofs and seemed to be in tears, for the fear of losing his master in near future.

VERSE 379: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY AND MALIK  
CONFRONT EACH OTHER

तत्कालोदित सूर्योर्ध्वः सङ्क्रान्ति ज्वलितायुधः ।  
नृपाङ्गणतोऽपि मार्गेशः ससैन्योऽविरादङ्गनम् ॥ ३७९ ॥

Consequently with this, (Jahāngīr) Magrey under the orders of the Sultān entered the royal courtyard with his soldiers whose weapons were glittering on account of their contact with the rays of the sun.

VERSE 380

अन्योन्यस्पर्धया तत्र द्वयोः प्रविशतोस्तदा ।  
सनद्धयो रजधानी ययौ संप्रमलोलताम् ॥ ३८० ॥

Thereafter having entered (the courtyard) both of them ready to strike at each other due to their mutual jealousy, the royal seat of power was shaken restlessly.

VERSE 381: JAMSHED MAGREY IS MADE THE  
ADMINISTRATOR OF BANGIL  
PARGANA

सराखोऽयं प्रविष्टः किमित्यायुक्तः स भाङ्गिलम् ।  
अद्वापयञ् ज्येश्ठाय मार्गेशाय नृपं कुचा ॥ ३८१ ॥

"How is it that he (Jahāngīr Magrey) has come here fully armed" so Malik losing his temper made over the administration of Bhāngil (Bangil Pargana) to Jamshed Magrey under the orders of the Sultān.

Note

1. It seems that Jahāngīr Magrey was dismissed from his commissarship of Bhāngil.

VERSE 382: MALIK OPENS FRONT IN THE CITY

तावन्निर्गत्य पीतेन<sup>1</sup> राज्ञा स प्रेरितस्ततः ।  
पुनस्तर्पयन्नां कृत्वा सहेदः पुनराययौ ॥ ३८२ ॥

Thereafter, having sought his leave (Malik) but prevailed upon by the dazed Sultān, he opened a front in the centre of the city and came back (to the Sultān) along with Sayyid (Hassan).

*Note*

1. The Sultān could now divine the gravity of the situation and for his own safety invoked the help of Malik.

VERSE 383: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY INFLECTS DEFEAT ON MALIK

निर्मुच्य बन्धनात् ताजिपट्टं राजानकान्वितः<sup>1</sup> ।  
राजधान्यान्नास्वन्दं<sup>2</sup> ददौ जिष्णुर्जहान्निरः ॥ ३८३ ॥

Along with Rājānaka the triumphant Jahāngīr (Magrey) set Tāzi Bhattī free from his confinement and trampled royal court-yard.

*Notes*

1. A member of Raina faction is meant here. It can also suggest that Rainas were his collaborators. It might refer to Jopa Rājānaka (cf. verse 374).

2. It can also be inferred that his galloping cavalry trampled the entire court-yard.

VERSE 384: TĀZI BHATT'S SOLDIERS SET FIRE TO WESTERN SEGMENT OF THE CITY

प्रेरितास्ताजिपट्टेन उद्भट्टा समरोहताः ।  
पश्चिमद्वारधानीं तां राजधान्यामदाहयन् ॥ ३८४ ॥

Instigated by Tāzi Bhattī his soldiers itching for fight, burnt down the habitations on the western entrance to the capital.

VERSE 385

सोऽग्निर्हस्सन राजानका<sup>1</sup> वासान्तं क्षणान्तरात् ।  
सोच्चागागं<sup>2</sup> गृहश्रेणीं दग्धारण्यमिवाकरोत् ॥ ३८५ ॥

Within a moment those flames consumed the rows of houses with their tall balconies, like a forest fire.

*Notes*

1. Rājānaka might mean belonging to royal entourage here. He is actually Sayyid Hassan.

2. These wooden balconies are constructed on the third storey of houses in Kashmir even now.

VERSE 386

इन्द्रवासोपमा वेश्मरचना ज्वलिता श्रुता ।  
दूरस्थितानामप्यन्तः<sup>1</sup> सन्तोषमुदपादयत् ॥ ३८६ ॥

On having heard that the houses arranged like the (heavenly) quarters of Lord Indra have been burnt down, even the minds of those stationed very far away (from the scene of fire) felt distracted.

*Note*

1. The poet wants to impress that besides the people nearby, who were anxious because of the fear of fire engulfing their homes, even those who were far from the scene, were unhappy.

VERSE 387

तद्धूमस्तोमसंघट्टज्वालाजालगतोष्मणा ।  
सर्वेऽन्तःस्थाः कटाहान्तर्जीविन्मत्स्योपमां दधुः ॥ ३८७ ॥

By the heat, accompanied with the columns of smoke and flames, the people within (the city) felt as if being roasted like living fish in a pan.

VERSE 388: FIRE APPROACHES THE PALACE

अङ्गुनेऽग्निं समालोक्य ज्वलन्तं राजसदनः ।  
सभीतिर्नृपतिर्भीतिं विह्वलः समपद्यत ॥ ३८८ ॥

Beholding the fire in the compound of his palace, the Sultān getting scared with this catastrophe felt panicky.

VERSE 389

उष्णायमानमार्गेषु स्फुरन्तोऽपि युयुत्सवः ।  
न केऽपि शेकुस्तान् योद्धुं तद्भाग्यैर्यन्त्रिता इव ॥ ३८९ ॥

The most valiant fighters, could not dare to stand against the Magreys of fiery dash, as if restrained by his luck.

VERSE 390: MALIK FEELS FORELORN

स्वपृथ्वांश्चलितान् दृष्ट्वा पुत्रोत्सेवावशेषितः ।

बभूव मल्लिकस्तत्र विकर्तव्यतयाकुलः ॥३९०॥

Having seen his aids fleeing and left only with his sons, **Malik** was overwhelmed with perplexity, his initiative ebbing away.

VERSE 391: MALIK WANTS TO CRY HALT TO THE  
BATTLE

पुत्राः कुर्वन्तु मा युद्धं राज्यं नश्यति धूपतेः ।

अयं राज्ञस्य देशस्तु रक्षितो दशवत्सपुत्र' ॥३९१॥

My sons may not engage themselves in the battle, otherwise the rule of the Sultān will be finished. He is our Sultān, it is his country which he has ruled over for ten years.

*Note*

1. Sultān Hassan ascended the throne in 1472 AD. The year in which this civil war broke out thus comes to 1482 AD.

VERSE 392

तत् कथं नाश्यते युद्धादस्मिन् विषमविग्रहे ।

तत्रापि ज्येष्ठः पुत्रो मे तटस्थो'ऽरिषु मध्यगः ॥३९२॥

Then why do you bring disaster (to the country) in this fierce battle? My eldest son (Nauroz) though surrounded by enemies has not taken up arms even then.

*Note*

1. Malik wants to convey that in the face of such a strong provocation he would prefer to negotiate settlement through peaceful means.

VERSE 393

अनिष्टं नौरुजाह्ना मे लभन्तेऽस्माद्रणक्षणे ।

वरं ममैव नाशोऽस्तु नाकीर्ति'वाद्दके सहे ॥३९३॥

At this hour of battle (I am afraid) that Nauroz and others on my side might be harmed by them (enemies). It is better that I write-off my own self and not be a object of calumny in my old age.

*Note*

1. Malik does not like to suffer the misfortune of getting his son etc. killed instead of his own self.

## VERSE 394: MALIK SURRENDERS TO THE SULTĀN

इति ध्यात्वाब्रवीत् पुत्रान् योद्धव्यमिहासत ।  
इत्युक्त्वा गलितोत्साहो नृपं शरणमाययौ ॥ ३९४ ॥

Having brooded like this he (Malik) told his sons not to give fight but to be there (at their respective posts of duty). Having advised them in this way, he, whose initiative was giving way, sought asylum with the Sultān.

## Note

1. This might mean that he sent a word or ordered his sons not to fight, or lay down their arms.

## VERSE 395: MALIK MADE OVER TO THE CUSTODY OF SOLDIERS

मण्डपे<sup>१</sup> राजान्यो स राजा विन्यस्य रक्षिणः ।  
स्नेहदरक्षदायुक्तान् पूर्व सेवा<sup>२</sup> मनुस्मरन् ॥ ३९५ ॥

The Sultān gave him (Malik) over to the protection of his bodyguards, in a temporary hutment within the capital, recapitulating the service done to him (the Sultān) formerly, he granted asylum to the 'Yattu' faction out of kindness.

## Notes

1. This word means a temporary pavilion erected on ceremonial occasions. It conveys the sense of a tent, a shed or a temporary hutment. May be, for Malik a temporary habitat was used as a special jail.

2. It was Malik Ahmed Yattu who had anointed Prince Hassan as the Sultān (ZRRT, III, 9).

## VERSE 396: MALIK'S ALLIES FLEE TO LADAKH

आयुक्ता नत्यकाद्यास्ते<sup>१</sup> ज्ञात्वा भूपं तदा श्रितम् ।  
युद्धाशक्ताश्च निर्गत्य भुट्टदेशान्तरं<sup>२</sup> ययुः ॥ ३९६ ॥

Nathak Yattu and others unable to give fight, as also thinking that Malik had sought refuge with the Sultān, left (the country) and went into the interior of Bhutṭadeśa (Ladakh).

## Notes

1. The faction of Yattus headed by Nathak, allies and collaterals of Malik Ahmed Yattu.

2. Ladakh territory is meant here (cf, ZRRT, I, 1, 51 etc.). Perhaps to be out of reach for the troops of Jahāngir Magrey.

## VERSE 397: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY IS VICTORIOUS

अथोत्तरदिशाद्धार धन्या मान्या जयोद्यताः ।  
ज्यहाक्त्रिगच्छा गर्जन्तः प्राविरन्त नृपमङ्गलम् ॥३९७॥

From the northern gate of the city, Jahāngīr Magrey and his collaborators raising very loud cry and being fully equipped for victory, entered the compound of the royal palace.

## VERSE 398

रण दुन्दुभिनिःस्नानप्रतिश्रुत्यारवच्छलात् ।  
अहसद्राजधानीव तुष्टा तत्साहस क्रमात् ॥३९८॥

Under the guise of the echo and noise of war-drums, the capital, as if gratified at the display of his (Jahāngīr Magrey's) valour had a hearty laugh.

## VERSE 399: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY BECOMES THE FAVOURITE OF THE SULTĀN

राजदर्शनतुष्टानामुत्कृष्टानां जयार्जनात् ।  
प्रापुः प्रसादं तत्कालं मनांसि च वपूंषि च ॥३९९॥

On having earned a victory, these eminent (fighters) felt very happy, after getting an audience with the Sultān there and then, their mind and body became composed.

## VERSE 400: MALIK YATTU AND NAUROZ THROWN INTO JAIL

प्रातः सपुत्रं मल्लिकं तत्तत्सेवक संयुतम् ।  
क्रुद्धैस्तैश्चोदितो राजा कशरगारान्तरेऽक्षिपत् ॥४००॥

In the morning instigated by these wrathful (Magreys), the Sultān threw Malik and his son into the jail, along with their respective retinue.

## VERSE 401

आयातायुक्तसदनाद् भीतेवातिव्ययादिभिः ।  
अकरोद्राजलक्ष्मीः सा स्वगृहे' सुखं सुप्तिकाम् ॥४०१॥

Overwhelming fortune, frightened by over spending, left the quarters of 'Yattu' (Malik Ahmed), and had a sound sleep in its legitimate retreat.

## Note

1. The Royal treasury is meant here. Since it is the natural repository of public money.

VERSE 402: RICHES OF MALIK AHMED YATTU  
CONFISCATED

तेषां राजविरुद्धानां दासकायस्थपीडनात् ।  
सङ्घितं रौप्यकुप्यादि सर्वं तद् राजसादगात् ॥४०२॥

The entire hoarded wealth of these (Yattus), ignoring the rule, in terms of silver and other metals, seized forcibly from their sub-ordinates and businessmen, was confiscated by the Sultān.

VERSE 403: POLITICAL POWER IS ALWAYS  
NEBULOUS

यन्मन्त्रात् सभयः स जैन नृपतिः श्रीहज्जिराहेऽप्यवद ।  
यन्नीत्या दशवत्सरीं गतभयः पुत्रोऽस्य<sup>१</sup> राज्यं व्यधात् ॥  
यातासो स्मृतिरोषतां यदमता बहामखानादयः<sup>२</sup>  
सोऽपि व्याकुलतामगाद् रिपुभये<sup>३</sup> धिग् वैभवं स्वामिनाम् ॥४०३॥

Whose scheming sent a shiver into the bones of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn and Sultān Hājī (Haider) Shāh, whose statesmanship gave a lease of ten years to his (latter’s) son to rule without any fear whatsoever, whose counsel reduced Behrām Khān and others to a thing of memory, that very (Malik) is now scared of his foes: Fie on the fortunes of persons in authority.

## Notes

1. Sultān Hassan, son of Sultān Haider Shāh.
2. Brother of Sultān Haider Shāh, a contender for royal throne.
3. The fear of Jahāngir Magrey.
4. Fortune is not dependable. It plays hide and seek with those persons in authority.

## VERSE 404

आतङ्कपङ्क्तं कलुषाः प्रभवन्ति येषां  
सम्भारं विष्ककरणा धृतजाड्यदोषाः ।  
तत्तद्विद्वज्जनपीडनहेतुभूता-  
तिष्ठन्ति ते न सुचिरं हिमपूर तुल्याः ॥४०४॥

The soaring riches soiled with the mud of extortion, cause



derailment from the right path, and engender the obnoxious quality of cold apathy. These riches having been hoarded by exploiting the have-nots, do not stay for long like a mass of snow.

## VERSE 405

तद् भृत्यैः फेरभट्टाद्यैरित्यादिजनपीडया ।  
यदानीय धनं दत्तं तत्सर्वं रजसादगात् ॥४०५॥

Through extortion of people, whatever riches had been brought for him by Fera Bhatt and others, his (Malik's) accomplices, were completely confiscated by the Sultān.

## VERSE 406

बहिर्देशात्समानीतांस्तुरङ्गांस्तान् मनोहरान् ।  
स्वांशुकान् रक्षितांश्चापि निक्षेपमिव' दत्तवान् ॥४०६॥

The heart-captivating horses, collected from countries outside Kashmir, and the well-preserved silken robes for personal use, were made over by him (Malik) as a pawn (to the State).

## Note

1. Malik wanted to save his life at any cost, so parted with everything he had hoarded by unfair means.

## VERSE 407

धूपालवन्महेच्छत्वात् स्वजन्मदिवसादिषु ।  
यद्दत्तं यच्च भुक्तं स्वं तदेवास्याभवद् धनम् ॥४०७॥

With a surging desire to vie with the Sultān while celebrating his birthday and other auspicious functions, whatever he (Malik) had given (in charity) or enjoyed himself, that alone constituted his wealth (now).

## Note

1. It is presumed that the charity given in this world, becomes his wealth in the next.

## VERSE 408

हे मर्त्या नृपतिविभवाप्तभूरिक्लिता-  
श्चितास्तौ कुरुत यथार्थदानभोगौ  
संसारे जलघितरंग भङ्गुरेऽस्मिन्  
सामग्री न पुनरियं सदैव लभ्या ॥४०८॥

O mortals: you amass untold wealth, through the affluent favour of the king, (while) you should groom your mind for engaging in meaningful charity and enjoyment. In this unstable world, like the waves of an ocean, such tools are not available again or always.

## VERSE 409

राज्ञः प्रियोऽस्मि विभवप्रथितप्रभावो  
हे सेवकास्त्यजत मानमिमं स्वनिष्ठम् ।  
गन्धर्व निर्मितपुरे च कुसुम्भ रागे  
वेश्यारसे नरपतौ च कुतः स्थिराशा' ॥४०९॥

O you in the service of the kings! renounce this self-centred pride: "I am the favourite of the sovereign, with well-established influence and prowess". The hope of dependability on kings, is as elusive as a town built by magic, the red-colour in safflower and the love of a public woman.

## Note

1. This is a didactic verse. It is a common feature with the poets of the medieval times to intersperse their poems with didactic verses.

## VERSE 410

प्राप्ता पूर्णा सपदि पदवी शत्रुवर्गो जितोऽयं  
कोशोऽशेषो मम सदनगो भृत्यवर्गः सर्वमः ।  
इत्थं यावत् कलयति नरो वैभवोत्सिक्तचित्त-  
स्तावत्सर्वं क्षपयति विधिः स्वप्नवत् तद्विरुद्धः ॥४१०॥

"I have effortlessly attained the highest position; I have vanquished my enemies; riches in full have come to my house; a bevy of servants is always on the move (for me)"; as soon as the man puffed up mentally with this prosperity begins to ruminate over it, then the destiny averse to him shatters all this like a dream.

## VERSE 411

एकदा जुगभट्टस्तं बन्धने प्रष्टुमध्यगात्  
अयन्त किमस्ति ते स्वर्णं तूष्णीं राज्ञे समर्प्यताम् ॥४११॥

Once Juga Bhatt was let into the prison to ask him (Malik) "whatever gold you have hoarded, hand it over immediately to the Sultān".

## Note

1. This person seems to be an emissary from the Sultān, sent to Malik for eliciting : precise information about his hidden wealth in gold etc.

## VERSE 412

क्रुद्धस्तमब्रवीद् द्रव्यं कोटिसंख्यं हृतं मम ।  
एतावतापि नो तृप्तिः प्रभोर्लुब्धस्य विद्यते ॥४१२॥

Feeling exasperated, he (Malik) addressed him (Juga Bhatt) thus: "My wealth in crores has been snatched. Does not the greedy Sultān rest content with that much?

## VERSE 413

किं ब्रूमो राज्यरक्षायै स्वपक्षो नाशितोऽखिलः<sup>1</sup> ।  
शक्तेनापि न युद्धाय सोढं तत् तुमुलेऽन्तरे ॥४१३॥

How should it be said, that for making the kingdom safe, I destroyed the whole of my faction. Having the potential to fight back, I put up with all that when in the midst of that tumult.

## Note

1. Cf. ZRRT, 396, when the Yattus left for Ladakh.

## VERSE 414

कांदिशीकाः समानीय सैदाः संवर्धिता मया ।  
द्रोघारस्तेऽपि मे जाताः कृतज्ञेऽस्मिन् महीपतौ ॥४१४॥

I patronised the Sayyids, having called them back from their sojourn; when the Sultān fell foul with me, they have also turned hostile.

## VERSE 415

सर्वं मद्योजितं राज्यमन्धं<sup>1</sup> तावत् करोत्वसौ ।  
पुनश्चेद् धुज्यतो<sup>2</sup> राज्यं मन्नाशान्मुदितस्तु सः ॥४१५॥

He (the Sultān) is destroying the kingdom built by me in its entirety. On being happy with my annihilation, he might (not) rule the country again.

## Notes

1. Literally blinding it, blackening it.

2. Malik Ahmed Yattu thinks that without his active help the Sultān might not be able to rule the country.

VERSE 416

दशवत्सर पर्यन्तं एज्यतन्ननियन्त्रणा ।  
मदीयासीद् भवे दान्ये यदीदृश्यपि तद्विमुः ॥४१६॥

In this thankless world, I through diplomatic expediency maintained the solidarity of the kingdom for full ten years, despite this the Sultān.

VERSE 417

तुष्यत्वस्मरणारोने<sup>1</sup> मयि लोकान्तरं गते ।  
इत्याद्युक्त्वा नृपाग्रे स स्वविज्ञप्तिं व्यसर्जयत्<sup>2</sup> ॥४१७॥

"May feel happy over our annihilation as also on my departure to the other world". Having said so and other things also, he (Malik) preferred his appeal to the Sultān.

Notes

1. The Yattu faction is meant here.
2. This appeal or petition was obviously sent to the Sultān through Jaga Bhatt (cf. verse 411 earlier).

VERSE 418

षिङ्मां येन गृहीतं न वचनं दीर्घदर्शिनः ।  
श्री फिर्यङ्गमरेशस्य निनिन्दालानमन्वहम् ॥४१८॥

"Fie on me who did not act upon the advice of foresighted Firya—the Dāmara chief." In this way (Malik) censured his own self day in and day out.

VERSE 419

यद्यहं सुविशुद्धोऽस्मि तन्मद्द्रोहकरा अमी ।  
माणेरौ ताजिपट्टाद्या लभन्त्वल्पदिनैः फलम् ॥४१९॥

"If my conduct has been above board, then these—the chief of Magrey, (Jahāngir) Tāzi Bhatt and others—my sworn enemies, should reap the fruit (of this foul-play) within a very short span of time."

## VERSE 420

इत्यादिदुःखदग्धः स बन्धनस्थो यदब्रवीत् ।  
अचिरात् तत्फलं<sup>1</sup> दृष्ट्वा सारचर्यो भविता जनः ॥४२०॥

In this way, he (Malik) consumed by agony and in confinement lamented (his lot). The people will be amazed to note the consequent events very soon.

## Note

1. The tyranny perpetrated by the Sayyids on Kashmiris.

## VERSE 421

इत्थं निर्दोह<sup>1</sup> कृतेऽस्मिन् सपुत्रे मल्लिकाह्वये ।  
नाशितेऽन्ये व्यजृम्भन्त खलप्राया नृपास्पदे ॥४२१॥

Thus having written off honest Malik Ahmed along with his son, other (contenders of Yattus) malacious people, gloated over it in the royal palace.

## Note

1. निर्दोह = not treacherous ie, honest.

## VERSE 422

पाजभट्टादयो लुब्धाः सैदानामधिकारिणः ।  
प्रमेयान् पीडयामासुर्दृष्ट्वा देहमियामयाः ॥४२२॥

The vulturous and vile Pāja Bhaṭṭa and others, deriving authority from the Sayyids, inflicted pain on the districts just like malignancy in the body.

## VERSE 423

आनन्द पुष्प<sup>1</sup> दीनार<sup>2</sup> खण्ड प्राप्त्यादि नामभिः ।  
सैदाधिकारिणश्चक्रुः प्रजायासैर्षनार्जनम् ॥४२३॥

The officers appointed by the Sayyids and bestowed the appellations of 'Ānanda Puṣpa' and 'Dinnāra Khaṇḍa' etc. made money by extortions from the subjects.

## Notes

1. Presumably these were honorific terms bestowed on their agents by the Sayyids. The 'bliss giving flower'. Śrīvara seems to be sarcastic here.
2. As sugary as a 'Dinnāra'—the legal tender currency at that time. Sarcasm is also perceived here.

## VERSE 424: RAINAS WERE COLLABORATORS OF MAGREYS

श्री ज्यहङ्गिर मार्गेरा नोसरजानकादयः<sup>१</sup> ।

मघाखिव दुमरिचित्र पत्रास्ते शिश्रियुः श्रियः ॥४२४॥

Like the trees laden with myriad foliage in spring, Jahāngir the head of Magreys, Nausar Rājānaka (Raina) and others were endowed with affluence.

## Note

1. It might be a corrupted form of Naushera.

## VERSE 425: SAYYID HASSAN BECOMES PRIME MINISTER

मल्लेक पदवी<sup>१</sup> मल्ला<sup>२</sup> श्रीमेयाहस्सनाऽपजत् ।

नागम<sup>३</sup> ग्रामराष्ट्रादि तदीयं तद्दग्रहीत् ॥४२५॥

Miya Hassan was awarded the post of 'Malik' (and made) a Mullā who secured likewise Nagam and other rural districts from him (Malik Ahmed Yattu).

## Notes

1. The post of prime minister vacated by Malik Ahmed Yattu (cf, ZRRT, III, 23).
2. Maulavi—the religious head. It seems that Sayyid Hassan was also given the portfolio of ecclesiastical affairs.
3. Malik Ahmed Yattu has been given Nagam, and other villages, as his Jāgir (cf, ZRRT, III, 24).

## VERSE 426: SAYYID HASSAN MAKES OVER LAND GRANTS TO HIS KITH AND KIN

सपृत्यपुत्रवर्गैर्भ्यः प्रमेयान् विभजन्त्वान्<sup>१</sup> ।

स मेयाहमदायार्थवन<sup>२</sup> राष्ट्रं समर्पयत् ॥४२६॥

He (Sayyid Hassan) made land grants of districts afresh to his sons along with their entourage, and made over the districts of Ardhavana (Advin) to Miyā Ahmed.

## Notes

1. This inference being that previous orders to this effect were revoked and fresh land grants were made to his sons etc. by Sayyid Hassan on becoming the prime minister.
2. This is the 'Advin' Pargana in Maraz (cf, STRT, I, 97 note).

## VERSE 427: SAYYID NĀSIR RETURNS TO KASHMIR

स्वायत्तीकृतपूपास्ते सैदाजय विशङ्कुलाः ।

दूतान् विस्मृत्य चतुरमानिन्युः सैदनासिरम्<sup>१</sup> ॥४२७॥

Having put the Sultān under their thumb, the Sayyids became unbridled by their success and sent emissaries to Sayyid Nāsir, who was brought (to Kashmir) without any loss of time.

*Note*

1. Sayyid Nāsir, father of Sayyid Hassan. He was also father-in-law of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. He had left Kashmir when Sayyids were exiled earlier (ZRRT, II, 19, III, 157).

VERSE 428

प्राप्तो पञ्चाल देवाग्रं<sup>1</sup> तस्मिन् शूर पुण्ड्रना ।  
ज्वरस्तद्वृद्धयं पूर्वं परचात् स पुरमाविशत् ॥ ४२८ ॥

Negotiating Hurple route when he (Sayyid Nāsir) reached the foot (of Peer Panchāl mountain) he got fever first and then entered the city.

*Note*

1. देव has been used as a synonym of Peer here. Therefore it refers to Pīr Panchāl.

VERSE 429

पौत्री जामातु सम्बन्धि बान्धवाः सर्वमन्त्रिणः ।  
अपुनः सङ्गमायेव सर्वेषां दर्शनं ददौ ॥ ४२९ ॥

He (Sayyid Nāsir) had caught the glimpse of his grandson, son-in-law, relatives and all the counsellors, as if he would not have any contact with them again.

VERSE 430: SAYYID NĀSIR DIES

तदर्थमिव<sup>1</sup> संप्राप्तो मृतकल्पो दिनद्वयम् ।  
अतिवाह्य ज्वरक्रान्तः स्वगृहे पञ्चतां ययौ ॥ ४३० ॥

For that very purpose only he had arrived (here) like a dead person; weakened by persistent fever after passing two days, he breathed his last at his own residence.

*Note*

1. Sayyid Nāsir had a premonition that he would not see his near and dear ones again, so he though half-dead, came to Kashmir for getting their leave for good.

VERSE 431: MALIK AHMED YATTU ALSO DIES

मल्लिको बन्धनस्थः संव्रतः पुत्रप्रवासानात्<sup>1</sup> ।

तत्तच्छोकमयप्रसूतः सोऽप्यस्यस्यो व्यपद्यत ॥४३१॥

Malik (Ahmed Yattu) in his prison, was plagued by various misgivings, due to the separation from his son. Therefore bent down under such distraction coupled with bodily ailment he also died.

*Note*

1. Śrīvara has already recorded in verse 400 that Malik Ahmed Yattu was imprisoned along with his son. It seems that they were separated from each other subsequently and allotted different cells. It might also suggest that Nauroz was later on exiled from Kashmir.

VERSE 432

बद्धस्यापि मृतिं तस्य श्रुत्वा मन्त्रिशिरोमणेः ।

देशे सरुदिताक्रन्दं शूरोच सकलोजनः ॥४३२॥

The entire population in the country on hearing about his death, one who was the crown of counsellors, was plunged in grief and wept very bitterly.

VERSE 433

सत्कार्यं भाजं महतां वियोगाद्

भवन्ति नीचाः पदवीषु योग्याः

प्रकाशकेऽस्मिन् घुमणौ प्रयाते

भवन्ति दीपाः शरणं प्रजानाम् ॥४३३॥

Being deprived of eminent talent the repositories of goodness, the inferior are thought to be eligible for places (vacated by them). When the illuminator—the Sun—sets, people take recourse to lamps.

VERSE 434: SAYYIDS POSSESSED VERY LOUD

EGO

दुहितृभाग्यं सौभाग्यं<sup>1</sup> सम्राट् विप्रवर्जिताः ।

सैदाः कश्मीरिकाः सर्वान् न तृणायाप्यजीगणन्<sup>2</sup> ॥४३४॥

By dint of the luck of their daughter (Hayāt Khātūn) the Sayyids could muster prosperity and affluence, so they did not care a fig for the entire Kashmiri population.



## Notes

1. Sayyid Hassan's daughter Hayât Khâtoon was married to Sultân Hassan. The Sultân was very fond of this wife (ZRRT. 222-224). Persian Chroniclers say that she was the daughter of Sayyid Hassan (TAKHSN, p 209).

2. Being pronouncedly egoists the Sayyids treated the Kashmiris with disdain.

VERSE 435: THE SULTÂN IS A VIRTUAL PRISONER  
IN THE HANDS OF SAYYIDS

याभूत् सैदमुखादाज्ञा निर्यान्तौ स्वार्थं लिप्सया ।  
उज्जस्तदर्थं निष्ठस्य प्रतिश्रुत्केव साधवत् ॥४३५॥

With their personal ends in view, whatever orders were issued by the Sayyids, seemed to echo the consent of the Sultân.

VERSE 436: SCHISM AMONG THE SAYYIDS

सैदेषु द्वैधनिष्ठेषु<sup>1</sup> क्षान्तिशीले महीपतौ ।  
प्रबलासु च नारीषु कोऽप्यजृम्भत विप्लवः ॥४३६॥

The Sayyids owing allegiance to two camps, and the self complacent Sultân under the influence of the hot-headed women, did culminate in a kind of friction.

## Note

1. The Sayyids appear to have been divided into two camps after they rose to power in Kashmir. The Sultân's father-in-law Sayyid Hassan's despotism might have contributed to this schism. It can also mean their double dealing, duplicity etc.

VERSE 437: SOCIETY IS TARNISHED BY THE  
SAYYID OFFICERS

उत्क्रोचग्रहणं धर्मः प्रजापीडा च कौशलम् ।  
स्त्रीषु च व्यसनं सौख्यममन्यन्ताधिकारिणः ॥४३७॥

The officers (appointed by the Sayyids) regarded taking bribe as their religious obligation, extortion of the people as their dexterity, and unbecoming indulgence with the women as their felicity.

VERSE 438

प्रातिवन्धिक<sup>1</sup> निर्वृत्या स्वाच्छन्दप्रतिदर्पितः ।  
स मेयाहस्सनः सर्वतन्त्रेभ्यो<sup>2</sup> यन्त्रणां व्यषात् ॥४३८॥

Ban on him having been revoked, puffed up with having obtained

the authority to do what he liked, Miyā Hassan began to tease all the administrative heads.

*Notes*

1. Refer verse 353 earlier.
2. This word among other meanings also denotes officers running the administration of the state.

VERSE 439: SAYYID HASSAN BECOMES VIRTUALLY  
A MAJOR DOMO

प्रवर्धमानो राक्षः स शनैराक्रान्तमण्डलः ।

ग्राह्यपत्यं सर्वेषां राहुच्छायामिवाकरोत् ॥४३९॥

Encouraged by the Sultān, he (Sayyid Hassan) brought the whole country under his influence slowly and steadily, like the shadow of Rāhu subjugating all other planets.

*Note*

1. Rāhu is the name of one of the nine planets. The astrologers believe that at the time of conjunction or opposition with the Sun and the Moon, its shadow is supposed to nullify the inherent eminence of these two major planets, besides other planets.

VERSE 440: THE SAYYIDS SEND MILITARY EXPEDITION  
TO BĀLTISTĀN AND LADĀKH

अथ सूक्ष्म बृहद्भुट्ट<sup>1</sup> देशान् सैदा जिगीषया ।

श्री ज्यहाङ्गिर नासेरो<sup>2</sup> यात्रायै द्वौ व्यसर्जयन् ॥४४०॥

The Sayyids with a desire to conquer the little and the greater Bhuṭṭa country, commissioned Jahāngīr and Nāsir, to undertake this expedition.

*Notes*

1. By little and the greater Bhuṭṭa country. Bāltistān and Ladākh are meant respectively.
2. Both of them seem to be Sayyid generals.

VERSE 441

उभावेकत्र गच्छवो<sup>1</sup> यद्यावां कर्म सेत्स्यति ।

इति मार्गपतेर्वाक्यं सैदौ नैवान्वतिष्ठताम्<sup>2</sup> ॥४४१॥

"We should join our forces and march together to one place, through that (strategy) alone our campaign will succeed." This

advice of Magrey did not cut ice with the two Sayyids (commanders).

*Notes*

1. It seems Magrey was the over-all incharge of this campaign.
2. The two Sayyid commanders Jahāngir and Nowsher did not pay any heed to this seasoned advice. The use of dual number with Sayyids clearly indicates that both commanders were Sayyids. It has nothing to do with Jahāngir Magrey or Nausher Rājānaka (cf, verse 445 later), both of whom were Kashmiris.

**VERSE 442: BĀLTISTĀN IS CONQUERED BUT LADAKH  
THWARTS SULTĀN'S EXPEDITION**

तयोर्देशं विजित्यैकः<sup>१</sup> सयशाः प्राविशत् पुरम् ।  
अन्यो विशङ्कितो बन्धो युक्त्यात्मानमरक्षत ॥४४२॥

One of these (Sayyid commanders) registered victory over one of these courtiers returning to the capital in full glory, while the other feeling apprehensive was imprisoned but managed his release cleverly.

*Note*

1. Apparently it was Bāltistān, which was conquered.

**VERSE 443: SRĪVARA ABSTAINS FROM GIVING THE  
DETAIL OF THIS DEFEAT**

निपत्य पश्चाद् भुट्टैर्यत् सेनायाः कदनं कृतम् ।  
कालापेक्षानुरोधेन<sup>१</sup> न मनाग् वर्णनं कृतम् ॥४४३॥

The Ladakhis attacking from the rear massacred the (royal) army, the description of which to even a small extent could not be done due to the pressure of those compelling times.

*Note*

1. It seems Srīvara used his discretion in not describing the wholesale massacre of the Sultān's army for more than one reasons. It would adversely tell upon the reputation of the Sultān and the Kashmiri soldiery. Moreover, the Sayyid commander of this campaign ending in fiasco, would have been unhappy and might have instigated Miya Hassan, the prime minister, against the chronicler and would have done him harm.

**VERSE 444**

बहदुरागादयस्तस्य सेवका वृद्धभूभुजः ।  
केचिज् ज्युल्व्याण<sup>१</sup> भुट्टाजि<sup>२</sup> बहो शलभतां गताः ॥४४४॥

Some attendants of the senile Sultān, Bahadu Rāga and others were consumed like moths in the conflagration set ablaze in that battle, (by the compatriots) of Zulca and Rencana.

*Notes*

1. Śrīvara here refers to the inhuman atrocities perpetrated by Zulca on the Kashmiris (ZRRT, 156).

2. Rencana, the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir did ascend the throne through unrelenting statecraft (ZRRT, I, 1, 51, 82 etc.).

The point made by Śrīvara is that both these Zulca and Rencana were very callous, hence their compatriots had measured up to them

**VERSE 445: THE SAYYIDS BLAME KASHMIRIS FOR THIS DEFEAT**

पूर्वापकार स्मरणात् सैदास्ते रश्नलब्धिताः ।  
नोस्सारजानकं रुद्ध दर्शनं तं न्यवारयन् ॥ ४४५ ॥

To pay off old scores and having found an opportunity to malign him, the Sayyids brushing Nausher Rājānaka (Raina) away, did not allow him to see the Sultān.

*Note*

1. Nausher Raina might have also been commanding a section of army under the Sayyid general. The Sayyids in order to save their skin heaped all the blame for the defeat and massacre on Nausher Raina—obviously a Kashmiri

**VERSE 446**

तेभ्यः स्वनिष्ठमाशङ्क्य निजरक्षणं दक्षधीः ।  
युक्त्या<sup>1</sup> तद्दर्शने राज्ञो राष्ट्रं<sup>2</sup> मार्गपतिर्ययौ<sup>3</sup> ॥ ४४६ ॥

Smelling personal harm from them (the Sayyids), but very quick-witted in saving himself, (Jahāngir) Magrey planning a (counter) strategy, came to the domain of the Sultān for seeking an interview with him.

*Notes*

1. With ingenuity, after due thought and scheming. It may also connote that for not giving any offence to the Sayyids he had arranged a secret meeting with the Sultān.

2. Royal capital is meant here. Jahāngir Magrey had to come from Bhangji pargana.

3. मार्गपति is Jahāngir Magrey.

**VERSE 447**

ततः सैदेष्टनष्टेषु प्रजानाशनकरिषु ।  
आशङ्क्यानिष्टमात्मीयं युक्त्या राजाग्रमाययौ ॥ ४४७ ॥

Thereafter, Sayyids being in full ascendancy and (busy in) liquidating the people, he (Jahāngir Magrey) suspecting his own downfall gained access to the Sultān tactfully.

VERSE 448: JAHĀNGIR MAGREY WARNS THE SULTĀN

एकदा रहसि क्षमापमब्रवीत् स ज्यहाङ्गिरः ।  
राजन् सैदा यदानीता अमी निष्कासिता अपि ॥४४८॥

Once when alone, he, Jahāngir (Magrey), made this plea to the Sultān—"O Sultān: these Sayyids though externed (earlier) have been recalled.

VERSE 449

सोऽयं निष्कण्टके देशे स्वस्यानर्थः स्वयंकृतः ।  
यथैव राज्ययोग्यस्त्वं पात्रः श्रीजैन भूपतेः ॥४४९॥

To this peaceful country, amounts to doing harm to your own self. Just as you have got the credentials to rule the country as the grandson of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin.

VERSE 450: SAYYIDS PROFESS EXTRA-TERRITORIAL LOYALTIES

दौहित्रोऽपि तथैवास्य प्राप्तो मेयामहम्मदः ।  
सैदास्ते सर्वदा शङ्क्यातुरुष्काश्वस्त<sup>1</sup> मानसाः ॥४५०॥

In the same way Miyā Mohammad, his (Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin's) daughter's son does possess (the same eligibility to rule Kashmir). (But) these Sayyids, drawing inspiration from Turks should always be kept at a distance.

Note

1. Jahāngir Magrey would like to say that he had nothing against the Sayyids as such, but since they do profess extra-territorial loyalties with the Turks in Central Asia, they should not be depended upon. They have not reconciled themselves to treating this country as their own.

VERSE 451

गृध्रा इवामिधे राज्ये ये लुब्धाः सन्ति संततम् ।  
न युक्तैक 'प्रियासक्तिर्बहुभार्यस्य'<sup>2</sup> ते विभो ॥४५१॥

They are always mad after power like the vultures for flesh. O

powerful Sultān! for being held in great esteem (by your queens) it does not behove you to become infatuated with only one (amongst them).

*Notes*

1. Sultān Hassan had three queens but had fondness only for one Hayāt Khātūn—belonging to the family of the Sayyids (ZRRT, III, 222).
2. This word is also a term of respect, esteem, etc.

VERSE 452

एकवल्लीरतो भृङ्गः सततं केन शंस्यते ।  
यदि जायाविधेयत्वं न स्यात् तव महीपते ॥ ४५२ ॥

Who praises the black-bee always attached to a single creeper? O Sultān! had you not been under the thumb of your wife.

VERSE 453: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY DECIDES TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY

सर्वं सिद्ध्यति कार्यं तत् स्त्रीजितो' मा भव प्रभो ।  
मया त्वद्राजरक्षार्थं स्वरक्षार्थं च गम्यते ॥ ४५३ ॥

Everything would have succeeded: so, O Sultān! do not be hen-pecked. In order to save your kingdom as also for personal safety I shall proceed.

*Note*

1. स्त्रीजितो: = conquered by the wife. A hen-pecked husband.

VERSE 454

बहिर्देशो द्युतः स्वात्मा रक्षणीयो यथा तथा ।  
इति श्रुत्वा तथेत्युक्त्वा राजा रात्रौ प्रियान्तिके ॥ ४५४ ॥

“To palaces outside the pale of Kashmir. You should be on your guard somehow or other”. Having listened to this, the Sultān said ‘be it so’ and during the night besides his beloved.

VERSE 455

तदुक्तमब्रवीत्सर्वं स्नेहमोहवशीकृतः ।  
तेन मार्गपतेः क्रुद्धा भोगिनीव भयावहा ।  
अनिष्टं चिन्तयन्त्यासीत् पितृपक्षमतादृता ॥ ४५५ ॥

He (the Sultān) out of love and under the influence of infatuation, divulged all what he (Magrey) had said (to her). She thus became cross with Magrey and like a dreadful she-serpent began to think of doing harm to him out of regard for her paternal collaterals (Sayyids).

VERSE 456

पुरुषानवधीर्यं यत्र नारी  
प्रभवत्येव जितप्रिया स्वतन्त्रा ।  
कुपितेव तदीक्षणाद् विनष्टा  
न चिरं तिष्ठति तत्र राजलक्ष्मी' ॥४५६॥

Where a self-willed woman, having made a slave of her spouse, asserts herself by deriding the men, the sovereignty, as if loath to look at her (the woman), does not stay for long there.

*Note*

1. राजलक्ष्मी = In Hindu tradition the sovereignty or the 'fortune of a king' is often personified as an individual, who has her own whims. Again the poet indulges in didactics.

VERSE 457: SAYYIDS ARE GIVEN THE REINS OF  
STATE-ADMINISTRATION

अमुञ्चद् वल्लभापश्यं तत्पक्षानुग्रहग्रहः ।  
मल्लेकाह्वद' वद्राज्यं तदायत्तं ततोऽकरोत् ॥४५७॥

Then having left the chamber of his beloved, (the Sultān) tempted to do favour to (her) side (Sayyids) made the kingdom subservient to them, just as he had done in the case of Malik Ahmed Yattu.

*Note*

1. Refer ZRRT, III, 23-24.

VERSE 458: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY LEAVES  
THE COUNTRY

सैदेभ्योऽनिष्टमाशङ्क्य त्रस्तो राज्ञा विरुद्धया ।  
काकोट' द्रङ्गमार्गेण मार्गेशः सबलो ययौ ॥४५८॥

Apprehending harm from the Sayyids, and feeling scared of the spiteful queen, Magrey along with his army left (Kashmir) via Kārkoṭa pass.

## Note

1. A watch station on Tosha-maidan route. Its position is indicated by the village of Drang these days. This locality is now called 'Bar-bal' the place of the gate (STRT, VII, 140 notes).

This village 'Drang' is situated in Beru pargana. This route via Tosha Maidan would lead to Lorin—one of the independent principalities on the outer borders of Kashmir, to which place Magrey actually went (verse 477 infra.).

VERSE 459: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY LEAVES THROUGH  
KĀRKOTĀ-DRANGA

सर्वा कुटुम्ब सामग्रीं भाङ्गिलान्तरतो नयन् ।

गच्छन् दुर्गम मार्गेण न स धैर्याद् व्ययुज्यत ॥४५९॥

After collecting the family and all the provisions, within Bhangil pargana, for the use of (his family), he negotiated this difficult route without losing his nerve.

## Note

1. Jahāngīr Magrey was the administrator of Bhangil pargana, hence he could collect the provisions there without any difficulty. Enroute to Lorin, these provisions were to be used by his family members.

## VERSE 460

तद्राज्यसिन्धुर्विपुलः<sup>1</sup> समृद्धया

व्यलक्षितः यः संपृक्त वाहिनीकः<sup>2</sup> ।

परस्परमात्य विरोधवात्या-

विशोषितोऽपूत सविकीर्ण रत्नः<sup>3</sup> ॥४६०॥

The ocean of his (Sultān Hassan's) kingdom which looked as very expansive due to its all round prosperity and well-knit army, received a jolt due to the mutual antagonism of the minister, with its jewels getting scattered here and there.

## Notes

1. The kingdom has been compared to an ocean. Hence the words used herein possess double intonation—in the context of the kingdom and that of ocean.

2. Well-knit army.

3. The people of eminence, talent, merit are compared to the jewels supposed to be lying buried in the ocean. Herein Śrīvara alludes to Magrey as a man of eminence (jewel).

VERSE 461: A GLOWING TRIBUTE IS PAID TO MAGREY  
BY ŚRĪVARA

साम्ना दैन्यमुदार दानविधिना वित्तप्रकर्षक्रिया

भेदाद् पैशुन कर्म मर्म दलनं युद्धेन नाशो विशाम् ।



इत्यालोच्य विरोधिषु प्रतिदिनं वर्धत्स्वशक्ते<sup>1</sup> प्रपौ<sup>2</sup>  
देशत्यागमुपायमेकमुचितं कोऽप्युत्तमो<sup>3</sup> ग्राहते ॥४६१॥

Having pondered over the pacifying means (to remove) destitution, the liberal modes of charity displaying the overwhelming superiority of wealth, by (sowing seeds of) discord, heart-rending vile acts and by war, the destruction of people (can be achieved), while the contenders gain power day by day when the king being helpless, to leave the country for good is the only proper course to adopt, which someone super-eminent does take.

*Notes*

1. The Sayyids consolidated their hold on the kingdom by employing the means given above.
2. The Sultān being in their grip they could do as they liked.
3. Reference to Jahāngir Magrey who as a very wise man left the country under these oppressing and suffocating circumstances.

VERSE 462: THE SULTĀN HAS SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT  
YATTUS AND MAGREYS

आयुक्त पक्षनारोऽन परचात्तापाहतो नृपः ।  
मार्गपत्यादि नारोऽन क्षते क्षारमिवान्वभूत् ॥४६२॥

The Sultān (already) reeling under the remorse of having liquidated the faction of (Malik Ahmed) Yattu, did experience insult added to injury, by the departure of Magrey.

VERSE 463: THE SULTĀN FEELS HIMSELF TO BE A  
STRANGER AMONGST THE SAYYIDS

मार्गेशाद्यैर्विना राजा सर्व सैदान्वितोऽपि सन् ।  
स्वात्मानं गणयामास यूथभ्रष्टमिव द्विपम् ॥४६३॥

Though surrounded by the entire host of Sayyids, the Sultān without Magreys and others felt himself to be like an elephant, strayed out of his herd.

VERSE 464

मार्गपत्यन्वये<sup>1</sup> ज्ञाताः प्रतीहारन्वये<sup>2</sup> च ये ।  
ठक्कुरान्वयजा<sup>3</sup> कोशाध्यक्षजा<sup>4</sup> अपरे च ये ॥४६४॥

Those born in the line of Magreys, Pratihāras, Thākurs, and Koṣādhyakṣas (Kuchais) as also others.

## Notes

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 1, 88.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, I, 1, 44.
4. *Ibid.*, II, 8.

## VERSE 465: LOCAL FACTION SEEMS DWINDLING

स्वस्वपक्षोर्जिताः पूर्वे येऽभवन् विजयोर्जिताः ।  
नष्ट मन्त्रविरोधेन शतैकीयोऽवशिष्यत ॥४६५॥

Who had consolidated their respective factions earlier, who had registered victories, were all annihilated through adverse counsel, with one amongst a hundred surviving (now).

## VERSE 466

तस्मिन् याते बहिर्वर्षत्तुषारं प्रसभं नमः ।  
भाग्याधिकोऽयं सर्वेभ्यो विशां चिच्छेद संशयम् ॥४६६॥

After he (Magrey) had left for a place outside Kashmir, the sky sent down abundant snow fortifying the belief of the people, that he was more lucky than them.

## Note

1. The people who could not go outside Kashmir for one reason or the other had already such premonitions that Magrey was more fortunate than them as he would not suffer tyranny, exploitation etc. unleashed by Sayyids on Kashmiris. Their suspicion was now more replaced by conviction, by this heavy snow-fall.

## VERSE 467

हिमानीपातभारेण<sup>1</sup> येऽवसन्नत्र मण्डले ।  
ययुर्निश्छायतां वृक्षा<sup>2</sup> भग्नशाखा जना इव ॥४६७॥

Those who lived here, under the weight of the snow-avalanches, were reduced to shade-less trees with their branches broken.

## Notes

1. It might also connote those Kashmiris who could not get out of Kashmir due to heavy snow.
2. Exact description of the trees during winter in Kashmir. The weight of snow breaks their branches and destroys whatever foliage is left on them.

VERSE 468

प्राक्चेत् पतेद्धिमं तावन्मयेरन् बुडिता क्षणात् ।  
पिष्टातकान्तर्गताः<sup>1</sup> प्रविष्टा इव तद्गताः ॥ ४६८ ॥

Had the snow fallen earlier, his (Magrey's) soldiers negotiating ravines would have died, having been submerged (under the snow) instantly like mice trapped in their holes.

Note

1. King Lalitāditya of ancient Kashmir, did meet his end in a snow blizzard (KLRT, IV, 367).

VERSE 469

तेनैकेन विना सर्वं हृदयाद्वादयिना ।  
नाशोभत सभा राजश्चन्द्रेणैव कुमुदती ॥ ४६९ ॥

Without him the one (Jahāngir Magrey) procuring soothing balm to the heart of every one, the Sultān's council of ministers, did lose its brilliance just like water-lily without the moon.

VERSE 470: THE SULTĀN DOES NOT TAKE ANY INTEREST  
IN THE ADMINISTRATION

तटस्थो मृत्यकार्येषु सैदभार्याविधेयघीः ।  
विसूत्रं व्यवहारत्वं निन्द्यत्वं चागमन्तुपः ॥ ४७० ॥

The Sultān, disinterested in the (administrative) work of his officials, his intellect pawned to the Sayyid wife, did earn the bad reputation of not discharging his obligations (towards the people).

VERSE 471

स्वराज्यरक्षणाचारं लक्षणाक्षमं शासनः ।  
निन्दन् दाक्ष्यं सदैवासीत् प्रियेक्षणकृतक्षणः ॥ ४७१ ॥

He (the Sultān) whose every minute would be spent in feeding his eyes on his beloved, was incompetent to show his nerve, in protecting his kingdom, (so) would always deride competence.

Note

Śrīvara would like to convey that the Sultān preoccupied with his beautiful queen did not care to appoint competent officers, to run the administration.

VERSE 472: THE SULTĀN GOES BY THE ADVICE OF  
THE WOMEN

निग्रहानुग्रहव्यग्राः सूक्तोचग्रहतत्पराः ।

अन्तरङ्गाः स्त्रियोऽभूवन् मन्त्री न च सेवकः ॥ ४७२ ॥

Fully occupied with awarding punishment or showing favour, eager to receive bribes, the women formed the inner circle (of the Sultān), neither a minister nor an executive.

VERSE 473

भोगलोभोज्झितौचित्या अमी विन्दन्ति साम्प्रतम् ।

तुरुष्कपुष्कलाश्वासाः<sup>1</sup> स्वार्थमर्थं न च प्रभो ॥ ४७३ ॥

These (Sayyids) with the profuse blessings of the Turks, throwing decorum to winds (obsessed with) greed for (amassing) wealth and advantages, did serve their own ends and not those of the Sultān.

*Note*

1. Perhaps these Sayyids had been assured of the help by the Turks in case their tyranny would provoke Kashmiri people to rebel. So, these Sayyids were making hay while the sun was shining

VERSE 474

अनायका विनश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति शिशुनायकाः ।

स्त्रीनायका विनश्यन्ति नश्यन्ति बहुनायकाः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ४७४ ॥

(A country) without a leader is destroyed, one with a raw and minor leader is destroyed, one with a woman as a leader is destroyed and the one with too many leaders is destroyed.

*Note*

1. A typical didactic verse.

VERSE 475

स्त्रीविधेयं समालोच्य राज्यं तस्य महीपतेः ।

इति श्लोकं पठल्लोकः सशोकः समदृश्यत ॥ ४७५ ॥

Having given thought to the Sultān's being under the thumb of a woman, the people, as helpless spectators, would recite the (above) verse.

VERSE 476

ध्यायन् स मार्गपत्यादीस्तत्प्रत्यानयनाक्षमः ।  
शयनीयविमुक्ताङ्गस्तप्यतेस्म दिवानिशम् ॥ ४७६ ॥

Thinking (about their Sultān) pinned to the bed and not having courage enough to recall Magrey and others (the people) began to grieve night and day.

*Note*

1. Sharing the bed with his beloved Hayât Khâtoon, is meant here.

VERSE 477: MAGREY IS A PATRIOT PAR-EXCELLENCE

अत्रान्तरे स मार्गेशो लोहरान्तरसंश्रयः ।  
स्वामिचित्ताकुलो लेखशिक्षामित्यं व्यसर्जयत् ॥ ४७७ ॥

In the meanwhile, Magrey having got asylum in Lohar (Lorin) but still anxious for the Sultān sent this (following) advice through a letter (to him).

VERSE 478

राजन् पुरतकोशस्ते योऽभूत् सर्वार्थसाधकः ।  
उत्पादयोत्सारितः सैदैर्यद्दारिद्र्यं सुदुःसहम् ॥ ४७८ ॥

O Sultān! the bevy of eminent people who would see every obligation through, has been destroyed and relieved by the Sayyids (culminating) in (your) intolerable abjectness.

VERSE 479

निसर्गगुरवो<sup>1</sup> नान्य<sup>2</sup> सङ्गमिच्छन्ति चञ्चलाः ।  
अमी परस्परं भिन्नाः पारदस्य कणा इव ॥ ४७९ ॥

These petulant (Sayyids) by nature are conscious of their blue-blood, and so do not wish to mix with others. They are divided amongst themselves like the particles of mercury.

*Notes*

1. Being from the line of the Prophet, the Sayyids think themselves superior. This is their natural ego.
2. So, these Sayyids take Kashmiris to be inferior, and do not mix with them or join hands with them in running the administration of the state.

## VERSE 480

हरिचन्दनवद्' राजन् सर्व सौख्यप्रदो भवान् ।  
किन्तु फूत्कारकारिण्यां भोगिन्यावेष्टितो' ह्यसि ॥४८०॥

O you benevolent! like the sandal tree you have been entwined by a hissing she-serpent.

## Notes

1. It is a variety of sandal wood, usually yellow in colour.
2. It is believed that snakes entwine their body to the trunk of sandal wood tree for its cooling effect, during hot days of summer. Here reference is made to Hayāt Khātūn (cf, 455, verse supra).

## VERSE 481: MAGREY GIVES REASONS FOR NOT SERVING THE SULTAN

यस्मिन् स्फूर्जद्विषज्वाला व्यालाः सन्ति परासहाः ।  
निधानमिव तद्राज्यं त्याज्यं कस्य न सन्मते ॥४८१॥

This kingdom of yours is a hot bed of uncompromising serpents emitting fiery venom. Every right thinking man should maintain distance from it.

## VERSE 482: KASHMIR HAS BEEN REDUCED TO A CREMATION GROUND

प्रदीप्तापि न या स्पृश्या दृश्यापि भयकारिणी ।  
श्मशानाग्निं शिखीवासौ लक्ष्मीः सा केन सेव्यते ॥४८२॥

Who will remain in service to that royal splendour, which like the blaze of the fire at the cremation ground, though very illuminating, cannot be touched, though seen, strikes terror?

## VERSE 483

स मेयाहस्सनस्तत्तद्दुर्ग्रहग्रस्तवासनः ।  
आप्तैरुक्तोऽपि सन्मार्गे न तिष्ठतीव रावणः ॥४८३॥

He, Miyā Hassan, obsessed with obstinate and evil intentions, does not take to the right course, like Rāvaṇa though advised by experienced veterans.

## VERSE 484

मेराख्या' ताडकेवात्र' सूक्तोचामिष पक्षिणी ।

पौलस्त्यस्येव<sup>३</sup> ते सर्व नाशार्थं निकटे स्थिता ॥४८४॥

(Your consort) Mīrā by name, devouring flesh (soiled) with corruption, is like Tādakā enjoying your confidence, will bring wholesale disaster to you, as was the case with Rāvaṇa.

*Notes*

1. She belonged to the Mīr family.
2. The demoness killed by Śrī Rāma, when she tried to disturb the sacrifice, initiated by Viśvāmitra (VLRMN, I, 26, 27, verse 13).
3. Rāvaṇa was the son of sage Pulastya.

VERSE 485: MAGREY PLEDGES TO LIQUIDATE SAYYIDS  
FROM OUTSIDE KASHMIR

तिष्ठन्त्वध्यन्तरे सैदा यदीष्टा भवदन्तिके ।

तुरुष्क<sup>१</sup> करगं देशमिहस्थः<sup>२</sup> साधयाम्यहम् ॥४८५॥

If you are enamoured of Sayyids let them stay inside (Kashmir), (though) stationed here, I shall set right the country (which has) gone into the hands of the Turks.

*Notes*

1. Turks like Sayyids—foreigners—had dominated Kashmir then which was an obvious irritant to Magrey.
2. Stationed at Lorin (cf, verse 477).

VERSE 486: MAGREY HAS NO QUARREL WITH THE  
SULTĀN BUT WITH SAYYIDS

गजद्रोही नकोऽप्यस्मत्कुलेऽभूद् भक्तिवर्जितः ।

त्वदेक शरणः सोऽहं स्थामस्यो द्वाःस्थवद् वसे<sup>१</sup> ॥४८६॥

Our tribe has not produced even a single traitor, or one devoid of loyalty. I (still) feel that you are my sole refuge and shall remain 'steadfast at your door.

*Note*

1. Apparently Magrey has no quarrel with the Sultān. He is still loyal to him.

VERSE 487: MAGREY ASSURES THE SULTĀN OF  
HIS LOYALTY

वयमेव सदाचार विचार विशरारवः ।

उन्मार्गे यदि गच्छमः कोऽप्यस्मासु न विश्वसेत् ॥४८७॥

If we of good conduct, as also endowed with discretion, should

take the wrong path (of disloyalty), then who will trust us?

VERSE 488

कल्पान्तमपि जीवित्वा कृत्वापि धन सञ्चयम् ।  
हत्वाप्यरीन् कोऽप्यत्र भवे भवति सुस्थिरः ॥४८८॥

Who can claim permanency in this world even though having lived up to the end of the aeon, amassed untold wealth and having vanquished his enemies.

VERSE 489

नष्टेऽन्यस्मिन् भवांस्त्राता त्वयि नष्टे परोऽस्ति कः ।  
इति लेखं नृपस्याग्रे बुद्ध्वा मार्गपतेर्दुतम् ॥४८९॥

If others are destroyed, you are the saviour, but when you yourself are no more, who else can take your place. Having instantly come to know about this petition of Magrey to the Sultān...

VERSE 490

स मेयाहस्सनः क्रोधाच्छ्वसन्नहिरिवान्रवीत् ।  
सोऽहं स्थानच्युतस्तत्र स्वजीवनं विवर्जितः ॥४९०॥

Miyā Hassan, having been enraged and fretting like a serpent, retorted. He does not hold any position and is despaired of his life there.

VERSE 491

नूनमस्मत्प्रतापेन शुष्यतीवाब्जपण्डवत् ।  
ग्रीष्मोष्णौ विशुष्कस्य पङ्कमात्रावशेषिणः ॥४९१॥

And will surely wither away like a lotus through the heat of our glory, and be reduced to mere mud, by being dried up by the summer heat.

VERSE 492

भृत्यास्तस्य न तिष्ठन्ति तडागस्येव' पक्षिणः ।  
किं करोतु स्थितस्तत्र तत्रत्यैर्विहितादरः ॥४९२॥

His mercenaries will leave him like the birds in a tank. What can



he do being stationed there, (even if) the people there hold him in respect?

*Note*

1. When the tank dries up birds leave it. In the same way, when Magrey will not be able to pay his mercenaries, they will bid farewell to him.

VERSE 493

मदीयदासमात्रोऽपि तं जेतुं क्षमते युधि ।  
अथवाहं स्वयं यामि तं निष्कासयितुं ततः ॥ ४९३ ॥

Even a slave of mine has (better) tools to vanquish him in a battle. Or else, I shall myself march against him for sending him away from that place.

VERSE 494

स तुरुष्कैः<sup>1</sup> समं तत्र ग्रथनं कुरुतेऽन्यथा ।  
अथोचे सैदहसनः पूर्वमेत्रोमनुस्मरन् ॥ ४९४ ॥

"Otherwise he might collude with the Turks there." Thereafter, bringing to mind his (Magrey's) earlier friendship, Sayyid Hassan took the floor.

*Note*

1. Jahāngir Magrey had accused the Sayyids for being in collusion with the Turks (verse 485 supra).

How Miyā Hassan levels counter charge on Magrey for colluding with the Turks. It seems the Turks, foreigners for Kashmir—had two factions. Sayyids had taken only one of these into their confidence and the other feeling disgruntled was waiting in the wings to overrun Kashmir. Miyā Hassan might have alluded to these Turks here.

VERSE 495: SAYYID HASSAN HAS SOFT CORNER  
FOR MAGREY

किं नस्तेन हृतं राष्ट्रं<sup>1</sup> दीयतामानयाम्यहम् ।  
आयुक्तोपप्लवे पूर्वं कृतदिव्याः परस्परम् ॥ ४९५ ॥

We need not take him into any account. If the district snatched from him is returned to him I shall bring him here. Earlier when (Malik Ahmed) Yattu had raised the banner of revolt we had taken an oath before each other.

*Note*

1. The district of Bhangil was under his administration (cf. verse 459)

## VERSE 496

अनिष्टं चिन्तयामश्चेत् तत्कथं सहते विधिः ।

तच्छ्रुत्वा नृपतेरग्रे तद्वैकाग्र मानसः ॥४९६॥

To the effect that, if we conspire against each other, God will punish us. Having heard this in presence of the Sultān, (Miyā Hassan) possessed by spite.

VERSE 497: DAULAT KHĀN IS MADE GOVERNOR  
OF NOWSHERA

तूर्णं दौलतयानं<sup>1</sup> स्वं नौशाहराधिपं<sup>2</sup> व्यधात् ।

बाह्यास्थः साधयत्येव कार्यं सद्भृतकाग्रणीः ॥४९७॥

Immediately he appointed Daulat (Khān) as the governor of Nowshahāra (Nowshera), "He will look to our interests from outside Kashmir as he is foremost among our good officers."

Notes

1. The reading दौलतयानं does not convey anything. Apparently it should have been दौलत खान. But who was he?
2. Nowshera is situated on the outer fringe of Kashmir on Jammu-Poonch road. Rajouri and Poonch are the subsequent stations on it. It seems that this tract was under the suzerainty of Kashmir then.

## VERSE 498

द्रव्यं कोटिं ददामोऽस्मै सैन्यं सङ्ग्रहसिद्धये ।

इत्युक्त्वा प्रतिमुक्तं तमेधराजानकं पथः ॥४९८॥

He may be given a crore of wealth as the expenditure for raising an army. Having said so, he (Miyā Hassan) sent Edha Rājānaka (Idi Raina) the earlier appointee enroute (to Nowshera).

VERSE 499: EARLIER APPOINTEE IDI RAINA IS RECALLED

दुतं निवर्तयामास<sup>1</sup> दत्तं द्रव्यमपि स्वयम् ।

श्रुत्वा परशुरामाद्या<sup>2</sup> मद्राःकाश्मीर देशतः ॥४९९॥

To return immediately, though he had been given money by him (Miyā Hassan) from his own pocket. Having observed this, the Parashu Ram and others of Madradsēśa.

Notes

1. Miyā Hassan wanted to send more reliable and loyal governor to that place

than Idi Raina. A Kashmiri might feel drawn towards Magrey his compatriot and his own position in Kashmir may be imperilled by their collusion.

2. The commander of Jammu garrison (ZRRT, iv, 25).

VERSE 500

स्वनिष्टशङ्कया गन्तुमाज्ञा तेभ्यो ययाचिरे ।  
ऊचुस्तान् प्रतिमुञ्चामो युष्मान् पाथेय संयुतान् ॥ ५०० ॥

Suspecting trouble from Kashmir, requested them (the Sayyids) to order their return to (Jammu). They (the Sayyids) replied "we shall send you along with your travelling kit and expenses."

VERSE 501

कियद्दिनानि तिष्ठध्वं तद्ययं दत्तवेतनाः ।  
तेषु स्ववसति यात्सु सैदास्तेऽन्योन्यमनुवन् ॥ ५०१ ॥

After getting your pay stay for some days (here). The Sayyids consulted each other with regard to their (Parashurām's) desire to return to his land.

VERSE 502: JAMMU GARRISON SENT AWAY FROM  
KASHMIR

निष्कास्याः सर्वथैतेन तुरुष्कैक विरोधिनः' ।  
अत्रान्तरे नरेन्द्रस्य ततद्भृत्यादि चिन्तनात् ॥ ५०२ ॥

"These sworn enemies of Turks, should be certainly sent away." In the meanwhile brooding over the conduct of each and every executive, the Sultān's...

Note

1. The Sayyids arrived at this conclusion that Jammu garrison should be sent away from Kashmir.

VERSE 503: THE SULTĀN ALONG WITH SAYYIDS GOES  
FOR HUNTING DEER

जाताधिबाधितं वक्त्रं पौषे पद्मिवाभवत्' ।  
मृगया रसिकः सैदा निन्युस्तं तादृशं नृपम् ॥ ५०३ ॥

Face, disturbed by mental conflict, became like a lotus in the month of Pauṣa (December-January). The Sayyids, enamoured of hunting, took the Sultān with them in that very condition.

## Note

1. The face of the Sultān had lost his lustre like the frost-bitten lotus in Pauṣa (December-January).

## VERSE 504

माघे विषय रष्ट्राद्रिगतान् हन्तुं मृग व्रजान् ।  
यत्र यत्रावसद्रात्रौ ससैदः कटकोत्कटः ।  
पीड्यमानजनाक्रन्दमुखरास्तद्दिशोऽभवन् ॥ ५०४ ॥

In the month of Māgha for killing herds of deer in district and villages. Wherever (the distracted Sultān) encamped during the nights in company with Sayyids and their huntsmen, all the four quarters resounded with the wailings of the people put to torture.

## VERSE 505

पङ्क्तीः प्रसार्य परितोऽद्रिषु दिग्बिभागां  
यत्रोपवेशमकरोत् कटको नृपस्य  
तत्रोदतिष्ठदतिनिष्ठुरवाग्<sup>1</sup> जनानां  
द्राक्षालताच्छिदि<sup>2</sup> शुचा रुदितस्वनौषः ॥ ५०५ ॥

The guards of the Sultān spreading out in lined formations would encamp on all the sides including the mountains. The people there, lamenting the peeling of the grape vines would hurl most heinous curses on them, punctuated with their very loud weepings.

## Notes

1. The people cursed them most vehemently for their bad deeds.
2. These grape-vines were felled by the troops perhaps for using its wood as the fuel. It takes many years for a vine-creeper to grow and bear fruit. The people were thus deprived of the pittance which explains their helpless fury.

## VERSE 506

गिरयोऽत्युन्नतास्तत्र सुखदा सान्त्वनिर्भराः ।  
आक्रान्ताः कटकेहिस्त्रैर्दुर्जनैरिव साधवः ॥ ५०६ ॥

Very high mountains there affording comfort and peace were denuded by these violent troops, like the virtuous by the wicked.

## VERSE 507

प्रलेयपूर्णगङ्गाः<sup>1</sup> कुरुङ्गा गिरिशृङ्गतः ।  
श्रुत्वा कोलाहलं<sup>2</sup> व्रता सकुटुम्बाः<sup>3</sup> समाययुः ॥ ५०७ ॥

Having heard the noise (of drums) the deer with their snow-clad bodies took fright and descended from the mountain tops in multitudes.

*Notes*

1. It was winter so the bodies of the deer were bespattered with snow, more so, on the mountain tops.
2. The beating of drums always precedes hunting for obliging the prey to come out of its hide out.
3. It might connote also that the deer came along with their near and dear ones.

VERSE 508

कृष्टजिह्वान् स्फुरद्रक्तसिक्तास्याञ् श्वगणावृतान् ।  
तांस्तत्राग्रागतान् दृष्ट्वा सैदास्ते तुत्षुर्भृशम् ॥ ५०८ ॥

On seeing the deer having come there with protruding tongues, with their faces soiled with oozing blood and surrounded by the hounds, the Sayyids felt extremely happy.

VERSE 509

हरास्मान् पीवरानेतान् पोटान् मा हर दुर्बलान् ।  
इतीव वक्तुं भूपात्रे प्रापुस्ते सार्धका मृगाः ॥ ५०९ ॥

“Kill the corpulent ones out of us, but not the fragile and young ones.” As if to make this plea, the deer, with their young ones arrived before the Sultān.

VERSE 510

सिद्धाध्युषितशृङ्गस्थत्रस्तैणवधदर्शनात् ।  
क्रुद्धाः स्युर्देवता राजन् मा कृथा मृगयामिमाम् ॥ ५१० ॥

“O Sultān! on seeing the massacre of the frightened deer, fondled by accomplished souls infesting the summits of the mountains, the gods will get offended. So desist from this hunting.”

*Note*

It might mean the *Peers* here, who according to Muslim-belief preside over the summit of mountains.

VERSE 511

इत्याद्युक्तोऽपि बहुशस्तत्रलैः सकलैर्जनैः ।  
शृङ्गरीवाङ्गनासङ्गान्न व्यरंसीन्मृगग्रहात् ॥ ५११ ॥

In this way, the entire population there pleaded (with the Sultān), time and again but (he) did not discard infatuation for the deer just as a lustful man does for a pretty woman.

## VERSE 512

आस्थानमृगयोप्रेयं<sup>1</sup> नान्यदा क्रियते त्वया ।  
मुनिवैश्रवणाद्रिस्थो<sup>2</sup> नृपमेत्याब्रवीदिति ॥ ५१२ ॥

The ascetics residing on Vaiśravaṇa mountain, approached the Sultān and exhorted him not to indulge in this bloody hunting of the deer, belonging to that holy place, any more.

## Notes

1. It might suggest an Āstān—a holy and hallowed place for Muslims.
2. The Muslim saints particularly, or the *ṛṣis* of Kashmir who had abjured violence.

## VERSE 513

साक्रन्दमागता हत्वा मृगीस्ता रुधरोक्षिताः ।  
तद्गर्भनिर्भरां भूमिं सैदाश्चक्रुर्दयोऽज्झिताः ॥ ५१३ ॥

The female deer wet with the dripping blood and giving out plaintive cries were killed callously by the Sayyids, filling the ground to capacity with their foetus.

## VERSE 514: GUJJAR COLONY IS BESEIGED

अतृप्तस्तद्वधात् कृत्वा निर्मृगांस्तान् गिरीश्वरान् ।  
सायं श्रान्तः स घोषौघान्<sup>1</sup> वसतीरादिशान् नृपः ॥ ५१४ ॥

Having made those lofty mountains deer-less by their wholesale killing, the Sultān though fatigued, but not feeling fully satiated, at dusk ordered the seige of the colony of cow-herds.

## Note

1. The Gujjars (who were cow-herd by profession) living on mountain slopes were extorted to provide food to the soldiers of the Sultān.

## VERSE 515: THE TURKS TYRANNISE THE PEOPLE

भव्या स्तुषास्य तनया तरुणी च जाया  
कादम्बरं प्रसरके<sup>1</sup> पशवश्च मीनाः ।  
तिष्ठाम्यमुष्य सदनेऽहमिहैव रात्रौ  
ध्यात्वेति कोऽपि<sup>2</sup> न्यविशद् यमकिङ्करीषः ॥ ५१५ ॥

"His daughter-in-law is ravishing, daughter and wife are youthful. The tray is laden with meat, fish and a goblet of wine. I shall stay at his house for the night." Thus making up his mind, someone intruded into his house, like a valet of death-god.

## Notes

1. Literally it means a wide-container, a tray, it also means a goblet.
2. Perhaps some soldier had peeped into the house and got this information. 'Someone' will connote an unknown, not quite known to this household—a foreigner for them.

VERSE 516: THE TURKS PLUNDER THE PEACE LOVING PEOPLE

धानुष्कपुष्कलबला<sup>1</sup> बलिनस्तुरुष्काः  
 षट्कर्मधर्म<sup>2</sup> निरताग्रय गृहीतोपविष्टाः  
 तन्द्राण्डपक्वहतकुक्कटमांसभक्ष्या  
 यक्षा<sup>3</sup> इवात्र विदधुर्मधुपान लीलाम् ।। ५१६ ।।

The uncompromising Turks with their powerful array of archers, seated themselves in the portico of the house of a person, fulfilling his six religious obligations and began to eat the meat of carved cocks quite ready in their utensils, indulging in the revelry of drinking like ghosts.

## Notes

1. The Turks had got the archers with them for threatening the family members of this household, if they tried to resist intrusion and consequent vandalism.
2. Five times prayers (Namāz) and steadfast faith (Imān) in prophet Mohammed, are the six religious duties of a Muslim. The householder was a god-fearing Muslim.
3. Usually these Yaksas are a class of demi-gods—the attendants of Kubera—God of wealth. These also mean ghosts or spirits. This rendering suits the context here. In Kashmiri the practice of propitiating these Yaksas with the offerings of *khichri* is still in vogue amongst Hindus. Yakṣiṇi Caturdaśi the 14th day of the dark fortnight of Pausa is reserved for this.

## VERSE 517

पशुतण्डुलमद्यादि हत्वा वास्तव्यलोकतः ।  
 लुब्धास्तत्सेवकाः केऽपि स्वगृहे भरणं<sup>1</sup> व्यधुः ।। ५१७ ।।

Some of their ('Turks') greedy servants seizing forcibly, the rice, the cattle and wine from the people of this place, would even maintain their own household.

## Note

1. They would loot people and take away so much from them that they could run their own household with that booty.

## VERSE 518

मान्यदा गमनं भूयाद् युष्माकं जन पीडया ।  
इत्याद्यातीशेषः शृण्वन्नशक्तो विव्यथे नृपः ॥ ५१८ ॥

"You—the scourge for the people—may not come again",  
hearing such and other prayers, the helpless Sultān felt pained.

## Note

1. Evidently it means that these looters should die, this may be their last visit.  
This prayer they addressed to god.

## VERSE 519

मृगया व्यसनं राज्ञो धिक्फलं भुज्यते न यैः ।  
मृगापदेशाल्लोकानामेव सा क्रियते स्फुटम् ॥ ५१९ ॥

Fie on the addiction to hunting by the kings, who do not reap  
its consequences. Under its excuse, actually the people are hunted.

VERSE 520: HUNTING IS BUTCHERY ACCORDING TO  
ŚRIVARA

पशुवच्छतशो बद्ध्वा मृगौषो यत्र मार्यते ।  
मृगया सा विनोदाय यदि सैनिक कर्म किम् ॥ ५२० ॥

Where (during that hunting) the hordes of deer are killed, like  
hundreds of chained cattle, if that be an amusement, then what can  
the profession of butchery be called?

## VERSE 521

अमस्त्वयं चले लक्ष्ये स्पृहणीयोऽस्ति सादिनाम् ।  
कोऽयं बद्धेषु मृगे श्लाघ्यः शराभ्यासो धनुष्यताम् ॥ ५२१ ॥

Markmanship of the archers on a fleeting target are appreciable,  
but how can be the darting of arrows on the chained deer be  
appreciated?

## Note

1. Did these Turks first catch the deer and then shoot arrows on them?

## VERSE 522

क्षत्रियैर्मृगया कार्या निरवद्यतृणाशिनाम् ।  
नैकान्तव्यसनं युक्तं ह्यति सर्वत्र गर्हितम् ॥ ५२२ ॥



The Kṣatriyas should undertake unreprehensible hunting of herbivorous animals. But indulgence in that alone is not proper, since too much of anything is always bad.

## VERSE 523

महापद्मसरस्तीर गिरिगांश्च मृगव्रजान् ।  
आगतो नृपतिस्तद्वन्निःशेषानकरोद् बधात् ॥ ५२३ ॥

The Sultān having encamped there, made the banks of the Wular and the adjoining mountains completely deerless by killing these in very great numbers.

## VERSE 524

इत्याद्यनुचितं किञ्चिन्मृगयादूषणं कृतम् ।  
विलोक्य यद् भवेद्भीतिर्भाविनां मृगयाजुषाम् ॥ ५२४ ॥

In this way, (the Sultān) indulged in some improper evils, connected with hunting, on seeing which, even the hunters to be, would shiver in their houses.

## VERSE 525: THE SULTĀN IS ILL

आखेटिकां नृपः कृत्वा राजधानीं समागतः ।  
अस्वास्थ्यमवहद् देहे ग्रहणीगदसम्भवम् ॥ ५२५ ॥

Having returned to the capital after the hunting, the Sultān became ill with the ailment of diahorrea.

## VERSE 526: THE SULTĀN IS AFFLICTED WITH DIAHORREA

केऽप्युचुर्मृगया दोषात् कुपिता देवतास्ततः ।  
अतीसार गदारम्भस्तत्रैवास्य विलोकितः ॥ ५२६ ॥

Some said, due to the excessive addiction to hunting, the presiding deities over there had taken offence, and we did notice that his malady of very frequent and loose motions had raised its head there and then.

VERSE 527: PEOPLE SUSPECT SAYYIDS OF FOUL PLAY  
WITH THE HEALTH OF SULTĀN

केऽपि प्रच्छन्न राज्येच्छाः सैदाः स्वातन्त्रकाङ्क्षिणः ।

व्यधुः किमपि भूपाले तुरुष्काद्भूत मानसाः ॥ ५२७ ॥

Some said—"The Sayyids held in great esteem by the Turks, harbour a hidden desire to grab the kingdom, as also cherishing an ambition for independence, might have done something (amiss) to the Sultān."

VERSE 528: THE SULTĀN'S MALADY DEFIES PRECISE  
DIAGNOSIS

केऽपि मन्त्रिवियोगोत्थचित्तासन्तापितात्मजाम् ।

रुजामाहर्न तद्व्याधेर्निरचयः कस्यचिदभूत् ॥ ५२८ ॥

Some others said that due to the remorse and pain emanating from the death of the minister (Malik Ahmed Yattu), this ailment was a natural consequence. In this manner, none could be sure about the precise illness (from which the Sultān suffered).

VERSE 529

पूपस्तादृगवस्थः स नववर्षादि<sup>1</sup> वासरे ।

ययौ सर्जप्रदेशं<sup>2</sup> तत् व्यथया शकुनीच्छया<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५२९ ॥

The Sultān on the first day of the new year went in vain to the district of Sarja in that very condition of his health with a desire to (study) omens.

Notes

1 This is obviously *Nauroz*, the first day of Iranian new year. Iranian customs had obviously penetrated into Kashmir with the advent of Muslim theologians like Sayyid Ali and Sayyid Mohammed from Hamādān in Iran.

On this day the Muslim Shias in particular interpret the course of events in the coming year through various methods. This practice is also in vogue in Kashmir even today.

The Sultān's death took place on the ninth day of the dark fortnight of Vaisākha just after this *Nauroz* (verse 555 later).

2. It might be Marza and not Sarja as there is very little seeming difference between स and म in Sharda script. The Sultān might have proceeded to Maraz where such omen-study might have been pursued. It might also connote the birth of new year and for its consequent effect on the kingdom, the Sultān attended this ceremony at a particular place. सर्ज means 'to come into being', 'to be created' in Sanskrit.

3. Śakunī means a bird also. It might mean that Sultān went for bird-shooting. This shade of meaning is corroborated in the verse 535 infra.

## VERSE 530: THE SULTÂN IS BITTEN BY A SNAKE

तद्दिने गच्छतस्तस्य राज्ञो नौकान्तस्थितेः ।  
जैनवाट<sup>1</sup> विहारग्रात् सर्पस्तुषोट पदघतिम् ॥ ५३० ॥

On that day while seated in a moving boat, a snake bit him just in front of the hospice built at Zainavāṭa.

*Note*

1. It is very difficult to say what was it exactly. But may be it was a pucca-bank on the Wular lake.

## VERSE 531

तद् दुर्निमित्तभीशान्यै हत्वा तं शायकैर्नृपः ।  
अहरदधृदयाशङ्कानं न शरीरद रुजं पुनः ॥ ५३१ ॥

In order to ward off the fright emanating from this ill-omen, the Sultân killed it with arrows, thereby dismissing any apprehensions from his heart, but could not be free from (resultant) illness.

## VERSE 532

किमर्थं निर्गतो वासि चिरं त्वं सुकृतं कुरु ।  
इतीवाग्रतो वायुः<sup>1</sup> सवेगस्तं न्यरुणततः ॥ ५३२ ॥

“Why have you come out for (this inhuman pastime) when you should have done good deeds always”. As if in this way, the violent gale in front of him halted his onward march.

*Note*

1. The gale in the Wular lake brings sure death in the shape of drowning of people or capsizing of boats. Hence, the Sultân could not proceed further in the lake for bird-shooting.

## VERSE 533

अस्मिन् गते प्रजापीडा भविष्यत्यत्र मण्डले ।  
अकम्पत शुचवोद्यत्तरङ्ग तरलं सरः ॥ ५३३ ॥

“Consequent upon his (the Sultân's) death, the people in the country will be tyrannised.” As if with this swelling sorrow, the lake was agitated with towering tides.

## VERSE 534

तत्र सर्जोत्सवे भुक्त्वा सैदमन्त्रिसमावृतः ।  
अपुनर्दर्शनायेव<sup>1</sup> सर्वेषां दर्शनं ददौ ॥ ५३४ ॥

Having joined in a feast, surrounded by the council of Sayyid ministers, (the Sultān) appeared in public as if it was his last glimpse.

*Note*

1. The Sultān had a premonition that he would die soon.

#### VERSE 535

नौकारूढस्ततस्तूणीं सभृत्यः स दिनावधि ।  
उत्कण्ठाखण्डनायैव' श्येनैः पक्षिवधं व्यधात् ॥ ५३५ ॥

Proceeding further in haste from that place (Zain-Vata) in a boat, he (the Sultān) for providing diversion to his uneasiness, got the birds killed by the eagles throughout the day.

*Note*

1. The ill-omen of having confronted a snake and also getting bitten by it, did not leave the Sultān in peace.

#### VERSE 536

अद्यैवेमं विनोदं नः करोति न पुनः' प्रभुः ।  
इत्येव श्येनाः पक्षालीं गृहीत्वोपायनं व्यधुः ॥ ५३६ ॥

“Our master (the Sultān) has indulged in this pastime for today only, he will not repeat it any more”. As if (with his conviction) the eagles made presents of a big catch of birds (to him).

*Note*

1. Since the death of the Sultān is waiting in wings.

#### VERSE 537

प्रत्यावृत्तस्ततो राजा सैदांस्तान् प्रतिमुच्य च ।  
नाहं स्वस्थोऽस्मि तत्पस्थो देवी' ज्ञातरुजं व्यधात् ॥ ५३७ ॥

Then after having returned (from bird shooting) the Sultān bade farewell to those Sayyids telling them, I am not feeling well. Seated on a couch, he unfolded his ailment to the queen.

*Note*

1. Not Hayāt Khātūn, but Mīra (cf. verses 543-544 later).

## VERSE 538

तत्पथ्यपरिचारिण्या स्वयं देव्या वृतो नृपः ।  
दिवसेन्दुरिवक्षीणरुचिर्विच्यतामगात् ॥ ५३८ ॥

Though the queen herself served him with (medically) prescribed food, yet like the moon during the day (the Sultān) began to lose lustre (brilliance).

## VERSE 539

कवाट विकटं वक्षः श्यामगौरं तदाननम् ।  
कट्यूरूजानुपादाश्च पीनाः पद्मदलोपमाः ॥ ५३९ ॥

His broad chest as the panel of a door, the face bluish white, the waist, the thighs, the knees and the feet plump like the lotus leaves.

## VERSE 540

सुन्दरं नयनद्वन्द्वं ललाटं धूमनोहरम् ।  
तद्गुजा नृपतेः सर्वं त्रिवर्णं समपद्यत ॥ ५४० ॥

The beautiful pair of eyes, captivating forehead and eye-brows, all these lost their (natural) sheen by that illness of the Sultān.

## VERSE 541

एकदा सोऽवदत् राजा तं मेयाहस्सनं रहः ।  
नाहं जीवामि राज्यार्हाः न सुताः शिशवो मम ॥ ५४१ ॥

Once the Sultān said to Miyā Hassan in confidence: I shall not live and my sons still in infancy are not fit to rule.

## VERSE 542: ORAL WILL OF THE SULTĀN

बद्धो बहाम खानीयो न पाति मम बालकान् ।  
वरमादमखानीयं युक्त्यानीयाभिषिच्यताम् ॥ ५४२ ॥

The son of Behrām Khān (Yusuf) who is in confinement will not give protection to my boys. It would be better if the son of Ādam Khān (Fateh Khān) is called tactfully and anointed (as the Sultān).

## Note

1. Persian historians like Hassan have recorded that the Sultān wanted any one of the surviving sons of his two brothers be made the Sultān after him (TAKHSN, p 211).

(Fateh Shāh did ascend the throne of Kashmir from 1486-1493 AD).

## VERSE 543

अथवेयं भवत्कन्या यद्वक्ष्यति करोतु तत् ।  
 श्रुत्वेति भव धीरस्ते स्वास्थ्यं स्यादिति सोऽब्रवीत् ।  
 केवलं सैद हस्सनो' रुरोद भृशदुःखितः ॥ ५४३ ॥

"Or whatever your daughter (Mera) says, act upon it." On hearing this he (Miyā Hassan) replied, "Do not lose heart, you will regain your health." Only Sayyid Hassan, feeling much pained began to weep.

## Note

1. Sayyid Hassan had more than one reason to weep. Firstly his daughter Hayāt Khātūn had lost the favour of the Sultān. Secondly her son Mohammad was being thought unfit for becoming the next Sultān after the death of his father. However, the Sayyids did not respect this will of the Sultān and made Mohammad, only seven years old, as the Sultān after the death of Sultān Hassan, his father (KRRT, iv, 3).

## VERSE 544

अथराज्ञयवदत्पित्रे रहो मेरमुखादिदम् ।  
 सन्देहितासू राजायं राज्ये किं क्रियतेऽधुना ॥ ५४४ ॥

Thereafter, the queen (Hayāt Khātūn) sent this message in confidence through Mera to her father (Miyā Hassan). "The health of the Sultān is in jeopardy. What have you thought about (rule) kingdom?"

## VERSE 545: HAYĀT KHĀTOON RECONCILED TO THE HEIR-APPARENTSHIP OF HER SON MOHAMMAD

वरं बहाम खानीयो युवायमभिषिच्यताम् ।  
 यौवराज्ये च ज्येष्ठोऽयं दौहित्रः' स्थाप्यतामिति ॥ ५४५ ॥

It would be better if the youthful son of Behrām Khān is made the (next) Sultān. The eldest amongst your daughter's sons (Mohammad) be installed as the heir-apparent.

## Note

1. Actually Mohammad was the daughter's son of Sayyid Hassan. Herein Hayāt Khātūn takes Mera's father as her own perhaps to enlist his support.

## VERSE 546

द्वित्रा द्विष्टाश्च बध्यन्तां सर्वे स्युरविनश्वराः ।  
 श्रुत्वेति मेया हस्सनः सक्रोधस्तामभर्त्सयत् ॥ ५४६ ॥

Those two or three who do not see eye to eye with this (arrangement) may be taken into custody so that all (of us) do not come to harm. Having listened to this, Miyā Hassan lost his temper and reprimanded her (Mera).

## VERSE 547

तच्छ्रेयः<sup>1</sup> प्राप्ति संकल्प कल्पितद्रव्य सञ्चयान् ।  
मौसुलेभ्यो ददुः सैदाः द्विजपक्षि विवर्जिताः ॥ ५४७ ॥

The Sayyids having lost faith in the Brahmins gave away lots of things (as charity) to the Muslims, with the hope that he (the Sultān) might reap religious merit.

## Note

1. This word means virtue, fortune etc. It also connotes final beauty, absolute. We might infer here that cereals and money etc. were given as charity (*khairāt*)—for making the final journey of the Sultān comfortable.

## VERSE 548

प्रभुं द्रष्टुं न यच्छन्ति गच्छन्त्यभ्यन्तरं स्त्रियः<sup>1</sup> ।  
मन्त्रपाठं<sup>2</sup> निषेधन्ति तत्तद्भारुडिकोदितम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५४८ ॥

The women-folk having access to the interior would not allow the poison-healers to see the Sultān and would prohibit them to recite incantations.

## Notes

1. The Sultān must have been resting in the harem where no male member could get admittance according to Islamic custom.

2. By reciting *Mantras*—incantations the effect of the snake-bite is supposed to wane, the poison is drained out of the body.

3. The physicians who have a flair for treating poison by charm etc.

VERSE 549: WOMEN PHYSICIANS ARE EMPLOYED  
IN THE HAREM

चिकित्सां वैद्यकोक्तां तामन्यथा रचयन्ति च ।  
तत्रापि गुलिकां भोक्तुं रचयन्ति स्व साधिताम्<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५४९ ॥

These (women) would do reverse of what the physicians had prescribed for the treatment (of the Sultān), and would even administer self-made pills to him.

## Note

1. Refer note (1) on verse 548 above.

VERSE 550: PEOPLE DO NOT BELIEVE  
THAT THE SULTĀN DIED  
A NATURAL DEATH

किमप्यनिष्टं<sup>1</sup> कर्मेति कृतमित्यादिवादिनः ।

वचो विवर्णं पश्यन्तोऽप्यन्तरङ्गा महीपतेः ॥ ५५० ॥

Even those very close to the Sultān, on seeing his fading charm corroborated what others had said regarding the wrong done (to the Sultān).

*Note*

1. It might either suggest that the lady-physicians had done something unfortunate by treating the Sultān wrongly (cf, verse 549) above, or it was the doing of somebody wishing evil for the Sultān.

It can safely be inferred from this that people did not believe that the Sultān died a natural death.

VERSE 551: RUYYA BHATTA IS CALLED TO TREAT  
THE SULTĀN

वैद्यो गारुडिकश्चाहं दृष्टकर्मेति<sup>1</sup> कथयन् ।

तथाभूत्<sup>2</sup> रुय्यभट्टः स स्त्री वैद्यककृतार्थनः ॥ ५५१ ॥

“I am a physician, a poison-healer, as also the one who treats (the patient) by observing (him)” saying so, Ruyya Bhaṭṭa as he (mastered) such (eminence) was beseeched by the lady-physicians to come in.

*Notes*

1. Apparently a message was sent to one Ruyya Bhaṭṭa by the ladies of the harem to prescribe a medicine for the Sultān. But he replied that he could not prescribe any remedy without seeing the patient first.

2. This eminent physician had to be called in when the Sultan's condition began to deteriorate.

VERSE 552

मुमुर्षुः सेवकैः पृष्टः का रुक् किं चेक्षसे विभो ।

षण्डो निवार्यतामग्रादित्यूचे तान् महीपतिः ॥ ५५२ ॥

The attendants asked (the Sultān) who was about to die—“O Lord! what is the ailment you suffer from and what are you looking at”. The Sultān replied, “Drive away this stray bull from my presence.”



## VERSE 553

कृतान्त<sup>1</sup> महिषो दृष्टो दिव्यमघौव यात्ययम् ।  
इत्युक्त्वा शुशुचुः सर्वे साक्रन्दं साश्रुलोचनाः ॥ ५५३ ॥

“He (the Sultān) has seen the death-god’s bull. He will definitely depart for heaven today.” Having said so, all people became grief stricken, wept aloud with their eyes brimming with tears.

## Note

1. According to Hindu mythology the God of death is seated on a bull. It might suggest here that Hindu subjects of the Sultān predicted his imminent death.

## VERSE 554: THE SULTĀN BREATHE HIS LAST

सरुद्धवसनः साश्रु घूर्णयन् दृष्टिमण्डलम् ।  
तस्यामेव रजन्यां स मुमूर्षुरभवन्नृपः ॥ ५५४ ॥

With his clothes dishevelled, rolling his tearful eyes to and fro, he (the Sultān) was liberated from this world on that very night.

## VERSE 555: THE DATE OF SULTĀN HASSAN'S DEATH

वर्षे षष्टितमे कृष्ण<sup>1</sup> नवम्यां मासि माघवे ।  
पञ्चाहं द्वादशाब्दांश्च राज्यं कृत्वा दिवं ययौ ॥ ५५५ ॥

(The Sultān) having ruled for twelve years and five days departed for heaven on the ninth day of dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the sixtieth year (local calendar).

## Note

1. The sixtieth year of local Saptarṣi calendar 4560—which works to 1484 AD.

## VERSE 556

आक्रन्द मुखरा रत्रिः<sup>1</sup> सर्वा सा जनताप्यभूत् ।  
प्रातर्यानि समारोप्य च्छत्रचामर<sup>2</sup> संयुतम् ॥ ५५६ ॥

The night itself as well as the entire population began to wail very loudly. In the morning (the dead Sultān) was placed on a carriage along with the royal parasol and fan.

## Notes

1. The point made here is that even the night bemoaned the death of the Sultān.
2. The royal fans made from the tail of chamari deer waved on either side of the throne on which the king is seated.

## VERSE 557

सैदाः ससेवकाः सर्वे निन्युः पितृशवाजिरम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
श्री जैनभूप्रमये दुःखिता नाभवत् प्रजा ॥ ५५७ ॥

The Sayyids with the assistance of their servants carried him to the ancestral cemetery. The people at the demise of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin were not as grief-stricken.

## Note

1. "Mazār-i-Salātin" is referred to here.

## VERSE 558

तादृशी यादृशी तस्य मरणे शरणोज्झिता ।  
तद् गुहाश्रमनि वस्त्राढ्ये तस्य मस्तकं वेष्टनम् ॥ ५५८ ॥

As on his (Sultān Hassan's) death, having felt themselves forlorn the tomb-stone on that grave was covered with profuse clothings, and his (the Sultān's) turban...

## VERSE 559

उद्धम्य रचनं दुष्पिकोज्ज्वलं मन्त्रिणो व्यधुः ।  
तदालोक्य जनः सर्वो दर्शनोत्कण्ठिताशयः ॥ ५५९ ॥

... Was tied dexterously on to the white cap, by the ministers. On seeing it the entire population desired to steal a (last) glance on him.

## VERSE 560: SEVEN DAYS MOURNING ORDERED AT THE SULTĀN'S DEATH

स्मारं स्मारं नृपं मेने निवर्णमिव<sup>1</sup> मध्यगम्  
प्रातः प्रातः समागत्य सैदा सप्तदिनावधि<sup>2</sup> ।  
स्ववेदाध्ययनं<sup>3</sup> चक्रुर्मित्रितं रुदितैः स्वनैः ॥ ५६० ॥

Thinking (the Sultān) to be asleep in the middle (of the grave), began to remember him repeatedly. The Sayyids would assemble every morning there for seven days in order to recite their holy book punctuated with weeping and sobbing.

## Notes

1. The atmosphere near the grave was so sombre, grave and silent, that one could feel<sup>1</sup> as if the Sultān was asleep and will be disturbed by noise.
2. Seven day mourning was ordered at the death of the Sultān. It might even

suggest that the Sultān might have died on Friday and his *Fatiha* could not be recited before the next Friday. So, the mourning continued for seven days

3. Holy book of Sayyids are obviously the *Qurān*.

VERSE 561

विहतरतयो दृष्टा येऽन्यैर्महाविभवोज्ज्वला  
स्तरुणवयसो बाला लीला विलासमदालसाः ।  
कतिपयदिनैस्तेऽमी रिक्ता ब्रजन्ति शुचान्विता  
विरसमनसो राज्याद् वेश्यागृहादिव कामुकाः ॥ ५६१ ॥

Those others (the Sultān's associates) who had seen him obsessed with cupidity, resplendent with his immense opulence, of youthful age, taking delight in sporting with young maidens and feeling soft sluggishness with drinking, after a lapse of few days devoid of the Sultān's (patronage) are roaming plagued with grief and with heavy minds as if lustful men (driven away) from a prostitute's house.

*Note*

1. Fair-weather friends are referred to here. The Sultān being dead, could not now afford patronage to his associates. These friends were now roaming about, as if they had been turned out of the house of a prostitute.

VERSE 562

देशो मेऽयं रचित रचना रजधानी ममेयं  
कोशो मेऽयं युवतिरपि मे मे सुता मे च भृत्याः ।  
इत्येवान्तः कलयति नृपो यावदेत्यन्तकस्तं  
त्यक्त्वा सर्वं ब्रजति सुशिरः पुण्यपापैकरागी ॥ ५६२ ॥

This is my country, this capital with its beautiful lay-out is mine. This is my treasury, youthful maidens, sons and attendants are mine; the petty headed Sultān felt flattered by such inner (thoughts) but as soon as death overtook him leaving everything here, he had to reckon with his virtues and sins alone.

VERSE 563

सप्ताङ्गं सुभगं राज्यं ममेदमिति योऽब्रवीत् ।  
तदीयो नाभवत्तस्य स्वदेहान्ते पृथक् स्थिते ॥ ५६३ ॥

"This plentiful kingdom equipped with seven constituents is mine." He, who had boasted like this, could not even lay claim to his own body made of seven elements, at the time of his death.

## Note

1. Refer ZRRT, III, 216.

## VERSE 564

इत्थं शवाजिरे लोकः शुशोच नृप संहितम् ।  
अश्मैकरचना 'मात्रावशिष्टां तत्र संस्थिताम् ॥ ५६४ ॥

In this way, the people conveyed their grief for the line of the Sultāns reduced to a mere single stone dexterously chiselled, (and now) standing in the (royal) cemetery.

## Note

1. It might convey an epitaph carved in beautiful hand also.

## VERSE 565

राज्यदानाय राज्ञी<sup>१</sup> सा म्लेच्छ<sup>२</sup> सम्पर्क कर्कशम्  
बहामखानजं पुत्रं दुःखोदकमर्कयत्<sup>३</sup> ॥ ५६५ ॥

The queen (Hayāt Khātoon) thought Behrām Khān's son (Yusuf) having become harsh in the company of barbarians eligible for making over kingdom to him (as also) for putting an end to his misery.

## Notes

1. Refer verse 545 earlier.
2. Yūsuf Khān son of Behrām Khān was also sent to the prison along with his father after being defeated by Prince Hassan (ZRRT, III, 73). For a long span of twelve years for which Sultān Hassan ruled. Yūsuf was in custody guarded by *mlechhas*—very cruel people who would not allow him a single minute's rest. This very connotation suits the context here. This word also means a foreigner, the one who does not subscribe to Hindu faith etc.
3. Hayāt Khātoon wanted to afford him a reprieve from continuous confinement.

इति जैनराजतरङ्गिण्यां पण्डित श्रीवर विरचितायां हस्सनशाह राज्यवृत्तान्तवर्णनं  
नाम तृतीयस्तरङ्गः

Thus ends the third canto of *Zaina Rājatarāṅgiṇī* entitled 'The Description of the Reign of Sultān Hassan Shāh'.

## WAVE IV

### VERSE 1: THE SAYYIDS RESOLVED TO ANOINT MOHAMMAD SHĀH AS THE SULTĀN

तृतीयेऽहनि सैदास्ते मिथः संमन्त्र्य सत्वरः<sup>1</sup>।  
व्यधुर्महदखानाय राज्यदानाय निश्चयम्॥१॥

On the third day (after the death of Sultān Hassan) the Sayyids having held hasty consultations with each other resolved to anoint Mohammad Khān as the Sultān.

*Note*

1. Without any loss of time. Actually within the days of mourning ordered in honour of Sultān Hassan's death (ZRR7, III, 560). Perhaps they wanted to thwart the efforts of the queen in installing Behrām Khān's son Yusuf on the throne (ZRR7, III, 545).

### VERSE 2

प्रतीक्षाक्षममालोक्य<sup>1</sup> कालं सैदास्त्वरकुलाः<sup>2</sup>।  
राज्याभिषेकदानेच्छामकुर्वन्नुप सूनवे॥२॥

The Sayyids in anxious haste, desired to make over kingdom to the son of the Sultān (Hassan Shāh) perceiving that the time was not propitious enough for delaying (the coronation).

*Notes*

1. Ordinarily the coronation should have taken place after the days of mourning were over.

2. But the Sayyids, perhaps observing that the queen was busy in mourning for seven days took this immediate step for being very anxious to gain time over her.

### VERSE 3

अथराज्ये व्यधीयन्त तत्सुतं सप्तवार्षिकम्<sup>1</sup>।  
कृत्वा महदशाहाख्यां<sup>2</sup> गोनन्दमिव सुन्दरम्<sup>3</sup>॥३॥

Thereafter (the Sayyids) bestowing on his (Sultān Hassan's) seven years old son, pretty as Gonanda, the (title) Mohammad Shāh, installed him on the throne.

## Notes

1. Persian historians also confirm this tender age of the new Sultān.
2. The original name was not changed like that of his father—Sultān Hassan Khān only was converted into Shāh. After the death of Sultān Haider Shāh, this custom of assuming some other name on getting the throne seems to have been discontinued.
3. This refers to Gonanda II who was also installed on the throne of Kashmir as a minor, during Hindu rule (*KLRT*, I, 76).

## VERSE 4

तस्य सिंहासनस्यान्ते स्थापिता वस्तु सन्ततिः ।  
त्यक्त्वा भोजन सामग्रीं पूर्वं शाङ्गेऽपतत् करः ॥४॥

Quite close to his throne traditional variety of presents was placed, but leaving aside the items of food, his hand first of all fell on the bow.

## VERSE 5

एतद्राज्ये सदा युद्धं<sup>1</sup> भविता मण्डलान्तरे ।  
दृष्ट्वा शकुन विज्ञाः केयूचुस्तत्रान्तिकस्थिताः ॥५॥

Having observed this, some interpreters of omens seated close by predicted "There will always be war within the territory of this kingdom."

## Note

1. It refers to the civil-war between the Kashmiris and the Sayyids (*ZRRT*, IV, 223, 335).

## VERSE 6

रौप्यसिंहासने छत्री विबभौ बाल भूपतिः ।  
दत्तानन्दः पयः पुरैर्बालेन्दुरिव सुन्दरः ॥६॥

The handsome infant Sultān with his milky demeanour, like the rising moon, delighted (every one), while seated luminously on his silver throne, with a royal parasol over him.

## VERSE 7

सैदाः शुभ्रांशुकन्यस्तकुङ्कुमालोहितत्विषः ।  
भाविद्रोह<sup>1</sup> कृतोद्गच्छद्रक्तसिक्ता इवाबभुः ॥७॥

The Sayyids with their silken robes printed in red hue of the shimmering saffron appeared as if drenched with blood presaging their treachery in the offing.

## Note

1. Cf. ZRRT, IV, 92.

## VERSE 8

भ्राता होस्सन खानोऽस्य कनीयान् रुचिराकृतिः ।  
बभौ बालनृपस्याग्रे शुक्रस्येव<sup>1</sup> बृहस्पतिः<sup>2</sup> ॥८॥

His (Sultān Mohammad Shāh's) younger brother named Hassan Khān with his brilliant mien shone before the Sultān like Jupiter in front of Venus.

## Notes

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 5, II, 7 etc.
2. Ibid, II, 7.

## VERSE 9

शोक हर्षान्वितो लोकस्तद्दिने पितृ पुत्रयोः ।  
दधौ तमः प्रकाशाद्यां लोकालोकाचलश्रियम्<sup>1</sup> ॥९॥

On that day the people grieving for the father (Sultān Hassan) and joyous for the son (Sultān Mohammad), projected the beauty of the Lokāloka mountain—the repository of shade and light.

## Note

1. This is the name of a mythical belt or circle mountains surrounding the outer most seas, and dividing the visible world, beyond which there is complete darkness and to this side of it there is light (*Raghuvamśa*, I, 68; cf. *MW*, 907).

## VERSE 10

दौहित्राभ्युदये<sup>1</sup> सैदाशचेरानन्दसुन्दराः ।  
सुगन्धि मकरन्दाढ्ये मधौ मधुकरा इव ॥१०॥

On account of their daughter's son having come to power, the Sayyids with ravishing glee, roamed like bees in the season of flowers brimming with fragrance and honey.

## Note

1. Sultān Mohammad Shāh was the son of queen Hayāt Khātūn, daughter of Sayyid Hassan.

## VERSE 11

वाद्यमानोत्सवातोद्य प्रोद्यत्प्रतिरवच्छलात् ।  
अकुर्वन्निव वृद्धयर्थं राजस्तस्याशिषो दिशः ॥ ११ ॥

Under the pretext of echoing the sound of the drums beaten during these celebrations, the quarters showered blessings on the Sultān for his prosperity.

## VERSE 12

राजाधान्याङ्गने सैदा परिधान प्रसादनैः ।  
अतोषयन्नुत्सवान्तः सर्वं नृपपरिच्छदम् ॥ १२ ॥

At the conclusion of the festivities, the Sayyids, in the compound of royal palace, obliged the entire entourage of the Sultān with the presents of robes.

## VERSE 13

एकस्मिन् कीर्तिशेषेऽन्या<sup>१</sup> दिग्द्वयाद्धस्सन द्वयी<sup>२</sup> ।  
तादृश्ये ददृशे पौरैः स्फूर्जत्सादिशतावृता<sup>३</sup> ॥ १३ ॥

(On the heels of) one Hassan having left his fame behind, the people perceived two other Hassans rising gloriously from two directions surrounded by hundreds of warriors.

## Notes

1. On the demise of Sultān Hassan.
2. His two sons Hussan and Hussain are meant here.
3. Body guards, can be the meaning.

## VERSE 14

राज्यसंयुतं सप्तपञ्चा तद् गृहे समलक्ष्यत ।  
तत्कन्योद्वेजितेवाप्ता<sup>१</sup> वक्तुं रिपुपराभवम् ॥ १४ ॥

The prowess of the kingdom made of seven constituents, repaired to his (Sultān Mohammad's) house, like his agitated daughter having arrived to convey the discourtesy meted out to her by the adversaries.

## Note

1. Reference is to the maltreatment meted out to a daughter-in-law by her in-laws, so, she wants to seek refuge with her father after complaining about their unfair attitude towards her. The bounties of the kingdom, in the same way found a more safe place with Sultān Mohammad Shāh.



VERSE 15: NO MINISTER ETC. ALLOWED TO SEE  
THE SULTĀN

राज्ञः सेवक सामन्ताः<sup>१</sup> प्राप्नुवन्तस्तदन्तिकम् ।  
प्रवेशं लेभिरे नान्तर्लुठन्तः<sup>२</sup> कुक्कुरा इव ॥ १५ ॥

The executives and the vassals of the Sultān though having reached into his vicinity, could not gain access to the interior like stray dogs.

Notes

1. Persian historians like Hassan have recorded that Sayyid Hassan had concentrated all the powers in his hands, and did not allow any officer to see the Sultān (TAKHSN, p 212).

2. V.I. लडन्त (VVR I, p 220).

VERSE 16: THE SAYYIDS JEER AT THE LOCAL TALENT

देश्य<sup>१</sup> संस्कृत<sup>२</sup> शास्त्रज्ञ विद्वत्कृत विडम्बनाः ।  
गृहे स्त्रीषु बहिः श्येनलीलासु<sup>३</sup> व्यसनं दधुः ॥ १६ ॥

Jeering at the local and Sanskrit knowing literateurs and scholars (the Sayyids) indulged in the evil sport with women at their houses and with hawks out side.

Notes

1. Indigenous, local Kashmiris as a whole.

2. Hindus are meant here whose religious lore is written in Sanskrit, which the pandits had mastered.

3. Obviously for bird-hunting ie, lusting and hunting were their only sport.

VERSE 17

विगुणव्यवहारेषु क्रूरचारेषु दर्पिषु  
दुःसहान्तक दूतेन लोभेन शोषितेषु च ।  
दौःशील्यानभिगम्येषु प्रसरन्मत्सरेषु च  
विरागं तेषु सैदेषु स प्रजाः सेवका ययुः ॥ १७ ॥

The people as well as their own attendants, felt disillusioned with the Sayyids, hitting below the belt, indulging in cruel conduct, highly conceited, intolerable like the messenger of death, obsessed with greed, beyond access due to their unwholesome ways and full of malice.

## VERSE 18

हितानामपि सैदानां केचिद् भूपाल सेवकाः<sup>1</sup> ।  
 नाभ्यनन्दन्<sup>2</sup> परिचयं काकानामिव कोकिलाः ॥ १८ ॥

Some attendants of the Sultān, did not approve of developing familiarity with their patronising Sayyids, like the cuckoo for the crows.

## Notes

1. The royal retinue did not like its association with the Sayyids because of their bad reputation.
2. It is believed that the eggs of the cuckoo are hatched by the crows but unobliging cuckoo does not acknowledge the debt she owes to crows.

## VERSE 19

द्विजस्थितिः सुखं यासीत् सतीसरसि<sup>1</sup> निश्चला ।  
 तेषां श्येनैश्च भृत्यैश्च भ्रामिता च पलाशया ॥ १९ ॥

The calm and comfortable position of the birds in Kashmir was got disturbed (by the Sayyids) through hawks and serfs with the hope of taking their flesh.

## Note

1. Refer ZRRT, I, 1, 85. It appears that bird hunting was never a popular sport with the kings at least.

## VERSE 20: THE SAYYIDS BAN MUSIC

स्फीत गीतोल्लसन्नादा येऽभवन् वृन्दगायनाः ।  
 शोक मूका<sup>1</sup> इवाभ्यर्णे माधे भृङ्गा इवाभवन् ॥ २० ॥

The choir of singers, overjoyed with the rising tempo of their lyrical notes, was dumb with frustration, like the honey bees at the approach of the month of Māgha.

## Note

1. Apparently the Sayyids had banned music.

## VERSE 21

अथ प्रथममेवैते<sup>1</sup> गृहीत्वा नवभूपतिम् ।  
 शकुनापेक्षिणो नावा वितस्तातटमध्यगुः ॥ २१ ॥

These (Sayyids) having a craving for birds (hunting) first of all went to the banks of the Jhelum by a boat, taking the new Sultān with them.

## Note

1 Evidently the Sayyids were trying to get the new Sultān interested in bird-hunting.

VERSE 22: SAYYIDS MAKE KASHMIRIS DO THE  
LOAD-CARRIERS' WORK

स्वपक्ष्यावर्जकास्तत्र पृष्ठभोज्यान्नसम्पदः ।  
स्वातंत्र्य' प्राप्तिदर्पन्थाः काश्मीरानादरं व्यधुः ॥ २२ ॥

There (the Sayyids) overpowering the birds with their own (hawks) for having been blinded by the vanity resulting from their gaining freedom to do anything, slighted the Kashmiris by burdening them with heavy loads of food-stuffs.

## Note

1 This word will not mean independence here, but connotes freedom to do what they liked. Sayyids were now the undisputed lords of the land. No Kashmiri worth the name was there to share power with them.

VERSE 23: SAYYIDS HATCH A CONSPIRACY

अपुनर्गमनायेव विधाय शकुनिक्षयम् ।  
एकदा स्वीय संयुक्ता व्यधुः किमपि मन्त्रणम् ॥ २३ ॥

As if not to return (to Kashmir), this mass annihilation of the birds was undertaken by the Sayyids, who had secret consultations within their own circle.

VERSE 24: KASHMIRI AND JAMMU GARRISON  
JOIN HANDS TO FORESTALL  
SAYYIDS

तेषां तत्केवलतया श्रुत्वा षड्गुण्य' मन्त्रणम् ।  
काश्मीरिकाश्च मद्राश्च शङ्किता नगरेऽभवन् ॥ २४ ॥

Having heard that they (the Sayyids) were having six-fold secret parleys with their own faction only, the Kashmiris and the Jammu garrison in the city became suspicious.

## Note

Kautilya has enumerated six kinds of a secret deal in this way: (i) conciliation; (ii) confrontation; (iii) resistance; (iv) offensive; (v) duplicity; (vi) surrender.

**VERSE 25: THE JAMMU-GARRISON HIRES FIVE PROFESSIONAL KILLERS**

ततः परशुरमाद्यैस्तद् द्विष्टैः सह तद्दिने ।

मिलिताः पञ्चरास्त्रीक्ष्णः<sup>1</sup> सैदद्रोहमचिन्तयन् ॥ २५ ॥

Thereafter, on that very day the enemies of (the Sayyids), Paraśu Rām and others in collaboration with five professional killers, thought of revolting against the Sayyids.

**Note**

1. Refer JRRT, 305; ZRRT, II, 176. However, at times this word has been used for a spy also (JRRT, 517; v.l. पञ्चरास्त्रीक्ष्णा).

**VERSE 26: TOP SECRECY IS MAINTAINED BY THESE KILLERS**

जिघांसतामथैतेषां कैजन्यावसरेक्षणाम् ।

न भेदमगम्यमन्त्रो गुप्तस्तद् दुष्कृतैरिव ॥ २६ ॥

He wanted to kill them, but he could not get any opportunity for the same. Just as he kept his misdeeds secret, he did not divulge his secret plans.

**VERSE 27**

एकदा तत्सुताभीष्टा मेराख्या मेर हस्सनम् ।

मूर्तेव दुर्दशा गेहमागत्येत्यब्रवीद्रहः ॥ २७ ॥

One day his dear daughter named Merā personifying his doom came to the residence of Mir Hassan and unfolded this to him in confidence.

**VERSE 28: MALIK HASSAN IS SUMMONED BY THE SULTĀN**

राज्ञःक्वापि क्रिया साध्या तूर्णमागम्यतां प्रभो ।

इत्युक्त्वानिष्टमप्येन सा निनाय गृहान्तरात् ॥ २८ ॥

"O Lord: an errand of the Sultān needs disposal, so please come immediately." Having said so, though very inauspicious, took him away from his house.

## VERSE 29

द्रोहस्ते सूर्यवारे<sup>1</sup> स्यान् गन्तव्यो नृपालयः ।  
पित्रेत्युक्तोऽपि स स्वप्ने ययौ दैवविमोहितः ॥ २९ ॥

“You should not go to the abode of the Sultān on Sunday, it might land you in trouble.” Though forewarned in this manner by his father in a dream, he (Mīr Hassan) dazed by destiny did go.

## Note

1. According to astrology seeing the king on sundays is inauspicious. Though now converted, this Hindu belief still persisted with Kashmiri Muslims.

## VERSE 30

तावत् स सैदहस्सनोऽप्याययौ स्वगृहाद् द्रुतम् ।  
पादोच्छेदोऽस्ति ते द्रोहान्मा पत्ययनमारुह<sup>1</sup> ॥ ३० ॥

By that time Sayyid Hassan also came in haste from his residence. “Do not mount the saddle, your foot may get injured due to an intrigue.”

## Note

1. Perhaps his attendants on the advice of sooth-sayers tried in vain to forewarn him about the impending disaster.

## VERSE 31

इत्येव पादकटकच्छिन्नोऽश्वादपतद् भुवि ।  
प्रतोल्यां सैद साक्षरवाः खुरोत्कीर्णरजोमिषात्<sup>1</sup> ॥ ३१ ॥

With this, the stirrups gave way and (Sayyid Hassan) fell on the ground. Under the guise of the dust raised by the hoofs of the steeds of the Sayyids on the main road.

## Note

1. At the time of going by anywhere the dust raised by one reason or the other is thought to be inauspicious (MBH, Bhishma Parva, III, II, 29).

VERSE 32: JONĀ RĀJANAKA INVITES JAMMU GARRISON  
AMONGST THE SAYYIDS

नैते पुनर्विशन्तीति शुचेवोच्छ्वासमक्षिपन् ।  
ततारखानलेखेन त्वदनर्यादि हेतवे ॥ ३२ ॥

“These Sayyids will not enter (Kashmir) again”, perhaps with this grief, (their steeds) were exhaling sighs (in the form of the

raised dust). The communication received from Tātār Khān foreboding catastrophe for you (Jammu garrison).

#### VERSE 33

प्राप्तेनाद्य मिथो मन्त्रं विधाय कृतनिश्चयाः ।

आक्रान्तमण्डलाः सैदा युष्मच्छेषविशङ्किताः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ३३ ॥

(In consequence of which) hold consultation with each other and arrive at a determined decision since the Sayyids having overwhelmed the country have misgivings about you as you are still here.

#### Note

1. The Jammu garrison had been sent back by the Sayyids after paying them their dues (ZRRT, III, 500-502). But it did not leave Kashmir which made the Sayyids suspicious about their activities.

#### VERSE 34

प्रातर्बन्धन्ति वस्तस्मादुपायः कोऽपि चिन्त्यताम् ।

मिथ्येति<sup>1</sup> बोधिता मद्रा जोनराजानकादिभिः ॥ ३४ ॥

They will surely arrest you all in the morning. So think of some device (to save your skin). Jōṇa Rājānaka and others thus, alerted the Jammu garrison falsely.

#### Note

1. The Kashmiris wanted that Jammu garrison should align itself with them and not with the Sayyids during the trouble in the offing.

#### VERSE 35: JAMMU GARRISON TAKES UP ARMS AGAINST SAYYIDS

हन्मस्तान् वयमेवादौ संमन्त्रयेति समाययुः ।

सर्वानमृतवाट्यन्तः<sup>1</sup> समेतानवगम्य तान् ॥ ३५ ॥

"We shall kill them before (they arrest us)". Having made such a decision, they (the Jammu garrison) returned to Amrit Bhavan having been informed that they all (Sayyids) had assembled there.

#### Note

1 वाट in Sanskrit means an enclosed garden, part etc. In Kashmiri it has changed to वार connoting a piece of land for growing vegetables. It must have been the part or lawn attached to Amrit-Bhavan—Kashmiri Ont-Bhavan. Vihāra, founded by Amrit Prabhā queen of King Maga Vāhana of Kashmir (KLRT, III, 9).

Persian historians have mentioned this as the garden at Nowshera (TAKHSN, p 212). However, Ont-Bhavan is quite closed to Nowshera.

VERSE 36: CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE SAYYIDS  
BEGINS TO RIPEN

अन्तः परशुरामाद्या विविशु शस्त्रधारिणः ।  
रक्ष्यो द्वारस्त्वया तैरित्युक्तो द्वारश तजकः' ॥ ३६ ॥

The Jammu garrison headed by Paraśu Rām, fully armed made its way into the very interior (of the Amrit-Bhavan garden). The *Deodi-Officer*, Chamberlain Tājak told (the Sayyid mercenaries) to guard the gate.

*Note*

1. Tājak might be the name of the platoon officer guarding the gate. It might also connote that he had come from Tājikistān. It seems more probable that he was a Kashmiri and had joined the conspiracy for getting rid of the Sayyids. So, he did not allow the Sayyid guards to enter the compound.

VERSE 37: TĀJAK—THE DEODI OFFICER HAS  
SYMPATHY FOR KASHMIRIS

मन्त्रे प्रवृत्तिरित्युक्त्वा सैद भृत्यान्प्रवारयन् ।  
कुर्वन्ति भोजने लुण्ठं त्वद् भृत्या इति तद्गिरा ॥ ३७ ॥

"Consultations are in progress (inside)" saying so, he (Tājak) detained the Sayyid mercenaries (from going in). His (Tājak's) report "Your mercenaries are looting food stuffs".

VERSE 38: THE SAYYIDS ARE TAKEN IN BY  
THIS CONSPIRACY

सैदा सशस्त्रान् स्वान् भृत्यान् स्वसमीपात्प्रवारयन् ।  
जोनराजानकस्तावत् पथान्येनागमद् द्रुतम् ॥ ३८ ॥

Made the Sayyids dismiss their own fully armed guards from the presence. By then the Joṇa Rājānaka negotiating a different route reached in haste.

*Note*

1. Thus the Sayyids were deprived of the protection they could have got from their mercenaries. They were reduced to defencelessness within the park as a result of this conspiracy.

VERSE 39

गृहीत्वा राजभृत्यौघाजिघांसुविटिकान्तरान् ।  
ताज दौवारिकोऽप्यश्वमारुह्याप्तो नृपाङ्गनम् ।  
बभ्रामाभ्यन्तरेऽन्यत्र तन्मतेन जिघांसया' ॥ ३९ ॥

Into the interior of the park, along with hordes of royal guards for unleashing death and murder. The chief of the gate-guards, Tāj mounting his horse also made his way into this royal compound with the intention of killing under their (Rājaka, Janak, etc.) motivation (and) began to mark time on the other side within (the park).

*Note*

1. Now a definite death seems to have been cast against the Sayyids.

#### VERSE 40: THE SAYYIDS SMELL SOME MISCHIEF

वाटिकान्तश्चतुष्षण्डमण्डपोपरि संस्थिताः ।

सैदा मद्रान् समालोक्य साशङ्का इव तस्थिरे ॥४०॥

On seeing the Jammu garrison seated on the quadrangular platform within the park, the Sayyids stayed there with their finger crossed.

#### VERSE 41

किं न गच्छत देशं स्वं प्रतिमुक्ताः किमागताः ।

इत्यागतांस्तान् दृष्ट्वैव सेष्यं सिंहद्विजोऽभ्यधात् ॥४१॥

“Having been relieved, why do you not return to your homeland, what brings you here?” This Simha Brahmin spitefully spoke to those who had intruded (into the park).

*Note*

1. Śrīvara calls this Simha as a Brahmin. May be he is the same Simha Bhaṭṭ who along with Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn and Śrīvara had a boat ride in Kaunsarnaugh (ZRRT, I, 5, 99) and who is the first to be killed. It seems that this Brahmin was close to the Sayyids and wielded great influence at the court.

#### VERSE 42

मार्गमुक्त्यक्षरो नाप्तस्त्वतो यामः कथं वयम् ।

अद्यैवः प्रतिमोक्षयामः सत्यार्थमिति तेऽभ्यधुः ॥४२॥

“We have not received the exit permit from you. How can we leave (without it)? However we will despatch you all.” Thus they blurted out the truth as it were.



## VERSE 43: SIMHA BHATTA IS KILLED

कैजन्यं वीक्ष्य पाथेया' वाञ्छादम्पदुपागतः ।

परशुः सिंहं घट्टे तं न्यवधीत् प्रथमं रुक्म ॥ ४३ ॥

Seeing that no body was around, and having come there under the pretext of demanding travelling victuals Paraśu (Rām) feeling exasperated first of all killed Simha Bhaṭṭa.

## Note

1. The Jammu garrison had been given the wages, but the travelling victuals etc. and permit had not been made over to them. They were advised to stay for some days more so that these formalities are gone through (ZRR, XII, 501).

## VERSE 44

चतुष्पण्डपिकाग्रान्ते प्रक्षरत्क्षतजोषितः ।

सिंहेऽपि विवृटच्छलः नृगाल इव सोऽपतत् ॥ ४४ ॥

In the compound of that quadrangular building soiled with dripping blood that Simha Bhaṭṭa having turned a jackal fell down like a *sāla* tree giving way.

## VERSE 45

किं द्रोहो द्रोह इत्युक्त्वा यावदधीताः समुत्थिताः ।

तावत् खड्गप्रहारैस्तान् जघ्नुर्मन्नाः समेत्य ते ॥ ४५ ॥

No sooner did (others) stand up in horror exclaiming "What an intrigue" than the Jammu people conjointly killed them with their sabre-blows.

## VERSE 46: SAYYID HASSAN IS KILLED

निर्यातः प्रस्फुरन्वेदा द्वाग्रे सैद हस्सनः ।

हतो मुष्ट्यायुधस्तत्तत्प्रहारशतविह्वलः ॥ ४६ ॥

Sayyid Hassan sporting a protruding belly while escaping through the main entrance was killed by a volley of blows with fists and weapons, completely overwhelmed.

## VERSE 47: MIYĀ HASSAN IS KILLED

तं दृष्ट्वा मेयहस्सनः सभयं विवृतं दुतम् ।

प्राक्प्रहारैश्च न्यवधीत् कोऽपिच्छिन्नपद द्वयम् ॥ ४७ ॥

Having seen him (Sayyid Hassan) thus, Miyā Hassan greatly

afraid, hastily mounted the wall (of that garden) but somebody tearing off his two feet, killed him.

**VERSE 48: THIRTY PEOPLE KILLED**

गदायामीनकसीममल्लजाद्यास्तदन्तिके' ।

त्रिशन्पात्रा हतास्तत्र पुत्रमित्र समन्विताः ॥४८॥

Gadāya, Amin, Qāsim, Malik Zādā and others within (the garden) there, were killed including their sons and friends, numbering thirty (in all).

*Note*

1. These are obviously Muslim names. They must have been Sayyids or their allies.

**VERSE 49**

वदन्तो हालहालेति रक्तसिक्तावत पाणयः ।

चेरुस्ते तद्वधोदयुक्ताः कृतान्तस्येव विक्रूरः ॥४९॥

Their hands soiled with blood and uttering *Hāl-a-Hāl* these (Paraśu Rām and his garrison) roamed like the agents of death-god, bent upon blood shed.

**VERSE 50**

गृहेषु गोवधात् तेषां पापघ्नीर्नाभवद् यथा ।

तथा तत्र घ्नतां सैदान् मद्राणां नाभवद् घृणा ॥५०॥

Just as they (the Sayyids) did not dread the sin accruing from killing cows in their houses, in the same way, the Jammu garrison did not have any regret for the massacre of Sayyids.

**VERSE 51**

मृगयान्ते कुर्यादीश्विन्नङ्गान् व्यदधुर्यथा ।

तथा सैदा कृता मदैः कुद्रेस्तादृक्कान्तरे ॥५१॥

Just as after hunting them, (the Sayyids) would maim the deer and others (animals), in the same manner, the trifling Jammu garrison cut off the limbs of the Sayyids in that park.

## VERSE 52

द्विषदधृतांशुका नगना महार्हं' शयनोचिताः ।

अनाथा इव लोकस्य प्रययुः प्रेक्षणीयताम् ॥ ५२ ॥

The robes of those (Sayyids) accustomed to lie down on very costly couches, were snatched by their enemies (Jammu garrison) and they could be seen lying naked orphans by the people.

## Note

1. Paradoxically enough, the naked corpses of these Sayyids were lying on bare earth.

## VERSE 53

केचिद्वैभत खानाद्या निष्कृष्टचक्रिकस्ततः ।

तूर्णं प्राक्करमुल्लङ्घ्य गृहीत्वाश्वान् पलायिताः ॥ ५३ ॥

Thereafter, Haibat Khān and some others with their drawn out daggers scaled the wall very quickly and catching hold of the horses bolted off.

## VERSE 54

तद् दृष्ट्वा तुमुले' जाते बहिस्तदनुजीविनाम् ।

कस्यापि निश्चयो नाभूदन्तरे के हता इति ॥ ५४ ॥

On witnessing this, the slaves (of Sayyids) outside, (the walls) raised an alarm, so nobody could ascertain as to who lay dead inside.

## Note

1. Actually these guards of the Sayyids raising an alarm also ran for safety like Haibat Khān.

## VERSE 55

भयत्यक्ताभिमानेषु विद्रुतेष्वनुजीविषु ।

चकर्ष राक्षं तन्मध्यात्' कोऽपि नैवाङ्गनान्तरे ॥ ५५ ॥

Out of terror, as also compromising their ego, when the slaves (of the Sayyids) fled, no body did remain within that compound to wield arms in their (Sayyids) midst.

## Note

1. Nobody was left in the park, who could defend the Sayyids by a show of arms.

Haibat Khān with his retinue had already left and now their slaves also ran away to save their life.

#### VERSE 56

मल्लजादाल्मजाहूतस्तावन्मेयामहम्मदः<sup>1</sup> ।  
गृहादेत्य द्रुतं प्रादादास्कन्दं राजमन्दिरे<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५६ ॥

There and then, Miyā Mohammad on being summoned by the son of Malik Zādā, coming out of his house immediately opened a front in the (compound of) royal palace.

#### Notes

1. The son of Miyā Hassan, father of the queen Mera of Sultān Hassan.
2. Miyā Mohammad feared that the Jammu garrison might invade the palace. Hence he wanted to impede their advance to the royal house-hold.

#### VERSE 57

प्रतोली पालकः<sup>1</sup> सोऽयं द्रोहीत्यग्रागतं द्रुतम् ।  
राजमार्गान्तरे क्रुद्धो नोरोल्लाहमघतियत् ॥ ५७ ॥

He is that very guard of the minor gate, a conspirator—with this (assertion) Nūrullāh who had reported hastily to them, was killed by those (Miyā Mohammad and others) on the high street.

#### Note

1. Miyā Mohammad suspected the collaboration of Nūrullāh with the Jammu garrison.

#### VERSE 58

बद्धारिपुटं दृष्ट्वा द्वारधानीं नवीकृताम् ।  
ज्ञात्वान्तः स्थान् रिपून् प्राग्वत् क्षोभेणाग्निमदापयत् ॥ ५८ ॥

Perceiving that the renovated main gate (of the park) had been fastened with spokes as also having come to know that the enemy was inside, he (Miyā Mohammad) put it to fire, as was done earlier.

#### VERSE 59

न शक्तोपद्रवं द्रष्टुं स्वर्गं मद्रक्षको गतः ।  
शुचेवेति द्वारधान्या जुहुवे ज्वलने वपुः ॥ ५९ ॥

“My guardsman has departed for the heaven. I cannot bear to see this holocaust”, with this grief as it were, the main gate committed self-immolation.

## Wave IV

### VERSE 60

सौधप्राप्तलसद्मस्तोमव्याजान्पश्रियः ।  
क्व मां खला नयन्तीति निःश्वासौषा इवात्सुरन् ॥ ६० ॥

Where are these wicked people taking me? As if (with these words) the royal prowess, heaved a lot of sighs in the guise of the columns of smoke reaching upto the palace.

### VERSE 61: REBELS ARRIVE AT THE COMPOUND OF ROYAL PALACE

अत्रान्तरेऽग्निमालोक्य द्रोण्यारो धारितायुषाः ।  
राजधान्यङ्गनं प्रापुर्निर्गता वाटिकान्तगत् ॥ ६१ ॥

In the meanwhile, the rebels (Jammu garrison etc.) noticing conflagration and wielding their arms approached the compound of the royal palace from inside the park.

### VERSE 62

जोनराजानक्रे गच्छन् रुद्धः केनापि पत्तिना ।  
वीरः खड्गप्रहारेण द्वित्रांस्तत्राङ्गनेऽवधीत् ॥ ६२ ॥

While coming out (from the park) valiant Jona Rājānaka was obstructed by some footmen, but he killed two or three of them with strokes of his sword.

### VERSE 63: THE REBELS ASSEMBLE AT VICHĀRNĀG

समारुह्याथ राजारवान् सर्वे मद्र समन्वितः ।  
मुक्तामूलक नागान्ते<sup>१</sup> प्राप्ता प्रोचुः क्षणं मिथः ॥ ६३ ॥

All those (rebels) along with the Jammu garrison, mounted the royal steeds, and repaired to the suburbs of Muktā-mūlak Naugh (Vichārnāg) and (for a while) held consultations with each other.

*Note*

1. In *Tirtha-Saṅgraha*—an anthology of pilgrim-spots—this spring at Vichārnāg has been mentioned as Muktāmūlaka.

### VERSE 64

वरमत्रैव तिष्ठामः सैदैर्युद्धं विदध्महे ।  
स्वल्पावशिष्टैः शत्रूणां न शेषः परिरक्ष्यते ॥ ६४ ॥

It would be worthwhile to stay here and give fight to Sayyids. The surviving handful of enemies should not be left scot-free.

VERSE 65

ज्यलाल ठक्कुरः श्रुत्वा तानूचे नयकोविदः ।  
न युद्ध समयोऽस्तीह गत्वानेन पथा द्रुतम् ॥ ६५ ॥

Jalāl Thākūr possessing super political sagacity on hearing this exhorted them, "This site is not fit for giving a fight. We should leave this place very quickly."

VERSE 66: THE REBELS ENCAMP ON THE OTHER  
SIDE OF THE JHELUM

वितस्ता पारमासाद्य तिष्ठामः सपरिच्छदाः ।  
तत्रोपायान् विधास्यामो येन नश्यन्त्यमी स्वयम् ॥ ६६ ॥

Approach the other side of the Jhelum, with our supplies and lie low. There we shall plan our strategy by which they (the Sayyids) would perish of their own accord.

VERSE 67

अभिनन्द्येति तद्वाक्यं सर्वे साहसशालिनः ।  
जुहिला मठमार्गेण' वितस्तापारमासदन् ॥ ६७ ॥

All those having very high morale, welcomed his (Jalāl Thākūr's) words, and negotiating the route through Juhilā Maṭha crossed to the other side of the Jhelum.

Note

1. It may be Zoonimar or Zaināmar. This route from Nowshera to Śrinagar has been revived now. It passes through the Idgāh which was later on turned into camping ground by the Sayyids (ZRRT, IV, 97).

In view of this interpretation the correct word used here should have been *Juhnika* and not *Juhila*. The inference may be that the Sayyids gave a chase to these rebels through this very route but might have been held at bay at Idgāh by the rebels till they managed to cross over to the other side of the Jhelum (ZRRT, IV, 95).

VERSE 68: MIYĀ MOHAMMAD STRIKES

अत्रान्तरेऽन्तरं प्राप्तः क्रुद्धो मेयामहम्मदः ।  
अवघोद् भ्रातरो ताज पाजकौ द्वारपालकौ ॥ ६८ ॥

In the meantime, exasperated Miyā Mohammad, making most of this lull, (in the fight) killed the two brothers Tāj and Pāj—the guards of the gate.

## VERSE 69

राजधान्यङ्गनात् कृष्टौ श्वपचैर्गुल्फ दामपिः ।  
अमघ्य मध्यम<sup>१</sup>नाङ्गौ ययतुस्तौ श्वभोज्यताम् ॥ ६९ ॥

The scavengers fastening a rope in their ankles dragged them out of the compound of the royal palace, their bodies had been soiled by filth and dirt and (these two brothers) became food for the dogs.

## VERSE 70

आजन्मकृपणौ ग्राम्य पीडोत्कोचार्जितत्रियौ ।  
प्राणदानक्षणे तस्मिन् गतौ<sup>१</sup> सर्वस्व दातृताम्<sup>२</sup> ॥ ७० ॥

Throughout their life having been very niggardly and having amassed wealth by exploiting the village-folk as also by receiving bribes, (these two brothers) gave away all what they had at the time of their death.

## Notes

1. The two brothers—Tājak and Pājak—were the *Deorhi Officers*. These must have also been Sayyids for reasons obvious.
2. They were forced to pay back to those whom they had exploited in the form of their body being eaten by dogs etc.

## VERSE 71

संचितं ग्राम्य पीडाभिर्लुब्धैर्यत् परवञ्चनैः ।  
तेषां सद्गुण्य कुप्यादि सर्वं तद्गजसादगात् ॥ ७१ ॥

Whatever silver etc. these greedy (brothers) had hoarded, by exploiting the villagers, as also by cheating others, that all was confiscated by the state.

## VERSE 72

कृपणस्य गृहं विशन्ति येऽर्याः  
न बहिः क्रश्टुमतो जनाः क्षमन्ते  
विलमध्यगता इव द्विजिह्वा<sup>१</sup>  
यदि निर्यान्त्यसुभिः सहैव सर्वे ॥ ७२ ॥

The wealth which comes to the house of a miser, cannot be taken out by any one, just like a serpent having gone into his hole, can be taken out of it only when dead.

## Note

1. A serpent is believed to possess two tongues (MW).

## VERSE 73

भिक्षोः प्रसूति मात्रं यैर्न दत्तं तद् गृहान्तरात् ।  
शतं तण्डुल खारीणां<sup>१</sup> पिश्याद्यैरेव तद्भुताम् ॥ ७३ ॥

A hundred khāriloads of rice of those, who did not give even a handful (of rice) from within their house (while alive) to the beggars, was now appropriated by these very (beggars).

## Note

1. Khāri is a measure for the foodgrains.

## VERSE 74

गोधूमपिष्टं पूषैक पर्याप्तं नाप्तमर्थिभिः ।  
यत् तल्लुण्ठितपतच्चूर्णैर्मपातायितं पथि ॥ ७४ ॥

The wheat flour sufficient only for a single *pūpa* (pan-cake) could not be had (from them) by those in want. On their house being looted (the immense, hoarded) wheat-powder falling down resembled a snow-fall on the street.

## VERSE 75

अत्रान्तरे गृहादाप्तोऽप्यालिखानो भटोद्भटः<sup>१</sup> ।  
प्राग्वाटिका प्रतोलीं तामदहत् तज्जिहीर्षया<sup>२</sup> ॥ ७५ ॥

In the meanwhile, the valiant Ali Khān having come from his house reached the park for lifting its small door before it (the entire park) would catch fire.

## Notes

1. The valiant, the brave.
2. Literally it means 'for stealing'. The small door of the park must have been a piece of art. So Ali Khān wanted to preserve it at his home. He seems to be a Sayyid.

VERSE 76: IDI RAINA SETS THE SON OF  
BEHRĀM FREE

एदगजानकाद्याश्च तावद् बहामखानजम् ।  
उन्मुच्य बन्धनातूर्णमपमार्गेण निर्ययुः ॥ ७६ ॥

By then Idi Raina and others set the son of Behrām Khān (Yusuf) free from his confinement and went out in haste by a side-way.



VERSE 77: IDI RAINA SANDWICHED BETWEEN  
SAYYID FORCES AND FIRE

अग्नेदृष्टवारि सैन्यं च पश्यदपि हुताशनम् ।

क्षमो यातुं न स्यातुं मृगशाव इवाभवत् ॥७७॥

Seeing the enemy (Sayyid) forces in front and fire at the back he (Idi Raina) could neither proceed forward nor retrace his steps backwards like the young of a deer.

VERSE 78: ALI KHÂN KILLS YUSUF

कृष्टोऽरिष्टाय सोऽयं नेरुद्धैरिति तं विदन् ।

आलिखानः समाश्वास्य सिंहो मृगमिवावधीत् ॥७८॥

“Our adversaries have set him free (Yusuf) only for harming us”—concluding this, and feeling quite convinced Ali Khân killed him (Yusuf), just as a lion (does) a deer.

VERSE 79

महाराज्यैव<sup>1</sup> कृष्टोऽयं पाजभाट्टमतस्वया ।

एज्याधीमिति<sup>2</sup> सैदास्तं चुक्रुशुः केवनावदन् ॥७९॥

“The senior queen at the instance of Pāja Bhaṭṭ must have set (Yusuf) free for handing over the rule to him, thus some Sayyids spoke to him (Ali Khân).

Notes

1. The senior queen could be Zulāl Begum or Hayāt Khātūn.
2. Refer ZRRT, III, 545.

VERSE 80

उपायो बन्धनात् क्रष्टुं चिन्तितस्तस्य योऽपरैः<sup>1</sup> ।

अपायः प्रत्युतास्याभूद् दैवं केन विलङ्घ्यते ॥८०॥

The plan of setting him (Yusuf) free conceived by his allies, became actually a catastrophe for him. Who has the power to transgress destiny?

Note

1. *Apārā* can be construed ‘not an enemy’, ie, an ally so to say.

## VERSE 81

तस्य मीरादयो भृत्याः पापास्तेन प्रचोदिताः ।  
प्रहारविवशं चक्रुः शराकं शबर इव ॥८१॥

His (Ali Khān's) villainous slaves namely Mīr and others, having been worked up by him (Ali Khān), made him (Yusuf) succumb to blows like a rabbit by wild hunters.

## VERSE 82: PĀJ BHATT IS KILLED BY ALI KHĀN

राजपुत्रवधोत्पातविवशं पृष्टपातिनम् ।  
अवधीत् पाजभट्टं तं स्वपक्षमिव राक्षसः ॥८२॥

That fiend (Ali Khān) having lost control over his own self by inflicting death on the prince (Yusuf), killed Pāj Bhaṭṭa belonging to his own side and an ally.

## VERSE 83

भुक्तं किमपि नो राज्यान्निर्हेतुः किमयं हतः ।  
शुचेवारोदि तददुष्टा वृक्षैः पिकरवच्छलात् ॥८३॥

“How is it that he (Yusuf) who had certainly not availed of anything from the state, and without any cause, was also killed?”—the trees on perceiving this out of grief indulged in weeping under the pretext of the wailing of cuckoo.

## VERSE 84

मा मा वधीरिमं खानं सुचिराद् बन्धनोदगतम् ।  
रुरुस्तच्छुचेवेत्यं मरुता कम्पिता लताः ॥८४॥

“Do not kill this Khān (Yusuf) who has got out of a prolonged confinement”—as if being pained at this, the creepers shaken by the wind, began to lament.

## VERSE 85

केऽमी तुरुष्का दुष्कार्यं कराः पुष्कल पातकाः ।  
इत्येव तरवः कम्पमापूर्वायु विषट्ठिताः ॥८५॥

“Who are these Turks, sinners of first water, and addicted to very vile actions”—thus the trees shaken by the wind began to quiver.

## Note

1. The poet is highly moved at this irony of fate. A young prince is jailed by his rival and the boy spends a major portion of his life in jail, bereft of all comforts. When somebody in the times of revolt, releases him, he is killed by the party in power. What a fate? The poet is moved and expends quite a few words over this unfortunate event.

## VERSE 86

चतुर्विंशति वर्षेऽयं मात्रा प्राप्तश्चिरच्छवः ।

त्र्यहं रुद्धान्तिके स्नेहात् कृतोऽनय क्रियया ततः ॥ ८६ ॥

His (Yusuf's) mother having been given the dead body of the twenty four years old (son) after much delay, out of affection kept it with her for three days and performed his last rites subsequently.

## VERSE 87

यवान्मक्षिणी<sup>1</sup> तस्य जननी विधवा<sup>2</sup> सती ।

सोबाण देवी<sup>3</sup> साजीवमवसत्तच्छाजिरे<sup>4</sup> ॥ ८७ ॥

His (Yusuf's) mother Subāṇa Devī, already widowed, remained all her life in the cemetery living on barley.

## Notes

1. She did not take rice etc. The staple food of Kashmiris. Out of grief for her son she abstained from partaking royal food but lived on barley.
2. Her husband Behrām Khān had already died in jail (ZRRT, III, 124).
3. Her name seems to be Subhān Begum.
4. She remained in the cemetery beside the grave of her son and probably her husband till her death. Persian chroniclers also corroborate this.

## VERSE 88

राजसैदद्दिजानेतान्<sup>1</sup> हतान् वीक्षाम्यहं कथम् ।

इतीव तत्कुधा रक्तः सूर्यो लोकान्तरं ययौ ॥ ८८ ॥

"How can I bring myself to behold these slain royal Sayyids, Brahmins as these are?" Thus red with anger the sun left for another hemisphere.

## Note

1. Śrīvara hints at their top-most eminence in Muslim hierarchy, as the Brahmins are in the Hindu fold.

## VERSE 89

परितो राजधान्यास्तान् दृष्ट्वा नग्नान् महत्तरान् ।  
न शेकुः केऽपि वस्त्रैकखण्डं दातुं त्रपाहते ॥ ८९ ॥

Beholding these exalted men (Sayyids), stark naked lying around the royal palace, nobody dared to cover them even with a single piece of cloth for saving them from shamelessness.

## VERSE 90

सरस्तीरगता<sup>1</sup> भेका अविच्छन्नवच्छस्तात् ।  
साक्रन्दाः सर्वरात्रं ते तच्चुचेवाभवंस्तदा ॥ ९० ॥

Under the pretext of non-stop croaking, the frogs negotiating the bank of the lake, did as if wail right through whole of the night out of grief (for slain Sayyids).

## Note

1. Either the 'Anchor' lake to the left or the back-waters of the Dal lake to the right, of Nowshera may have been referred to here.

## VERSE 91

ये राजवेश्म विविशुः सुभगा सुवेशा-  
स्त्वङ्गतुरङ्गखुरधूलिकृतान्धकराः ।  
ते द्वित्रयोदश शिबिका धृतजीर्णवस्त्रा  
निष्कासिता नृपगृहाद् सुतरक्तधाराः ॥ ९१ ॥

Those fair complexioned (Sayyids) who would enter the royal palace gaily dressed, their galloping steeds would raise darkening dust by their hoofs, are being taken out of that very palace huddled in two or three biers covered with tattered coffin-cloth dripping with blood.

VERSE 92: REBELLION AGAINST SAYYIDS TAKES PLACE  
IN 1484 AD

इत्थं षष्टितमे<sup>1</sup> वर्षे भाव्युपद्रव<sup>2</sup> कारणम् ।  
वैशाखस्य चतुर्दश्यां सैदानां विप्लवोऽभवत् ॥ ९२ ॥

In this manner, sowing the seeds for future troubles, the rebellion against Sayyids, came to the fore on the fourteenth day of Vaiśākha of the (local) sixtieth year.

## Notes

1. The sixtieth year of local Saptarṣi calendar 4560 is meant here. It works to 1484 AD.

2. Śrīvara refers to the civil war between Kashmiris when Fatah Khān, son of Ādam Khān, dethroned Sultān Mohammad Shāh (ZRRṬ, IV, 639-640).

## VERSE 93

नूनं हसन नाम्नां स भृत्यानां तत्र वत्सरे ।  
अन्तकः सनिविष्टोऽभूद् येनैते प्रलयं गताः ॥ ९३ ॥

For sooth during that year the God of Death has possessed those, bearing Hassan in their name. So they got killed along with their entourage.

## VERSE 94

सामान्यवेश्मनि वरं जनिरस्तु पुंसां  
मा मास्तु राजनिलये बहुदुःखकर्त्री ।  
ते शेरतेऽत्यरुचिरेऽप्लपटैक मध्ये  
नो माति राजयुगलं विपुले सुदेशे ॥ ९४ ॥

It is better for the people to be born in an ordinary household; nay, never in the house of a monarch. Those (ordinary people) share the sole worn-out and small piece of cloth for sleeping (together), but two sovereign do not feel at home even in their large country.

## VERSE 95

अथालिखानमेयाद्याः<sup>१</sup> कुब्जाः पश्चादवागलन् ।  
नदीपारं गताञ् श्रुत्वा द्रोहिणस्तान् विरोषिनः ॥ ९५ ॥

Thereafter having heard that those malicious rebels had crossed to the other side of the river (the Jhelum), Ali Khān, Miyā (Mohammad) and others, quite exasperated, gave them a chase.

## Note

1. Refer verse 68 earlier.

## VERSE 96

नौसेतुबन्धानुच्छिद्य<sup>१</sup> माद्रैः काश्मीरिकैः समम् ।  
ज्यल्लालठवकुराद्यास्ते मते<sup>२</sup> चक्रुर्जिगीषया ॥ ९६ ॥

Jalāl Thākur and others having detached the improvised boat-bridge, initiated as alliance between Kashmiris and Jammu garrison for registering victory.

*Notes*

1. It seems that no permanent bridge was there at the point from which the rebels crossed over to the other side of the river. Sultāns did not construct permanent bridges over the Jhelum.

2. Earlier Jammu garrison and Kashmiris indulged in the killings etc. on their own, but now they formed alliance and a joint front.

**VERSE 97: THE SAYYIDS ENCAMP AT IDGĀH**

विशप्रस्थान्ते सैदाः प्राप्त संनाम्नाः ।

तत्तत्पट्ट कुटीषण्ड मण्डिताः शिविरं व्यसुः ॥ ९७ ॥

The Sayyids equipped with armour and transport, converted the Idgāh into an encampment, adorned with a multitude of cloth tents.

*Note*

1. The unsuspecting Sayyids had been taken by surprise earlier in the park, so were unarmed and ill-equipped to strike back at the rebels. Now they had collected their armour and steeds for giving a regular fight to the rebels.

**VERSE 98: WAR-SUPPLIES FOR SAYYIDS ARE ASSURED IN THE CITY**

पुरमात्रावशिष्टास्ते सैदा द्वैघानिवर्तिनः ।

वाजिवर्मासिपूयिष्ठां राजलक्ष्मीं विभेजिरे' ॥ ९८ ॥

The Sayyids, for whom the city remained the only (place of refuge), being in two minds returned (from the river-bank) were thus the masters of a great number of horses, armour, swords and state-coffers.

*Note*

1. Though Sayyids had the city alone in their control, but they could easily claim the transport, armoury and state-treasury; all being concentrated in the capital. Obviously they possessed an edge over the rebels in terms of armament and money.

**VERSE 99: SAYYIDS PURCHASE PEOPLE WITH MONEY**

येषां वण्टिकैकापि नाभूत्करगता क्वचित् ।

स्वर्णरूपक' हस्ताङ्गारचक्रेस्ते येषामूषिताः ॥ ९९ ॥

Those, who did not have a mere *cowrie* (smallest coin) in their hands anytime, were now roaming in graceful attire, with their

palms crammed with gold and silver coins.

*Note*

1. The Sayyids had only one shortcoming, i.e. sufficient number of fighters for wielding this huge armament was not available to them. Hence they purchased people by giving them gold and silver. In this way, they raised a big army from amongst the destitute Kashmiris.

VERSE 100

तेषूतुङ्गतुरङ्गेषु सर्वतो वसुवर्षिषु ।  
अकारि शस्त्रग्रहणं शिल्पिशकटिकैरपि ॥ १०० ॥

Mounting their high steeds (Sayyids) rained money on all sides, tempting even the artisans and coachmen to take up arms.

VERSE 101: ROYAL STABLE IS POACHED

मन्दुगसुन्दरा येऽश्वा राज्ञोऽपूषन् महागुणाः ।  
तानारुद्धाधमाश्चेस्तदपूषन् नित्य दुर्लभान् ॥ १०१ ॥

The menials and servants mounted the pretty and very excellent horses in the stables of the Sultān, which were thought beyond their reach.

VERSE 102: SAYYIDS INITIATE DIPLOMATIC PARLEYS

ततो हम्सन राजानकश्चैरन्यैश्च संयुताः ।  
षाड्गुण्यं<sup>1</sup> विदधुः सैदाः काश्मीरिक जिगीषवः ॥ १०२ ॥

Subsequently the Sayyids desirous of continuing their sway over the Kashmiris, initiated six-fold diplomatic parleys with Hassan Raina and others.

*Note*

1. Refer verse 24 earlier. It might even mean that the Sayyids tried to rope in Hassan Raina; thus create a split between Kashmiris.

VERSE 103

ते येयामतनाराच<sup>1</sup> मुख्यानां यन्त्रणोन्मिताः ।  
स्वसेवकानां विदधुः शिखरसमर्पणम् ॥ १०३ ॥

Dispossessed of their hold (the Sayyids) transferred their authority to their servants headed by Miyā Matta and Nārāca.

## Note

1. Also refer ZRRT, 1, 4, 9 notes.

## VERSE 104: KASHMIRIS OPEN FRONT AT 'ZAL DAGAR'

अत्रान्तरे पारगताष्टकुण्डा महाधियः ।  
सैन्यानां संग्रहं चक्रुस्ते जालद्रागरन्तरे' ॥ १०४ ॥

In the meanwhile, the most sagacious Thākurs and others, having reached the other side of the Jhelum, began to collect army in Zāladrāgar (Zaldagar).

## Note

1. This place is situated within the city of Srinagar, to its west with Kut-Kol on the one side and the Jhelum on the other. It stretches roughly from Newah Bazar to the Ziarat of Sayyid Mansoor Sāhib. It is very densely populated at present.

## VERSE 105: INSURRECTION TURNS INTO POPULAR MOVEMENT

श्रुत्वेति साहसोदात्तं नगरे यद्गन्निर्मितम् ।  
आययुः सर्वराष्ट्रेभ्यो लोकास्ते शस्त्रधारिणः ॥ १०५ ॥

Having heard about the noble courage displayed by the Jammu garrison in the city, the people wielding arms came from all districts.

## Note

1. This courage shown by the Jammu garrison was not for their personal ends, but for freeing Kashmiris from the yoke of Sayyids. Hence it was noble, exalted etc. (v.l. स्तं VVR/ p 231).

## VERSE 106: PEOPLE'S ARMY IS RAISED AT 'ZAL DAGAR'

प्रवृत्ते च पुरक्षोभे पुरग्रामे च पतने ।  
अत्युत्त्वणजनः सर्वो धावति स्म धृतायुधः ॥ १०६ ॥

Resentment (against the Sayyids) spread to the cities, villages and towns, when a huge number of very heroic people began to rush (to Zāl Dagar) with their weapons.

## VERSE 107: KASHMIRI FIGHTERS ENCAMP ON THE BANKS OF KUT-KOL

शमालावाङ्गि<sup>1</sup>लीयाद्याः<sup>2</sup> क्रमराज्यगताश्च<sup>3</sup> ये ।  
स्थामार्थं क्षितिकर्तरी<sup>4</sup> शिबिरं समकल्पयन् ॥ १०७ ॥



(The people) from Śamāla (Hamāl), Bāngila, Kramarājya (Kamraz) and other districts encamped on the bank of Kut-kol for giving a fight (to Sayyids).

Notes

1. Refer *JRRT*, 107. It is the Hamāl district of to-day.
2. Refer *ZRRT*, II, 22 etc.
3. Refer *KLRT*, IV, 617; *JRRT*, 649 etc.
4. It is Kut-kol, a branch taken out of the Jhelum at Shergarh. Refer *STRT*, VII, 186-187 note.

VERSE 108: ARMY FROM DARDISTAN COMES TO THE  
SUCCOUR OF KASHMIRIS

दरद्दिश्चक्क' वाक्काघैर्दरदिः सुपटैः समम् ।

वैदूर्य भट्टः स्थामस्थो युद्धसन्नद्धतां दधौ ॥ १०८ ॥

The commander of this encamping army Vaidurya Bhaṭṭa, along with Chak-kvāka, and other valiant soldiers from Dardistān became alert for the battle.

Note

1. The inhabitants of Upper Kishanganga valley with their headquarter at 'Gurez' are meant here (*STRT*, VII, 912 note). V.I. दरद्दिश्चक्काघैर्दरदिः (*VVR*, p 232)

VERSE 109: SOLDIERS RECRUITED FROM LĀR

नीलाश्वलोकं' संगृह्य पम्परजानकादयः ।

दुग्धाश्रमात्तिकेऽसन्धोः पारं स्थामाधमासदन् ॥ १०९ ॥

Pamma Raina and others having recruited people from Lār district, encamped on the other side of the Sindh near Dugdhāśrama (Dodar Homa).

Note

1. It may be identified as the Nilasha village within Lār pargana (*STRT*, VII, 1631, *JRRT*, 153).

VERSE 110: KIND INSTEAD OF CASH TO THE MERCENARIES

सर्वतो धान्य सम्पारानानीयानीय नविकैः<sup>1</sup> ।

प्रवासवेतनं कोशाभावात् काश्मीरिका व्यधुः ॥ ११० ॥

The boatmen brought (barge) loads of paddy from all sides, which was given as the wages (to the mercenaries) for being away from their homes, by Kashmiri rebels due to the non-existence of a treasury.

## Note

1. Kashmiris paid the wages to the fighters in kind—in terms of paddy because they had no treasury at their disposal.

Barges had to be used for bringing paddy to these camps, so these were located on river-banks viz Kut-kol and Sindh.

**VERSE 111: THE ARMIES FACE EACH OTHER  
ON THE RIVER**

क्वचित्पुण्ड्रं क्वचिद्वाहं परदेश इवात्र ते ।

पारावारगताश्चकुर्न्दी तीर्त्वा पुर द्वये ॥ १११ ॥

The fighters of each side would cross the river negotiating this or the other bank, unleash loot and fire on these two cities (segments) as if it was not their country.

## Note

1. It might mean the two segments of the city under the occupation of the Sayyids and Kashmiris respectively. The hinterland beyond the left bank of the Jhelum was at Zāl Dāgar, was under the control of the rebels and that on the right bank under the control of Sayyids. Virtually these were two cities to which Śrīvara refers here (cf, verse 116, infra.).

## VERSE 112

धनुर्यन्त्रैश्चैवमुक्तैः प्रतितीरं पुर द्वये ।

पञ्च सप्त मृता युद्धे प्रत्यहं कटक द्वये ॥ ११२ ॥

During this battle the missiles released from machines from each bank of the river (comprising) the two segments of the city would kill five to seven in both the armies every day.

## Note

1. It might mean arrows or missiles released from a machine. It may connote cannon balls also since cannon had already been invented during the reign of Budshāh (ZRT, I, 1, pp 72-73).

## VERSE 113

खचाश्चोपान्त<sup>1</sup> सामन्ताः क्षीणप्रेष्या<sup>2</sup> गृहोन्मिताः ।

नामावशेषा खानाश्च शूरा दारिद्र्यपीडिताः ॥ ११३ ॥

Khacās (Khashas), the neighbouring jagirdārs, those whose number of mercenaries had dwindled, those who had left their homes, the brave Khāns only in name (now) and those afflicted with penury.

## Notes

1 Generally taken to be mountain dwellers in the Himalayan region. However, in Kashmir these are called Khokhi meaning a looter, a plunderer or a ghost even infesting the surrounding mountain ridges (cf, *STRT*, I, 317).

2 These people maintaining a private army consisting of mercenaries could not afford to do so now due to their depleted resources.

## VERSE 114: PRISONERS ARE SET FREE BY THE REBELS

चौराः कृतप्रमोषाश्च विरबन्धनयन्त्रिताः<sup>1</sup> ।

तत्तद्राज विरुद्धाश्च पिशुनाश्च श्वकृतयः ॥ ११४ ॥

The thieves, the robbers, those who were under custody for a very long time, those against the Sultān, the treacherous and those living a dog's life.

## Note

1 It might connote that prisoners had been set free presumably by the rebels.

## VERSE 115

हृताधिकारास्तत्कार्यन्यायप्रत्यायनक्षमाः ।

एते चान्ये च तुतुषुर्देशेऽस्मिंस्तदुपद्रवे ॥ ११५ ॥

Those who had stripped off their authority, those who had no faith in the working of law, those and many others, gloated over this confusion in the country.

## VERSE 116: REBELS OCCUPY THE LEFT BANK OF THE RIVER

नौ संतुबन्धनान्नावश्च सर्वा मडकराज्यतः ।

आनीय वामतीरस्या विदधु स्तोपयोगिनीः ॥ ११६ ॥

All the boats tied together for improvising the bridges and the canoes were brought from Maraz and stationed on the left bank (of the Jhelum) for their (of the rebels) exclusive use.

## VERSE 117

देवाभिघः शाकुनिको<sup>1</sup> नाविकाधिपतां भजन् ।

प्रतीर्य नौकायुद्धेन विदधे सुपटङ्गयम् ॥ ११७ ॥

A fowler Devā by name, promoted as the commander of the boatmen, crossing to the other side (of the river), killed very excellent soldiers.

## Note

1. Actually these fowlers, bird-killers or catchers use a very light boat in a lake and indulge in hunting aquatic birds. Thus they are very adept boatmen.

VERSE 118: FOWLERS FROM NANDPORA RECRUITED  
BY THE SAYYIDS

सैदाडल्लसरस्तीरस्थितान् शाकुनिकानवान् ।

स्वपोतान् व्यसृजन् योद्धुं ततनन्दपुरस्थितान् ॥ ११८ ॥

The Sayyids recruited a new (army) of fowlers, residing in Nandpora, on the bank of the Dal Lake, and threw them into the battle along with their boats.

VERSE 119: INFILTRATORS SENT INTO THE CITY  
BY THE REBELS

मेयावफाकनामापि पुरक्षाधिकार भाक् ।

विचार्यचौरां<sup>१</sup>स्तत्काले द्वित्राञ् शूलेन्यरोपयत् ॥ ११९ ॥

Miyā Wafāk as the commander of the city-guards having taken them to be thieves sent two or three to gallows.

## Note

1. Sayyid *Kotwal* of the city Miyā Wafāk could not divine that the Sayyids had sent infiltrators into the city. He thought them to be thieves and hanged them.

## VERSE 120

आसमुद्र<sup>२</sup>मठाज्जन नगरान्तं सडिण्डिमम्<sup>३</sup> ।

तस्मिन्<sup>३</sup> स्फुरति पौराणां न भीश्चौरकृताभवत् ॥ १२० ॥

That (rebellion) having swelled up, the inhabitants right from Āsamudra Matha (Sadrmār) to Jaina-nagar (Nowshera) did not encounter any scare from thieves accompanied with a beat of drums.

## Notes

1. It is the locality of Sadrmār on the right bank of the Jhelum just close to Habbakadal. It was founded by queen Samudra, wife of king Rām Deva (1252-1273 AD).

2. Drums must have been beaten to announce recruitment to army by the Sayyids. It might even suggest that drums used to be beaten to make people vigilant about the danger of thieves during the night.

3. This pronoun can be taken in the context of the rebellion which is being described by Śrīvara presently.

4 All the thieves and bad characters must have either joined the army or indulged in loot under the very eyes of both these armies on the either banks of the Jhelum (cf. verse 111, supra).

VERSE 121: THE SAYYIDS DISMANTLE DYKES AT NAVAPUR

छिन्नेषु सेतुबन्धेषु<sup>1</sup> तत्तन्नौ पुरकादिषु<sup>2</sup> ।  
पूर्वर्गं रचनेवाभूद<sup>3</sup> दुर्गमा तद्दिशेधिनाम् ॥१२१॥

The dykes have been dismantled at Navapur and other places. It became a veritable fortification difficult to penetrate for the rebels.

*Notes*

1 The dykes built on both sides of the Jhelum as also on the Nala Mar are meant here.

2 It may be Vayapur of today, a locality on Nala Mar on way to Rainawari.

It seems that the rebels had crossed over to the right bank of the Jhelum and were on their way to the capital Nowshera via Navapura. The Sayyids dismantled the dykes at and around this locality and the advance of the rebel forces was halted by the surging waters thus released.

3 The rebels found it difficult to cross this improvised lake working as a fortification for the Sayyids.

VERSE 122: A MOAT DUG OUT AT KHAND BHAVAN BY THE SAYYIDS

आस्कन्दं स्कन्द<sup>1</sup>भवनदाशङ्क्योपनृपपङ्कजम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
पञ्चहस्तमिता<sup>3</sup> सैदाः परिखां समकल्पयन् ॥१२२॥

Apprehending attack from Skand Bhavan, very close to the royal headquarters, the Sayyids dug out a moat five hands wide.

*Notes*

1 It is Khand Bhavan of today (STR, III, 380 note). Through it lies the nearest route to Nowshera—the capital.

2 Nowshera is meant here. It might even connote the royal courtyard. We have already learnt that Sayyids encamped at Idgah which is very close of Khand Bhavan. May be the infant Sultan Mohammad Shah was also brought there, for providing safety to him.

3 *Hasta*—a measure of length equal to about 18 inches, the distance between the elbow and the tip of the middle finger. Thus the moat was about 8 feet wide.

VERSE 123: A MOAT IS DUG OUT NEAR NOWSHERA TOO

द्वारधानी<sup>1</sup> समीपेऽपि रुद्रराजानकान्तिके<sup>2</sup> ।  
तादृशीं परिखामन्यां चक्रुर्वैरिभर्याच्छिन्दे ॥१२३॥

Also quite close to the main gate of the capital (Nowshera) within the periphery of Rudra Rājānaka (shrine), one more moat similar (to the earlier one), was dug out to ward off the threat (of attack) from the enemy.

*Notes*

1. The main gate of the capital is meant here.
2. The shrine with this name is not extant now. It might have been very close to the capital—Nowshera then. However, it may be surmised as the Rudreśvara Shrine, built by queen Radda of King Jaya Simha 1128-1148 AD (*KLRT*, VIII, 3369 refer note verse 124).

VERSE 124

विरुद्धवेश्मलुठेन कुर्वन्तो हृततद्भनाः ।  
सैदभृत्या भयं चक्रुः प्रजानां गोवधादिना ॥ १२४ ॥

The mercenaries of Sayyids while looting the houses of the adversaries, and seizing their wealth, scared the people with cow-slaughter etc.

VERSE 125

विरुद्धमुक्तलुण्ठित गृहदारु समाप्तितः ।  
दिदामठो<sup>१</sup> रुद्रवन<sup>२</sup> वासेन्धन हृतोऽभवत् ॥ १२५ ॥

When the wood for domestic use was exhausted, due to the free loot of the adversaries, the (people) used the fuel got from dismantling Rudra-Vana establishment at Diddāmatha (Diddāmar).

*Notes*

1. Refer *ZRRT*, III, 171, 184.
2. This Rudravana must have been attached to the shrine of Rudra Rājānaka (refer verse 124). So, it is probable that this shrine was situated at the outer fringe of Dedmar locality from which a short route leads to Nowshera.

VERSE 126

अनभिज्ञतयात्यानां<sup>१</sup> तद्विरुद्धगृहश्रियः<sup>२</sup> ।  
व्ययीकुर्व्वा सैदा गावो<sup>३</sup> हत्वा शुनामिव ॥ १२६ ॥

Due to their unfamiliarity (with the local people) Sayyids destroyed the household affluence of some of the people, taking them as their adversaries like the cows being killed for the dogs.

*Notes*

- 1 Not exactly knowing the credentials of each and every person in the city, in

this free-for-all loot even innocent people also suffered.

2. Usually house-hold belongings and wealth of such people of substance would oblige those in need.

3. Just as a cow is more useful than a dog. While hunting for dogs, someone is foolish enough to kill the cows also.

#### VERSE 127

निकृष्टशस्त्राः संनाहममुद्यन्तो दिने दिने ।

राजधान्यङ्गने साश्वस्तद् भृत्याः प्राविशन् मदात् ॥ १२७ ॥

Their (of Sayyids) mercenaries brandishing weapons, in full armour and mounted on the horses, would enter the courtyard of the royal palace out of arrogance.

#### VERSE 128

मल्लामीन गृहाश्चुन्दकायस्थसदनानि च<sup>१</sup> ।

राजानक्रे हस्सनः<sup>२</sup> स ददाह स्वगृहं कृषा ॥ १२८ ॥

Feeling very much annoyed Hassan Rājānaka set fire to his house which burnt the houses of Mullā Amin and apartments of Chunda Kāyastha also.

#### Notes

1. Officials or clerks connected with revenue department (*KLRT*, IV, 90). Originally it was an official designation, later on it became a caste-nomenclature.

2. Hassan Raina had erected a row of buildings towards the western gate of the capital (*ZRRT*, III, 385).

#### VERSE 129

काकतालीयकन्यायः<sup>१</sup> सैदकाश्मीर सैन्ययोः ।

परस्परभय भ्रश्यद्वैर्ययोरभवत् तदा ॥ १२९ ॥

At that time on account of mutual fear dampening their spirits, the armies of Sayyids and Kashmiris encountered each other quite accidentally.

#### Note

1. It is one of the popular maxims denoting the encounter of the crow and the palm fruit. It takes its origin from the unexpected and sudden fall of a palm fruit upon the head of a crow so as to kill it at the moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree. It is used to denote a very unexpected and accidental occurrence whether welcome or unwelcome. It might denote here that fortunes swing from one army to the other.

VERSE 130: HEAD-HUNTING HAD BECOME THE  
ORDER OF THE DAY

पारावारगता वीरास्तीर्त्वा साहसिनो द्रुतम् ।

हत्वा तांस्तान्छिन्नश्चित्वा तीरदण्डे न्यरोपयन् ॥ १३० ॥

The valiant ones crossing over from one bank to the other and vice-versa after killing (the guards) would cut off their heads and fix them on a staff.

VERSE 131: PĀMPUR LOOTED

लोलाश्वारोहिणि हते तीर्त्वा सैद भटद्वये ।

लुण्ठिं पिबज्जानाद्याश्चक्रुः पद्मपुरान्तरे ॥ १३१ ॥

Two Sayyid fighters riding their fast steeds having been killed (by those), who had crossed over (to their side), Feroz Khān and others started loot in Padmapura (Pāmpur) (by way of reprisal).

Notes

1. Obviously a Sayyid commander. V.I. पर्यज्जान (VVRI, p 235). If this reading is accepted, the name could be Parvez Khān.

2. Padmapura is modern Pāmpur. It was founded by Padma, maternal uncle of king Chippata Jaya Pida (KLRT, IV, 695). This town is very much known for its saffron cultivation. It seems that Pāmpur had fallen to Kashmiris and was in their occupation.

VERSE 132: SABOTAGE RAMPANT AT OBĀṆA

जोनराजानकाद्यास्तच्छ्रुत्वा तीर्णा भटोदभटाः ।

ओबाणादिषु तद्रोषादुत्पिञ्जं चक्रुर्जसा ॥ १३२ ॥

Having heard about it Joṇa Rājānaka and other (to the right bank) valiant fighters having crossed over, started sabotage immediately in Obāṇa (Wuyan) and other places, with vengeance.

Notes

1. The so-called enemies—Kashmiris had to swim over the Jhelum to reach Obāṇa (Wuyan) on the right side of the river.

2. Wuyan and other villages are situated to the right of Pāmpur.

VERSE 133: HOUSE OF JOṆA RĀJĀNAKA BURNT

तेन सैदा अपि ग्रामे जन्मभूमौ गृहावलेः ।

जोनराजानकस्यैव क्रोधादग्निमदापयत् ॥ १३३ ॥



This action exasperated the Sayyids so much that they set fire to the row of houses in the ancestral village of Joṇa Rājānaka where he was born.

*Note*

- 1 The exact location and the name of this village has not been given here.

VERSE 134: TĀZI BHATṬA'S RESIDENCE  
GUTTED

तच्छ्रुत्वा स तदीयस्य वडवी<sup>1</sup> विषयान्तरे ।  
ताजिभट्टस्य<sup>2</sup> सद्ने तद्दग्निमदापयत् ॥ १३४ ॥

On hearing about it, he (Joṇa Rājānaka) likewise consigned the residence of Tāzi Bhaṭṭa to flames, situated in Vaḍavi district.

*Notes*

1. It may be the territory of Vadotsa mentioned by Kalhana corresponding to the village of Vach lying at the east foot of Zainpor village (*STRT*, II, p 4710)  
2. It seems Tāzi Bhaṭṭa had now aligned himself with the Sayyids. After getting Malik Ahmed Yattu arrested he might have shifted his loyalty to the Sayyids (*ZRRT*, III, 431).

VERSE 135: HOUSE AT LAHAR (LĀR) BURNT  
DOWN

गृहान् पदातिमात्रः स दग्ध्वा लहर<sup>1</sup> मध्यगः ।  
दुग्धाश्रमादिस्थामस्थान् पलायनपरान्वधात् ॥ १३५ ॥

Having burnt down house within the Lahar (Lār) pargana with the help of mere foot-soldiers, he (Joṇa Rājānaka) made the military encampments at Dugdhāśrama (Dodarhoma) take to their heels.

*Note*

1. Refer *ZRRT*, I, 5, 12 also *JRRT*, 167.

VERSE 136: A LETTER SENT TO JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY  
BY JALĀL THĀKUR

अथ लोहरकोटस्थं श्रीमार्गेशज्यहाकिरम् ।  
ज्यल्लालठक्कुराद्यास्ते<sup>1</sup> लेखमित्थं व्यसर्जयन् ॥ १३६ ॥

Jalāl Thākur and his clique, addressed a letter in this manner, to illustrious Jahāngīr Magrey, staying in the fort at Loharakoṭa (Lorin).

## Note

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, 96, notes.

## VERSE 137

यत्प्रयादभिया' देशात् सकुटुम्बो गतो भवान् ।  
स मद्वैर्विहितोऽस्माभिर्युक्त्या तद्वधसाहसः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १३७ ॥

Out of whose improvident fear you selected to go away from this country along with your family, we have by thorough scheming ventured to kill him, with (the co-operation of) Madra (Jammu) garrison.

## Notes

1. Reference is to Sayyid Hassan, whom Jahāngir Magrey suspected of taking any rash action against him, since he had opposed the recall of Sayyids (ZRRT, III, 449-453).
2. Refer ZRRT, IV, 46.

## VERSE 138

मेयामहम्मदाद्यैस्तत्पुत्रैरस्मज्जिगीषुभिः ।  
वैतस्तो दक्षिणो भागो वामोऽस्माभिः समाश्रितः ॥ १३८ ॥

His (Sayyid Hassan's) sons Miyā Mohammad and others are stationed on the right bank of the Jhelum, for vanquishing us in occupation of the left bank.

## VERSE 139: SAYYIDS ARE BESIEGED IN THE CITY

जिगीषवो वयं सर्वे क्रान्तकश्मीरमण्डलाः ।  
पुरमात्रावशिष्टास्ते सैदास्तिष्ठन्ति वेष्टिताः ॥ १३९ ॥

Desiring over all victory we are spread over the whole of Kashmir territory. Merely the city is left to the Sayyids, (that also is) under our siege.

## VERSE 140

तद्विलम्बधियं त्यक्त्वा तूर्णमागम्यतां यतः ।  
प्राप्ते त्वयि जयोऽस्माकं तव स्युः कीर्तिसम्पदः ॥ १४० ॥

So, without having second thought come here in post-haste. On your coming here our victory is assured; as you will also earn laurels in terms of good name.

## VERSE 141

राजभक्ताश्चशक्ताश्च<sup>1</sup> यूयमेवात्र मण्डले ।  
तदनागमनात् कीर्ति मा कार्षीः स्वां कलङ्किताम् ॥ १४१ ॥

Your faction alone is a powerful ally of the Sultān in this land.  
If you do not elect to return you may tarnish your good name.

## Note

1. Jalāl Thākūr would like to convey to Jahāngir Magrey, that his concern for a stable government here was supreme, so he should avail of this opportunity and return to his home-town immediately.

VERSE 142: JALĀL THĀKUR EMPHASIZES THAT  
KASHMIR IS FOR KASHMIRIS

बदे रणादलिशाहे<sup>1</sup> पूर्व मल्लेकजसयात्<sup>2</sup> ।  
राज्यरक्षां व्यधादत्र यथा मार्गेश<sup>3</sup> मल्लदः ॥ १४२ ॥

Just as in former times Mohammad Magrey had thwarted the plans of Malik Jastrath from grabbing the kingdom here when Sultān Ali Shāh was taken prisoner in the war.

## Notes

1. Refer JRRT, verse 749. Jona Rāja has recorded that Sultān Ali Shāh died in that battle. while Śrīvara writes that the Sultān was taken prisoner first and killed subsequently (ZRRT, I, 3, 107).

2. Refer JRRT, verses 732, 736.

3. Refer JRRT, verses 617-639.

## VERSE 143

तद्वत्प्राणं<sup>1</sup> त्वया रक्ष्यं तूर्णमागत्य साम्प्रतम् ।  
अन्यथास्य शिशो राज्ये स्थापयन्ति<sup>2</sup> न सैदजाः ॥ १४३ ॥

In the same way on having returned immediately you should protect the life of this child (Sultān). Otherwise the progeny of Sayyids will not establish him firmly on the throne.

## Notes

1. V.I. तद्वत्प्राणं (cf, VVRI, p 236).

2. It may mean that Sayyids will not make Sultān Mohammad Shāh strong. Rather their victory will make him a puppet in their hands.

VERSE 144: JAHĀNGIR MAGREY RETURNS TO KASHMIR  
VIA POONCH

इतिलेखं विचार्याशु स्वदेशोत्क्रान्तिशायः ।  
तूर्णं पर्णोत्स<sup>1</sup> मार्गेण स मार्गपतिराययौ ॥ १४४ ॥

Thus after having given speedy thought to this communication with his mind pining for his home-land (Jahāngir Magrey), at once returned via Paṇotsa (Poonch) route.

*Note*

1 It is Poonch district of to-day (*STRY*, I, 317 note). This route is comparatively shorter than other routes eg. Nurpur route, Banihal route, etc.

**VERSE 145: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY ENCAMPS  
AT QUTUB-UD-DINPORA**

प्राप्ते तस्मिन् दिनेद्वित्रैः कुहदीनपुरान्तरम् ।  
चक्रम्युः शिविरे सैदाः प्रदीपा इव वायुना ॥ १४५ ॥

On his (Jahāngir Magrey's) arriving at Qutub-ud-dīnpora within two or three days, the Sayyids trembled in their camps like the lamp quivers in the wind.

**VERSE 146: THE SAYYIDS OPEN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS  
THROUGH SHĪKH SHĀHĀB-UD-DĪN**

अथ संमनः सैदास्ते भयात् सन्धातुमिच्छवः ।  
इत्थं शिखशहाबादील्लेख हस्तान् व्यसर्जयन् ॥ १४६ ॥

Those Sayyids having held consultations and desirous of making peace (with rebels), out of fear sent Sheikh Shāhāb-ud-din with written proposal on these lines.

**VERSE 147**

प्रधानपुरुषाः सन्तः कृतसैदवधाः कथम् ।  
भवन्तो वत कुर्वन्ति कार्यं लोकविगर्हितम् ॥ १४७ ॥

Being influential people why have you indulged in the genocide of Sayyids? Forsooth, you engage yourselves in deeds condemned by the people.

**VERSE 148**

दैवादयदि मृतो भूपस्तत्सुतस्तत्पदे कृतः ।  
कस्य किं वो हृतं येन सर्वे छेदार्यमुद्यताः ॥ १४८ ॥

When the Sultān died by chance, his son was installed in his place. So who has usurped whose (rights), which has prompted you all to stand up for destruction?

VERSE 149

नो सर्वे द्रोहिणः सन्ति यूयं कश्मीरिका जनाः ।  
वैदेशिकैर्हता येस्तु द्वित्रांस्तान् प्रयच्छत ॥ १४९ ॥

You as also the entire Kashmiri people are not rebels. Those two or three foreigners who have killed some (people) may be handed over to me.

VERSE 150: SAYYIDS OFFER PRIME MINISTERSHIP  
TO JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY

अथवा परदेशांस्तान्निष्कास्य स परिच्छदान् ।  
यूयमेवात्र देशे स्थ मुख्या मन्त्रिषु पूर्ववत् ॥ १५० ॥

On externing them from this alien country along with their entourage, you may while staying here assume the presidentship (of the council) of ministers, as in the past.

VERSE 151: SAYYIDS OFFER TO RESTORE STATUS QUO  
ANTE

या यस्य पदवी पूर्वमासीत् सा तस्य तिष्ठतु ।  
संभूय सर्वे भुञ्जामो नास्माकं विग्रहे ग्रहः ॥ १५१ ॥

The post, which one held earlier, may be restored to him. We are not seized with (creating) dissensions. So let us all share the countries together.

VERSE 152

मरणं नियतं जन्तोर्यथैव विधिकल्पितम् ।  
तथैवावश्यमावीति के निवर्तयितुं क्षमाः<sup>१</sup> ॥ १५२ ॥

Just as destiny ordains that every creature has to die; in the like manner nobody is capable of reversing this inevitability.

*Note*

1. Herein the Sayyids would like to convey that the dead on both sides were taken away by destiny. We need not grieve for these pre-ordained killings which Sayyid Hasan and others had to suffer inevitably.

VERSE 153: COUNTER PROPOSALS ARE WRITTEN IN ARABIC

इति लेखा र्कमालोप्य मार्गेशाद्या महत्तमाः ।  
ययनाक्षर<sup>१</sup> सम्बद्धमिति लेखं व्यसर्जयत् ॥ १५३ ॥

Thus having pondered over to the exact purport of this communication, (Jahāngir) Magrey and other high-ups sent this reply written in the script of Yavanas (to the Sayyids).

*Note*

1. This could be in Arabic script. The Sayyids perhaps could read only this language as they were proficient in Muslim theology.

VERSE 154

रक्षारत्नं नृपास्तादृग् रक्षितो न दुराशया<sup>1</sup> ।  
किमर्थं स हतो राजपुत्रो बहामखानजः ॥ १५४ ॥

Out of evil designs you did not extend protection to the Sultān (Hassan) as prized as a gem. Why did you kill the prince Behrām Khān's son.

*Note*

1. Here is a direct reference to the conspiracy hatched by Sayyids to despatch Sultān Hassan to the other world (cf, ZRRT, III, verse 549).

VERSE 155

नोरो<sup>1</sup> लोहादिवधतः कस्याश्वासो भवत्विह ।  
तत्राप्यस्य शिशो रणः सर्वः कोशो विलुप्यतः ॥ १५५ ॥

We will believe your bonafides when you kill Nūr-ullāh and others. Moreover you have emptied the treasury to its bottom, under (the very nose) of a child-Sultān.

*Note*

1. Nūr-ullāh obviously must have been a Kashmiri on the side of the rebels, or some one who had harmed the Kashmiris.

VERSE 156

लोही सा घटिकेवैका<sup>1</sup> द्वारि तिष्ठति भूपते ।  
सैदैः शिष्टाहमेवेति ब्रुवन्तीव ध्वनिच्छलात् ॥ १५६ ॥

Now one and only one iron bell does hang on the door of the Sultān which under the pretext of its sound proclaims that Sayyids have left it (ungrabbed).

*Note*

1. The main argument is that they had looted everything worthwhile. An iron bell hung on the gate of the palace for announcing time. This very article alone was left untouched by the Sayyids after the wholesale loot.

In Kashmir also till 1947 AD a canon would be fired to announce 12 noon and later electric light would be dimmed to indicate 9 PM. These contrivances would serve as the standard time for Kashmiris.

VERSE 157: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY REJECTS THE  
PEACE PROPOSALS FROM  
SAYYIDS

गच्छन्त्वनिष्टा मद्रास्ते बहिर्युक्त्या निवारिताः ।  
सन्तोषवृत्त्या तिष्ठन्तु यूयं पैतामहे<sup>1</sup> पदे ॥ १५७ ॥

The rebellious Jammu garrison being given a cold shoulder tactfully should be thrown out, (by saying so) you (Sayyids) would like to occupy the position of the grandfather quite complacently.

*Note*

1. Herein Śrīvara has dealt a Kashmiri colloquial talent to Sayyids by saying that they treated the throne of Kashmir as their patrimony, as if inherited from their grandfather. It might also connote that Sayyids thought themselves to be in the line of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin whose consort was a Sayyid girl.

VERSE 158: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY SPELLS OUT  
PRE-CONDITIONS FOR  
PEACE

इत्यादि श्रुत्वा सैदेः स समाहूतोऽप्यनागतः ।  
तदग्रे व्यसृजत् दूतं स च प्राप्तोऽब्रवीदिदम् ॥ १५८ ॥

On learning this (from Jahāngīr Magrey) who had been invited but did not oblige, the Sayyids sent an emissary to him who on approaching him was told like this (by Jahāngīr Magrey).

VERSE 159

स्थापयन्तु धनं कोशे यद्घृतं बालभूपतेः ।  
शस्त्रं त्यजन्तु मन्त्रादौ तिष्ठन्तु भयवर्जिताः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १५९ ॥

The seized wealth belonging to the child Sultān should be restored to the state treasury; (the Sayyids) should lay down arms before the negotiations are started and should not harbour any apprehensions about their safety.

*Notes*

1. The first precondition for starting peace-negotiations with the Sayyids was to recover the wealth taken out from the state treasury; the second was that Sayyids should lay down arms.

2. Jahāngīr Magrey guarantees the safety of Sayyids in case they disarm their forces

VERSE 160: LOCAL PEOPLE ARE TO BE MADE  
INCHARGE OF STATE AFFAIRS

अत्रत्या एव कुर्वन्तु राज्यकार्याणि पूर्ववत् ।

किञ्चिन्नश्यति<sup>1</sup> नो देशे दोषाः शान्तिं ब्रजन्ति च ॥ १६० ॥

According to the previous practice, the local people should be associated with state-affairs. This step will forestall any kind of destruction in the country as also the shortcomings would be made good.

*Note*

1. Kashmiris out of patriotism for the country would think twice before indulging in vandalism.

VERSE 161

यद्गतं गतमेवात्र<sup>1</sup> मृता जीवन्ति नो पुनः ।

अन्योन्यं रुद्धिवैरस्य<sup>2</sup> जातान्योन्यकृताद् वधात् ॥ १६१ ॥

Whatever has happened here can in no way be retrieved. The dead do not regain life. By killing each other, the enmity for each other has been washed away.

*Notes*

1. Jahāngir Magrey would like to draw a line at the happenings during this turmoil, so that rebuilding of the country is taken in hand with a clean slate.

2. Wrath of Sayyids for Kashmiris and vice-versa has got an outlet in the shape of the killings on either side. Now the time had come to bury the past and banish malice from the hearts.

VERSE 162: SAYYIDS DO NOT LISTEN TO REASON

इत्यादि युक्तमुक्तं तद्वाक्यं श्रुत्वा मदोद्धताः ।

सौदास्तदुक्तिजनितं क्रोधदग्धा इवामवन् ॥ १६२ ॥

The Sayyids maddened with vanity having heard those reasonable words, were incensed with spite, aroused by this reasonable demand.

VERSE 163: SAYYIDS POSSESSED A VIRTUAL EDGE  
OVER KASHMIRIS

नृपः कोशश्च शस्त्रं च युद्धदशास्तथा भयः ।

सर्वमित्यस्मदायं किं कुर्वन्ति विरोधिनः ॥ १६३ ॥

The Sultān, the treasury, the armoury and very well trained soldiery is under our control, of what account the rebels can be (in these circumstances)?



## VERSE 164: SAYYIDS ARE INTRANSIGENT

इति हैभत खानोक्ता युद्धसन्नद्ध बुद्धयः ।  
अभूवंस्ते कृतोद्योगाः कौरवाः<sup>1</sup> पाण्डवेष्विव ॥ १६४ ॥

Haibat Khān having reacted thus (to the message of Jahāngir Magrey), the Sayyids like Kauravas quite intent on giving a fight began to plan strategy against the Pāṇḍavas.

## Note

1. Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas are the famous characters of *Mahābhārata*. The former being intransigent always worked for the destruction of Pāṇḍavas, culminating in the Great War at *Kurukshetra* between the two.

VERSE 165: KASHMIRIS INITIATE OFFENSIVE  
ONCE AGAIN

अथैकदा सैफद्दार जोनराजानकादयः ।  
पुरे नौसेतुमुत्तीर्य<sup>1</sup> सैद्युद्धार्थमाययुः<sup>2</sup> ॥ १६५ ॥

Thereupon Saif-Dār, Joṇa Rājānaka and others negotiating the (improvised) boat-bridge, crossed over to give fight to Sayyids.

## Notes

1. Presumably Kashmiris avoided to cross over the left side of the Jhelum on which Sayyids held sway since these would have been heavily guarded. So, the strategy of Kashmiris was to cross the river at some pregnable spot through improvised boat-bridge and thus give a surprise to Sayyids.

2. Peace-parleys having broken down, Kashmiris once again took up arms against the Sayyids. It seems that some sort of cease-fire had been observed during the days when peace-negotiations were in progress.

VERSE 166: JAHĀNGIR MAGREY ADVISES TO AVOID  
DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH SAYYIDS

उपायैः<sup>1</sup> सर्वदा जेयाः समयो न रणस्य<sup>2</sup> वः ।  
इति मार्गपतेर्वाक्यं नागृह्णस्ते रणोद्यताः ॥ १६६ ॥

“This is not a propitious time for us to give fight (to Sayyids) since a victory can be achieved always by planning (fool proof) strategy.” Those (Kashmiris) bent upon for giving armed confrontation did not pay heed to this advice of (Jahāngir) Magrey.

## Notes

1. Jahāngir Magrey—a seasoned general knew very well that it is the strategy alone which counts in winning a war.

2. He was also conscious of the shortcomings from which the Kashmiris suffered—lack of war-material etc.

**VERSE 167: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY'S SON DAUD  
INFILTRATES INTO THE CITY**

दावोदनामा मार्गेशपुत्रो घामाकरो द्रुतम् ।  
प्रतीहारो दिभिर्युक्तो नगरान्तरमासदत् ॥ १६७ ॥

Instantly the enthusiastic son of (Jahāngīr) Magrey, Daud by name accompanied by Pratihāras (Padrus) etc. infiltrated into the city.

**Notes**

1. Obviously the descendants of Abhimanyu Pratihāra (ZRRT).
2. Daud and others stealthily went into city for creating internal disturbance there, so that the offensive launched by Kashmiri army would be successful.

**VERSE 168**

समुद्रमठमार्गेण<sup>१</sup> प्रविष्टा पृतनाय सा ।  
प्रापल्लोष्ट<sup>२</sup> विहारं तं कर्तुं सैदभटक्षयम् ॥ १६८ ॥

Then that hostile army (of Kashmiris) negotiated the route through Samudramathā (Sadrmar) and reached Loṣṭavihāra, for destroying the Sayyid soldiers.

**Notes**

1. Refer JRRT, III, notes.
2. No such locality with this name can be identified at present. It is probable that this 'Loṣṭavihāra' was in the vicinity of Nowshera where Sayyids were concentrated in full strength.

**VERSE 169: DOMBS PREFER LOOTING TO  
FIGHTING**

रणं संत्यज्य डोम्बाद्या<sup>१</sup> येऽन्ये लुब्धा महा भयः ।  
सर्वस्वहरणव्यग्रा बभूवुर्नगरान्तरे ॥ १६९ ॥

The greedy Dombs and other good soldiers deflecting from the battle became terribly anxious for the loot of all what (people) possessed.

**Note**

1. This low-caste of menials was employed by Sultān Buḡahāh for attending to the last rites of the dead for their thievish activities (JRRT, 925). Notwithstanding their low social status, Dombs and men of related castes are generally superior to the ordinary villagers in natural intellect and energy (Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p 311). Obviously these Dombs were recruited for raising an improptu army by the Kashmiris.

## VERSE 170: DOMBS INDULGE IN LOOT

डोम्बाद्याः सुभटाश्चान्ये चन्तोऽन्योन्यमुदायुषाः<sup>1</sup> ।

प्रसिद्ध<sup>2</sup> पौरवेश्मण्यो घाण्डागाराद्यलुण्ठयन् ॥ १७० ॥

The Dombs, good soldiers and other (riff-raffs) wielding arms and killing each other, looted the stores of reputed houses in the city.

## Notes

1. There was a race for loot and each one of them wanted to steal a march over the other so that he could grab as much as he could.
2. The houses of those having substantial means can be construed by this.

## VERSE 171: UNDERGROUND WEALTH ALSO SEIZED

भूमौ निखन्य यन्नयस्तं पौरिगुप्तं गृहे धनम् ।

शिप्ला प्रतिपदं शङ्कुनीतं तत् तैरिवापितम् ॥ १७१ ॥

Whatever the wealth the citizens had deposited after digging the earth (underground) was taken away by these (Dombs, etc.) often boring at each step with their bayonets as if it (this wealth) had been earmarked for them.

## VERSE 172: THE SAYYIDS BEAT RETREAT

मद्राहते घटे दृष्ट्वा सैदा दिक्पतितं शिरः ।

नाद्यास्माकं जयोऽस्तीति तूष्णीं जम्पूर्ययागतम् ॥ १७२ ॥

The Sayyids on beholding the skulls of the soldiers slain by Jammu garrison strewn here and there, returned in haste as they had come (saying) "we will not register a victory to-day."

## VERSE 173: THE SAYYIDS HUNT OUT INFILTRATORS IN THE CITY

अथ सैदं चमूः श्रुत्वा तान्<sup>1</sup> प्रविष्टान् पुनन्तरे ।

अग्रे जगाम युद्धाय सायकायुध<sup>2</sup> वर्षिणी ॥ १७३ ॥

Now the army of the Sayyids having been informed that they (the enemy) had infiltrated into the city, marched raining missiles to confront them in a (regular) fight.

## Notes

1. Refer verses 165, 167 earlier.
2. It will connote arrows and missiles, etc.

VERSE 174: PADMA BHATTA OF THE REBEL ARMY  
IS SLAIN BY SAYYIDS

अग्रागतं पद्मभटं<sup>1</sup> हत्वा स्वशिविरान्तरे ।  
तद्रक्ततिलकं चक्रुः सैदाः स्वयुद्धसिद्धये ॥ १७४ ॥

Padma Bhaṭṭa in the vanguard (of rebel army) was slain in his own camp and the Sayyids marked their foreheads with his blood, for making their weapons efficacious.

*Note*

1. The first casualty in this battle at the royal park was Siṃha Bhaṭṭa (refer verse 43 earlier) and the first casualty within the city was Padma Bhaṭṭa—both presumably Brahmins.

VERSE 175: ALI KHĀN IS IN COMMAND OF THE  
SAYYID FORCES

अलिखानः स तत्रस्थस्त्रस्तः श्रुत्वागतां<sup>1</sup> चमूम् ।  
लुद्रभट्ट विहारेऽग्निं<sup>2</sup> मार्गरोधार्यमार्पयत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ १७५ ॥

Ali Khān feeling scared on hearing that the (rebel) army had arrived set fire to Ludra Bhaṭṭa Vihāra in order to thwart its advance.

*Notes*

1. Refer verse 168 earlier. In Sanskrit ल and र sounds are interchangeable, hence it is Rudra Rājānaka Shrine.

2. This site seems to be close to Nowshera for reasons obvious (refer also verse 123 earlier).

3. This fire would work as an obstacle on the road to Nowshera. V.I. मार्गरोधार्यपथ (VVRI, p 239).

VERSE 176: DAUD MAGREY ATTACKS  
THE CITY

ज्वालाजटाकुले मार्गे प्राप्तो दावोद मार्गपः ।  
सहोसन प्रतीहारः स वीरो रणमग्रहीत् ॥ १७६ ॥

The road being engulfed in the mass of flames, that valiant Daud Magrey, in company with Hussain Pratihāra (Padru) initiated the offensive.

VERSE 177: DAUD MAGREY DIES

सेतुसङ्कट मार्गेण पतितः परिखान्तरे<sup>1</sup> ।  
स मार्गपति दावोदो युध्यन् प्राणैर्व्ययुज्यत ॥ १७७ ॥

Daud Magrey negotiating very narrow path on the dykes while fighting fell into the moat and was dead.

*Note*

1. Refer verse 123 earlier.

VERSE 178: AHMED PRATIHĀRA (PADRU) DIES  
ALONG WITH HIS PLATOON

तत्राहदप्रतीहारमुख्या वीरा रणाङ्गने ।  
ययुः शौर्यं दर्शयन्तो दिव्यस्त्री सुखभागिताम् ॥ १७८ ॥

In that battle there (on the moat) many brave (soldiers) under the command of Ahmed Pratihāra (Padru) displaying valour partook the pleasing company of the celestial ladies (in heaven).

*Note*

1. Herein Śrīvara has referred to the Muslim belief that after the death of a dutiful Muslim, the company of celestial nymphs (houries) is pledged to him in heaven.

VERSE 179

रूपं तस्य मृतस्यापि स्मृत्वा पौराङ्गनाः पुरे ।  
वदन्ति नैव पश्यामस्तादृशं सुभगं क्वचित् ॥ १७९ ॥

The women-folk in the city recollecting his (Ahmed Padru's) form though dead, exclaimed—"we have not seen such a handsome (figure) anywhere".

VERSE 180: AHMED PADRU IS NOT GIVEN DUE BURIAL

सुरूपो मानुषो योग्यो नायं तन्नीयते दिवम् ।  
इतीव देवताभिः किं मृतस्तत्र न्यधीयत ॥ १८० ॥

This person of very captivating human form can in no way be taken to heaven. That is the reason that the angels left his corpse there.

*Note*

1. If such a handsome person is taken to heaven then all the nymphs will be attracted towards him and the angels there would feel forlorn and isolated. That seems to be the purport here (refer note, verse 178).

VERSE 181: REBEL ARMY SANDWICHED BETWEEN  
TWO FLANKS OF SAYYID LEGIONS

तावद्देमतखानाघैः<sup>१</sup> पश्चादन्यपयागतेः ।

विदधे खान गाहाघ्रे<sup>२</sup> तत्तत्सुपटसङ्क्षयः ॥ १८१ ॥

By then Haibat Khān and others making a detour from the rear killed the (rebel) soldiers in great numbers in front of the Khānqāh (Moullā).

*Notes*

1. Refer verse 164 earlier.
2. Presumably Khānqāh Moullā.

VERSE 182: SAYYIDS ARE VICTORIOUS

भूताविष्टैरिव प्राप्तविजयेरुद्धतायुधैः ।

रणाप्रेक्षागताः पौरस्तदिने केऽपि तैर्हताः ॥ १८२ ॥

On that day these (Sayyid soldiers) as if possessed by ghost, having been victorious and brandished their weapons and some citizens standing by to witness the fight, were killed.

VERSE 183: EVEN AMBASSADORS ARE KILLED

किमन्यत् परदेशीया दूता विप्रगृहेस्थिताः<sup>१</sup> ।

एते मद्रा इति प्रोक्ता लोभाद्विना निपातिताः ॥ १८३ ॥

What else (can be said) two to three ambassadors from foreign countries having sought asylum with a Brahmin household were killed out of avarice (by Sayyid soldiers) saying "these belong to Jammu garrison".

*Note*

1. Obviously these must have been ambassadors from the neighbouring Hindu states Rajouri, Lorin etc. The Sayyid soldiers maddened with their victory over rebels did not spare even those, though they possessed political immunity by virtue of their office.

VERSE 184: SAIF DĀMARA SETS THE WAR PRISONERS FREE

विमुच्य बन्धनस्थान्<sup>१</sup> स्वान् युध्यन् सैदमटैः सह ।

स सैफदामरः पौरान् सैदाश्चोत्कलकान्<sup>२</sup> व्यधात् ॥ १८४ ॥

Having set his own men free from the prison, Saif Dāmara, while fighting with the Sayyid soldiers made the city dwellers as well as the Sayyids open their eyes wide (with wonder).

*Notes*

1. It might connote those rebels who had been taken prisoners in the war. Saif

Dāmara seems to have attacked such concentration camps and set the prisoners free to fight on the rebel side.

2. Saif Dāmara displayed such heroism that the city-dwellers as also his enemies, the Sayyids, were wonder struck

#### VERSE 185: TOP PHYSICIAN YAVANEŚVARA KILLED

अस्मद्वैरिहितः<sup>1</sup> सोऽयमिति सदभटा रुषा ।

जघ्नुर्गृहस्थितं वैद्यपण्डितं यवनेश्वरम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ १८५ ॥

The Sayyid soldiers feeling cross with the ace-physician, Yavaneśvara killed him in his house (saying): "This very person is an ally of our enemies".

#### Notes

1. Perhaps this top physician might have been treating the wounded on the rebel side also. A sort of red cross must have been organised by him which offended the Sayyid soldiers.

2. The name signifying 'Chief of the Ionians or Greeks', seems to have embraced Hinduism here as is clear from the subsequent verses. The sense of the word Yavana has in course of time came to connote both Mohamedans or Europeans now-a-days. Or may be this person was practising Unani system of medicine.

#### VERSE 186

अत्यन्तानुचितं सैदारचकुर्यत् तस्य मस्तकम् ।

छित्त्वा चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गं न्यघृ रज्य पथान्तरे ॥ १८६ ॥

The Sayyids perpetrated an impropriety of highest magnitude, when they detached his skull (from the body), completely smeared with sandal and placed it on the high way.

#### VERSE 187

प्रविष्टा राक्षसाः केऽपि तद्दिने ते पुरान्तरे ।

अविचार्य क्षयं चक्रुः सर्वेषां यत् कृपेण्णिताः ॥ १८७ ॥

Some demons (in the Sayyid army) entered the city on that day and with unscrupulous callousness indulged in killings.

#### VERSE 188

तस्य चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गं मस्तकं वीक्ष्य नागराः ।

न के<sup>1</sup> निन्दां व्यधुः सैद दुष्कर्माधर्मनिरचयात् ॥ १८८ ॥

Every dweller of the city on beholding his (physician's) skull

smeared with sandal, having ascertained the bad-deeds and irreligiosity of the Sayyids heaped cavil on them.

*Note*

1. This inference is obvious here that even the Muslim population of the city thought these Sayyids to be irreligious.

VERSE 189

आ मल्लेक'पुरल्लोष्ट'विहारान्तं पुरन्तरे ।  
शवा इन्धनगण्डाल्य' इवासन्निहिताः पथि ॥ १८९ ॥

Right from Malik Pura to the extreme fringe of Loṣṭavihāra, within the precincts of the city, the corpses like the heaps of fuel were huddled on the road.

*Notes*

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 7, 66.
2. *Ibid*, IV, 168.
3. Even today fuel depots are situated on roads in the city of Srinagar.

VERSE 190

आसन् येषु वपंषि तुलशयनन्यस्तोपधानोदगत—  
स्पर्शोत्कर्षसुखावमर्षविलसच्छृङ्गारसाराण्यलम् ।  
नगनास्ते भुविकाककुक्कुरवृकैः संपक्षिता लक्षिताः  
मेदोमांसवसावमत्क्रिमिलसन्निष्यन्दर्गन्धिनः ॥ १९० ॥

The bodies of those looking graceful with profuse ornamentation, would derive comfort from the touch of a cotton (soft) bed with pillows arranged on it, are (now) seen lying naked on the ground nibbled at by crows, dogs and wolves, (their) excretion, flesh and marrow is infested with insects emitting foul stench.

VERSE 191: THE SAYYIDS CELEBRATE FESTIVAL OF VICTORY AT 'IDGĀH'

जयेन तावन्मात्रेण तुष्टाः सैदाः परस्परम् ।  
विशप्रस्थान्तरे चक्रुर्वाद्यैस्ते विजयोत्सवम् ॥ १९१ ॥

Gratified with this much edge (over the rebels) the Sayyids celebrated the festival of victory at 'Idgāh' mutually by arranging instrumental music.



## VERSE 192

हतावशिष्टान्प्रांतांस्तद्दिने चलितान् बहून् ।  
पश्चाच्चेदगलिष्यन्त सर्वसंहरणं भवेत् ॥ १९२ ॥

On that day had they (the Sayyids) subsequently hunted out those who had escaped death, those reduced to destitution and those gone out (of country) consisting of a sizable number, then it would have meant total destruction.

## Note

1. The poet is trying to say that a large number left the town, others were reduced to destitution, only a few escaped death. The destruction was very great

VERSE 193: TEMPLES LOOTED AND BURNT  
BY THE SAYYIDS

किन्तु प्राग्लुठिता देवा ज्वलिताः केऽपि देशगाः ।  
तां बुद्धिं विजयायैषामदास्यन् कुपिताः कथम् ॥ १९३ ॥

But at first having looted and burnt some local deities (in the temples), how could these offended (deities) bestow victory on them (the Sayyids)?

## VERSE 194: THE BOAT BRIDGE COLLAPSES

अहंपूर्विकया यात तरद्भटभरासहः ।  
नौ सेतुबन्धस्तुत्रोट तावच्छ्रेयनगरान्तरे ॥ १९४ ॥

By then owing to the rush of soldiers, for being the first to cross over, the (improvised) boat bridge within Srinagar, not putting up with their (overwhelming) weight, gave way.

## VERSE 195: HUNDREDS OF SOLDIERS GET DROWNED

संनाहभरमग्राम्ना सेतुभङ्गात् परिच्युताः ।  
शत संख्या दिने तस्मिन् वितस्तायां विपेदिरे ॥ १९५ ॥

The bridge having collapsed, hundreds of (soldiers) that day fell into the Jhelum, and could not rise again due to the heavy armour on their bodies, and were drowned.

## VERSE 196

नूनं सा शारदादेवी<sup>१</sup> वितस्ता<sup>२</sup> रूपधारिणी ।  
तदधर्मक्रुधा<sup>३</sup> ग्रासं विदधे कटकद्वये ॥ १९६ ॥

For sooth, goddess Sarasvatī, in the form of the Jhelum, being offended with the sacrilegious conduct made a morsel of both the armies.

*Notes*

1. Jōṇa Rāja has also treated Kashmir as the land of Sarasvatī (*JRRT*, 828). *Nilamata* and Kalhaṇa take Kashmir to be Umā, consort of Śiva (*NLMT*, 293; *KLRT*, I, 72). Kalhaṇa does mention at times that goddess Sarasvatī does reside in Kashmir (*KLRT*, I, 35, 37).

2. *Nilamata* and Kalhaṇa are unanimous in treating the Vitastā as 'Pārvatī' (*NLMT*, 404; *KLRT*, I, 29).

3. Refer verse 193 supra.

VERSE 197

प्रेक्षागता हताः पौरा' इति निन्दानिवृत्तये ।

तत्क्षणोत्कृतशिरसां सैदैः रशिः कृतोऽग्रतः ॥ १९७ ॥

"The citizens as mere spectators were killed"—to undo this bad name, the Sayyids brought forward a heap of severed heads.

*Note*

1. Refer verse 192 earlier

VERSE 198: THE SAYYIDS FIX UP SEVERED HEADS  
ON THE POLES

तत्तत्कील्यर्पितमुखैस्तैर्वितस्तातटान्तरात् ।

काष्ठमेकं न्यधुः सैदा भीत्यैदीपधरोपमम्' ॥ १९८ ॥

On the bank of the Jhelum, the Sayyids installed a pole on which the faces (heads) were hung with nails, like a lamp-stand for scaring (the people).

*Note*

1. Sultān Zarn-ul-Ābidīn is also said to have employed this very device as a deterrent for future wars.

VERSE 199

वितस्तायां शवाः केचित् सलिलोच्छ्रविग्रहाः ।

विसर्जुर्विखगन्धान्महापद्म' सरोन्तरे ॥ १९९ ॥

Some dead bodies (floating) in the Jhelum, quite swollen by water and emitting very foul smell, flowed down to the Great Lotus Lake.

## Note

1. It is the Wular Lake of to-day. Śrīvara has later called this by its local name Ullol also.

## VERSE 200

अत्रान्तरे समानीयावशिष्टान् परितो भटान् ।  
काश्मीरिकाः पुनश्चक्रुः पूर्ववत्सैन्यसंग्रहम् ॥ २०० ॥

In the meanwhile Kashmiris collecting the remaining soldiers from all sides once again raised the army as they had done earlier.

VERSE 201: KASHMIRI WAR LEADERS PLAN  
STRATEGY ONCE AGAIN

श्रीज्यहान्निरज्यत्ताल सैफडामरकादयाः ।  
मुख्यान् सैदान् पुनर्जेतुं रणोपायं व्यचिन्तयन् ॥ २०१ ॥

The illustrious Jahāngir (Magrey), Jalāl (Thākur), Saif Dāmara and others began to devise strategy for registering a victory over the prominent Sayyids once again.

## VERSE 202

स सैफडामरः प्राप्तसिद्धादेशं पदस्ततः ।  
उच्चावचेषु व्यभजद् विषयान् सप्तविंशतिम् ॥ २०२ ॥

Thereafter, Saif Dāmara having been appointed Minister for Land Records divided (Kashmir) into twentyseven high and low-lying parganas.

## Notes

1 This rank corresponds to the minister-in-charge, Land Records. Persian chroniclers have termed it as 'Dewan-i-Kul'.

2. *Loka-Prakāśa* has also given the number of parganas in ancient Kashmir as twentyseven (cf. p 60).

VERSE 203: KASHMIRIS COLLECT ARMAMENT AND  
MONEY IN EVERY PARGANA

काष्ठागता लसत्पक्षास्तीक्ष्णाश्च सफलीकृताः ।  
यन्त्रेष्ववश्व योधाश्चाषट्तेषु दिने दिने ॥ २०३ ॥

Wooden arrows displaying tufts prominently, very sharp with chiselled edges and missiles discharged mechanically as also the fighters were collected in these parganas day by day.

VERSE 204: WAR IN PROGRESS ON EITHER BANKS  
OF THE JHELUM

क्षुभ्यद्वैतस्ततीरद्वयजयघटनारब्धयन्त्रेषु युध्य-  
त्कुध्यद्भिरक्षणात्प्रचुरपुरजनस्वान्तसंक्रान्त<sup>1</sup> शौर्यम् ।  
धावत्संनाहिताश्वोत्कटसुषटघटाघातजाताग्निवर्ष  
चक्रुः क्रोधात् पुनस्ते प्रवरपुरवरे युद्धमत्युद्धतं तत् ॥ २०४ ॥

The entire cavalcade of the city dwellers of Pravarapura on witnessing the exasperated fighting forces shouting loud war cries, discharging volleys of arrows from their bows, with warriors galloping on their armoured steeds, raining fire on each other, fighting on both banks of the turbulent Vitastā (Jhelum) river, experienced the valour being transferred on to themselves.

*Note*

1. संक्रान्त शौर्यम् = felt that the valour was being transferred on to themselves, i.e. they felt like joining the battle. The poet is just describing here how the lay man reacted to this battle.

VERSE 205

यामदुन्दुभिवाद्यानां<sup>1</sup> ध्वनिः सर्वैस्तदाश्रुतः ।  
पुर्वै रजगृहे पश्चात् सैद काश्मीर सैन्ययोः ॥ २०५ ॥

The sound coming from the beats of drum announcing (the change) in three hour watch was heard by the entire city population then first in the palace and subsequently in the army-camps of Sayyids and Kashmiris.

*Note*

1. It seems that three hourly watch had been fixed for the sentinals. The beat of drum would announce the expiry of previous watch as also its replacement. This practice was followed in the palace and the two confronting armies also adopted it.

VERSE 206: WATER CARRYING CITY-WOMEN ARE WOUNDED

अवतीर्णा जलार्थं याः पारवारपुरङ्गनाः ।  
यन्त्रेषुभिर्विदीर्णा<sup>1</sup> बह्व्यस्तत्र विपेदिरे ॥ २०६ ॥

The bodies of city-maidens on either bank (of the Jhelum) having come down to carry water were wounded by the arrows discharged from a bow and many of these got drowned there.

*Note*

1. यन्त्र = Apparently it was a bow.

## VERSE 207

स नासीद् दिवसो यत्र द्वित्रा वीरः पतन्निभिः ।  
 विदग्धा<sup>1</sup> मुमूर्षवस्तीरान् नीता स्वगृहान्प्रति<sup>2</sup> ॥ २०७ ॥

Not a single day passed when two to three fighters wounded by arrows and on the brink of death were not carried to their homes.

## Notes

1. V.I. विदग्धा (VVRI, p 243).
2. These fighters were carried to their homes for their last rites or medication.

## VERSE 208

वह्निदान स्फुरद्योष संहाराद्यैरुपद्रवैः ।  
 एकमेकं दिनं तत्रानेहस्याभूद् भयावहम् ॥ २०८ ॥

There (at the front) by promoting leaping conflagration, by the massacre of fighters and other outrages, each day presented a frightening look.

## VERSE 209

अश्लीलालापिनोऽन्योन्यं रहस्योद्घाटनोद्यताः ।  
 तटद्भये भटाः कूरा अवाच्यमपि तेऽब्रुवन् ॥ २०९ ॥

Cruel fighters on either banks using vulgar language and eager to unravel the secrets of each other even indulged in hurling abuses.

## VERSE 210

राजसैदद्विजद्रोह<sup>1</sup> रोहत्यापादि वादिनः ।  
 मिथो गालीं वदन्तस्ते किं नावाच्यं बभूविरे ॥ २१० ॥

Terming the rebellion against the Sultān, Sayyids and Brahmins as sacrilege (the fighters) hurled abuses at each other and spoke all that was not in good taste.

## Note

1. It might connote Sayyids as venerable as the Brahmins also.

VERSE 211: KASHMIRIS GET HELP FROM KISHTWAR AND  
 GILGIT, HUNZA AND KHOVURPUR

प्राप्ता दौलतसीहाद्याः<sup>1</sup> कष्टवाटादि देशतः<sup>2</sup> ।  
 शिष्टाः मल्ह<sup>3</sup> गहंसाश्च<sup>4</sup> शाहिभङ्गनृपात्मजाः<sup>5</sup> ॥ २११ ॥

Daulat Singh from the territory of Kaṣṭavāta (Kishtwar), as also very courteous sons of the ruler of Shāhi-Bhang and Sultāns, Hansas, etc. arrived (in Srinagar).

*Notes*

1. A garrison from Kishtwar probably under the command of Daulat Singh was sent to Srinagar to reinforce Kashmiri rebels.
2. It is the territory of Kishtwar (cf, *STRT*, II, 431).
3. The contingent from the ruler of Malhan—on way from Kishtwar to Kashmir is m̐cant here (*JRRT*, 77).
4. It might connote people from Hunza on the outer fringe of Gilgit.
5. Refer notes *ZRRT*, I, 3, 114 etc.

VERSE 212

पञ्चगह्वराः<sup>१</sup> केचित् सिन्धुपत्यन्वयोदिताः<sup>२</sup> ।  
खशा<sup>३</sup> म्लेच्छस्तथान्येऽपि<sup>४</sup> रुधुः<sup>५</sup> सर्वतो दिशः ॥ २१२ ॥

Some from Pañca Gahvar, some descendants of the ruler of Sindhupatya (Gilgit), Khaśas, and non-Aryans coming from all sides were halted (by Sayyid forces).

*Notes*

1. This territory is lying to the east of Rajouri (*JRRT*, 132).
2. Refer notes *ZRRT*, supra.
3. Refer notes *ZRRT*, IV, 113.
4. Actually non-Aryans, Semites or people of Greek origin (*STRT*, I, 107 notes).
5. Perhaps these tribes wanted to fish in the troubled waters here by coming to the help of Kashmiris but Sayyids halted their advance into the valley.

VERSE 213: KASHMIRIS AND JAMMU GARRISON  
DO NOT TRUST EACH  
OTHER

काश्मीरिकाः स्वभेदेन बलप्राप्त्या तथापरे<sup>१</sup> ।  
ययुक्षासविसूत्रत्वमज्ञातान्योन्यनिश्चयाः ॥ २१३ ॥

Kashmiris through internal dissensions and other problems, on getting army (re-inforcements) suspected each other's intentions; so could not hold together out of fear (of each other).

*Note*

1. Jammu garrison got re-inforcements from many places as given in verses 211-212. So the Kashmiris thought that with their large army, Jammu garrison might overwhelm them.

## VERSE 214: BAD OMENS ARE SEEN

अत्रान्तरे नभस्युत्पन्नं सायं दीप्तोदयम् स्फुटम् ।

उदीच्यां दक्षिणां यत्तत् प्रज्वलन् बहुमस्तकम् ॥२१४॥

In the meanwhile prominently blazing meteor with myriad flash lights trailing from north to the south appeared at the nightfall.

## VERSE 215

दृष्ट्वा तामद्भुतां सर्वे सैन्ययोरुभयोरपि ।

संग्रामारङ्कितानिष्टा बभूवुर्भयविह्वलाः ॥२१५॥

Having seen that unusual phenomenon entire (city) population as also the two armies suspecting reverses in the battle lost the nerve out of fear.

VERSE 216: SAYYIDS INVITE TĀTĀR KHĀN  
TO TAKE OVER KASHMIR

अत्रान्तरे सैदलेखैः प्रेरितो देशलिसया ।

तत्तारखानो<sup>1</sup> व्यसृजत् तौरुषं पुष्कलं बलम् ॥२१६॥

During this spell Tātār Khān induced by the letters of the Sayyids for grabbing the country commissioned a huge army of Turks (to attack Kashmir).

## Note

1. The Sayyids feeling demoralised, preferred to make over Kashmir to Tātār Khān, a foreigner and not to Kashmiris.

VERSE 217: ARMY OF TĀTĀR KHĀN KILLED AT  
BHIMBER

प्राप्तः शस्त्रगलस्यार्धं<sup>1</sup> तुष्कास्ते सुदुष्करः ।

इता भोडन<sup>2</sup>गजादौ प्रालेयैः शलभा इव ॥२१७॥

Those invincible Turks having reached the place Śastra Gal, were massacred by King Bhodan and others, like the moths by snow.

## Notes

1. Persian historians like Firishta and others take this place to be Bhimber. It might even connote the narrow ridge called 'Bahram-Gala' to-day, on Poonch-Jammu road (TAKHSN, p 213).

2. Firishta calls the king as Hansa (TABAK, pp 453-685).

## VERSE 218

कालीधारपदेशेन<sup>1</sup> काली भगवती क्रुधा ।  
व्यधात् तद्भक्षणं नूनं सतीदेशहितेच्छया<sup>2</sup> ॥ २१८ ॥

Goddess Kālī on feeling incensed, under the excuse of Kālidhāra surely made them (Turks) the morsel (of Bhoḍan etc.) with a desire to do good to the country of Sati (consort of Śiva).

## Notes

1. Presently called Koladar under Pakistan occupation. It is to the South-east on the Kashmir boundary.
2. Refer notes JRRT, I, 1, 85.

VERSE 219: FATEH KHÂN IS NOT MADE COMMANDER  
BY TĀTĀR KHÂN

आदमखानजस्तस्मै<sup>1</sup> विसृज्य इति चोदितः ।  
निवर्त्य तं तुरष्कः स स्वात्तिके<sup>2</sup> समरक्षत ॥ २१९ ॥

Feeling exercised at this (massacre) the son of Ādam Khān was commissioned to see the Turk (Tātār Khān) who sent him back and kept himself safe.

## Notes

1. Ādam Khān's son had sought refuge with the Lodhis at Delhi. Tātār Khān was their commander in the Panjab. Lodhis perhaps thought that a local Kashmiri might lead the forces to Kashmir who would be knowing the terrain and political atmosphere rampant there. Tātār Khān had actually come to the help of Sayyids. He feared lest Ādam Khān should collude with the rebels for reasons obvious. Hence he did not like to change the commander of his forces.
2. Tātār Khān did not act upon this message so to say.

## VERSE 220

तदीयाश्चपदार्योष प्राप्ता तद्देशवासिभिः ।  
अनन्य सुलभां प्राप्य त्रियं वैश्रवणायितम् ॥ २२० ॥

The people of that place (Bhimber etc.) having obtained horses and a mass of other articles from (the slain army of Tātār Khān) lived like Kubera with this opulence, not easily available to every one.

## VERSE 221

अथ काश्मीरिकाः श्रुत्वा तद्दण्डं<sup>1</sup> वाद्यवादनम् ।  
चक्रुर्येनापवन् सैदा विच्छ्रयवदनाः श्रुतेः ॥ २२१ ॥



Hearing about this massacre, Kashmiris began to play music, on listening to which the faces of Sayyids lost their lustre.

*Note*

1. Refer verse 217 earlier.

**VERSE 222: TWO THOUSAND TURKI SOLDIERS  
KILLED AT BHIMBER**

गतावशिष्टा दुर्निष्ठ दुष्टतत्कटान्तरात् ।

सहस्रद्वितयी तत्र शवानां निहिताभवत् ॥२२२॥

The rest of the soldiers (not killed) placed in a very difficult situation, cut through the army (of Bhodan) and fled (leaving behind) a mass of two thousand corpses there.

**VERSE 223**

विशुद्ध पार्णि संत्यक्त धयाः प्राप्तबलोद्धताः ।

कश्मीरिका मते चक्रु रणार्थं हृष्टमानसाः ॥२२३॥

Kashmiris, devoid of fright on having their rear cleared of foes, took heart by getting re-inforcements and with high morale decided to give fight (once again).

**VERSE 224: THREE PRONGED ATTACKS ON SAYYIDS  
PLANNED**

मध्ये ससैन्यास्तिष्ठन्तु मार्गेशाद्याः पुरन्तरे ।

राजानकाद्या मद्राश्च स्थामस्था यान्तु दिग्द्वयम् ॥२२४॥

(Jahāngīr) Magrey would command the central forces into the interior of the city, (Jōṇa) Rājānaka and the Jammu garrison, staying in the barracks would move out in two directions.

**VERSE 225: KASHMIRIS PLAN FOR AN  
INSTANT VICTORY**

एकतश्चेजिताः सर्वे नश्यन्त्यल्पबलाः<sup>1</sup> पुनः ।

इत्येकमतं निष्ठास्ते समन्वयकृतनिश्चयाः ॥२२५॥

If they are overpowered from "one side, then all of them with their decreasing number (on the other side) will get annihilated". Having made a firm resolution (Kashmiris) devised this strategy unanimously.

## Notes

1. Kashmiris knew that Sayyids could not afford to fight on three fronts. An immediate victory at one front would induce Sayyids to throw more men into the battle on that very side thereby depleting their strength at other two fronts. Thus these two fronts could easily be overwhelmed by Kashmiris.

2. They had now buried their hatchets as also banished the suspicions from their minds (refer verse 213 earlier).

## VERSE 226: BATTLE AT THE SINDH (DODHARHOMA)

स्थामार्यमादिशत्लोकं स्वप्रदेशादुपर्यधः ।

नावा सिन्धुं प्रतीर्याथ जोनराजानको हुतम् ॥ २२६ ॥

They (Kashmiris) exhorted people to cover their barracks by staying above and below these. Instantly Joṇa Rājānaka crossed the 'Sindh' in a boat for getting an upper hand (over Sayyids).

## VERSE 227

स्थामस्थान् पञ्चान् हत्वा पलायनपरान् व्यधात् ।

वस्त्रवाजितनुवादि हत्वा सैदबलान्तणत् ॥ २२७ ॥

He killed five or six men in (the Sayyid camp) and the rest were compelled to flee. After snatching uniforms (clothing), horses, and armours for the body from the (retreating) Sayyid army.

## VERSE 228

कश्मीरिका व्यभाव्यन्त प्रयाताः प्रतिवासरम् ।

किमन्यत् स्फुटमेवाहिं येऽयसन् सैद सन्निधौ ॥ २२८ ॥

Kashmiris were seen going there (Sayyid camp) every day. What more (can be said), those who would be unmistakably with the Sayyids during the day.

## VERSE 229

निर्त्तज्जास्ते व्यलक्ष्यन्त कश्मीरिक बलान्तरे ।

इतो याति ततश्चैति' लोको विगतयन्त्रणः ॥ २२९ ॥

Without any shame would be seen in the ranks of Kashmiris (during the night). The people unrestrained would move from one side to the other.

## Note

1. Defections were rampant during those inauspicious times.

## VERSE 230

बाले रजनि मन्दात्रे कोऽप्यजुम्भत विलसः ।  
गृहेषु लुण्ठ्यमानेषु विटैर्विहित पेटकैः ॥ २३० ॥

This sort of anarchy raised its head during the tenure of the child Sultān (Mohammad Shāh) whose writ would not run. The cheats stuffed the loot from the houses into boxes.

## VERSE 231: FIGHT CONTINUES FOR TWO MONTHS

निरुद्धमार्गसञ्चारो देशोऽभूद् भयविक्रलः<sup>१</sup> ।  
मासद्वये व्यतीतेऽपि पारवार रणोद्यमैः ॥ २३१ ॥

Communications to and fro having been blocked, the country felt distressed with fright. Even though two months had elapsed since the fight started on this and the other bank (of the Jhelum).

## Note

1. The mountain passes used for coming into and going out of Kashmir had been sealed, hence trade suffered and people were distressed. Many commodities used for day to day consumption here, eg, salt, could not be imported. The plight of people was thus understandable. The same situation, repeated itself during the tribal raid on Kashmir in 1947.

## VERSE 232

जिगीषां नात्यजंस्तत्र सैदाः काश्मीरिका अपि ।  
पूर्वमभ्युरितः सैदवधे<sup>१</sup> पल्लवितः क्रमात् ॥ २३२ ॥

(Did not abate) since Sayyids as well as Kashmiris did not renounce (the hope) of victory. Starting first with the killing of Sayyids and gradually attaining momentum.

## Note

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, verses 46-48.

## VERSE 233

परस्परं वैरतरुस्तदागाच्छतशाखताम् ।  
दक्षिणे राजकोशादि<sup>१</sup> वामे सेनाद्यवेक्ष्य च ॥ २३३ ॥

The tree of their mutual hatred then brought forth branches. Having seen the royal treasury on the right and the army on the left...

## Note

1. Sayyids had resources in terms of money at their disposal and Kashmiris had numbers. Neither of the two could claim both, so important for registering a victory.

## VERSE 234

बलद्वयेऽपि विजयः संदिग्धः प्रत्यभाद् विशाम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
पुंसां निरुद्धे सञ्चारे<sup>2</sup> नावा नद्यास्तटद्वये ॥ २३४ ॥

Even the man in the street doubted the victory of either army. The coming and going of men by boats having been disrupted on both the banks of the river.

## Notes

1. Ordinary citizens not experts in war strategy even could divine that neither of the armies could be triumphant in that battle, by putting two and two together.

2. Boatmen obviously were within the range of the missiles hurled at each other by these two armies on either banks of the Jhelum river, hence they were forced to stop this trade.

## VERSE 235: WOMEN ONLY GRANTED IMMUNITY FROM BEING FIRED AT

स्त्रिय<sup>1</sup> एव तदाकुर्वन् पारवारगतागतम् ।  
पारदेत्य<sup>2</sup> विटैर्लुब्धैर्मुषिते पथिक ब्रजे ॥ २३५ ॥

Only the women would then move to and fro, from the either banks. The greedy rogues coming from the other bank on having looted the caravan of travellers.

## Notes

1. It seems the trade plied by boatmen was taken up by their wives as they might have been granted immunity from being fired at. Even at present also this institution of boat-women is in vogue here.

2. These rogues actually toadies and greedy persons would always become attached to the men in power, courtiers, princes etc. So, these rogues must have crossed over from the side of Sayyids to that occupied by Kashmiris.

## VERSE 236: BOAT TRAFFIC RESUMED AT ADHIṢṬHĀNA ONLY

अधिष्ठानादि<sup>1</sup> देशेषु मार्गः प्रचलितोऽभवत् ।  
पारवारगतान् कांश्चिदन्योन्यच्छलनोद्यतान्<sup>2</sup> ॥ २३६ ॥

The (boat) traffic could be resumed at Adhiṣṭhāna (Pandrethan) and other places (adjacent to it). Some people employed as

saboteurs by each side on having negotiated either banks (of the Jhelum).

*Notes*

1. Presumably Adhiṣṭhāna is Pandrethan of to-day (STRT, III, 99, notes). Perhaps this place was out of the firing range from both the armies due to its distance from the main city.

2. It seems saboteurs were employed by both sides for impairing the strength of the other side.

VERSE 237

निरुध्य प्रत्यहं द्वित्रान् क्रोधाच्छले न्यरोपयत् ।  
अवोचन्नेकदा सैदा भटान् काश्मीर यन्त्रिणः ॥ २३७ ॥

Two or three of these (saboteurs) on being apprehended were hanged every day out of spite. Once Sayyids sent a word to the soldier-ministers of Kashmiris.

*Note*

1. The ministers were expected to lead armies also in the middle ages.

VERSE 238: SAYYIDS ASK FOR CEASE-FIRE

आयान्तु यदि शक्तिर्वो युध्यन्तु पुनरप्यलम् ।  
सीमा वा दीयतां तावत् प्रतीक्षामो रणं प्रति ॥ २३८ ॥

If you have resources let us confront each other in the battle and finish it up once for all. Otherwise let you propose a (time) limit so that we wait for the (actual) battle.

*Note*

1. Sayyids were fed up with this siege and snipping by Kashmiris, hence sent a word for cease-fire till the date the actual confrontation would take place.

VERSE 239: CONTINUOUS SNIPPING VEXES THE PEOPLE

नित्यं जनवधे लोका उद्विग्नाः शरवर्षणैः ।  
भजतां विभवं सोऽत्र विधिर्यस्यै प्रयच्छति ॥ २३९ ॥

The people became vexed by continuous raining of missiles resulting in the death of residents (in the city). (They said) he may enjoy success here, to whom destiny would make it over.

VERSE 240: SAYYID-SOLDIERS CUT ASUNDER THE ROPE  
BINDING TOGETHER THE BOATS

निशम्येति पुरप्रान्ते सीमार्थं वामपार्श्वगैः<sup>1</sup> ।

चिच्छिन्दुः सन्धितां रज्जुं<sup>2</sup> तूणं सैदभटास्तटात् ॥ २४० ॥

Having listened to this (taunt) the Sayyid soldiers, immediately cut the rope (binding boats together) from the bank, which had been (tied) for indicating the limits (of the occupied territory) within the bounds of the city, by those having gone over to the left bank (Kashmiris).

*Notes*

1. The purport is not very clear. However, Kashmiris are meant here who were occupying the left bank of the Jhelum.

2. A rope is always used to bind the boats together for making the boat-bridge. Sayyids cut this rope so that Kashmiris could not cross over to confront them (cf. verse 243 infra).

VERSE 241

तितीर्षन् वैरिणो ज्ञात्वा सैदाः काष्ठीलतस्ततः<sup>1</sup> ।

न्यघुर्हस्सनराजानकादीन् स्थामार्थमाकुलाः ॥ २४१ ॥

On having come to know that the enemy wanted to cross over from Kaṣṭhīlata (Kathleshwara) the excited Sayyids thereafter, made over the military operations to Hassan Rājānaka and others.

*Note*

1. Presently called Kathul or Kathleshwara. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum between Buḍshāh bridge and Habbākadal. Bilhana has mentioned it as the abode of Brahmins (*Vikramānka Deva Caritām*, XVIII, 25). Kalhaṇa has also referred to it (*KLRT*, VI, 89).

VERSE 242: DYKES AT 'VAYAPORA' ARE DEMOLISHED

छिन्नेषु सेतुबन्धेषु सैदेनौपुरकादिभिः<sup>1</sup> ।

नगरीं दुर्गमां दुर्गतुल्यां चक्रुर्द्विषद्भ्यात् ॥ २४२ ॥

On having demolished the dykes at Navapora and other places out of fear of the enemy, the Sayyids made the metropolis (Nowshera) impenetrable, like a fort.

*Note*

1. Refer notes *ZRRT*, IV, 121, Śrīvara seems to have made a repetition here.

VERSE 243

अथ काश्मीरिकाः प्रोचुः सैदांस्तीरान्तिकं स्थितान् ।

नौसेतुबन्धरज्जुर्यद्गतश्छिन्नो<sup>1</sup> धयेन नः ॥ २४३ ॥

Then Kashmiris addressed the Sayyids occupying (other bank):  
 “You have cut the rope binding the boats together being afraid  
 of us...

*Note*

1. So that Kashmiris could not cross to them—the Sayyids.

#### VERSE 244

पुरमात्रावशिष्टत्वादुत्तिष्ठन्नं कियच्चिरम् ।  
 पर्याप्तं भुज्यते धान्यं किं कुरुष्व पुनःपुरे ॥ २४४ ॥

“...How long can you stand (against us) when only the city  
 (Nowshera) is left over to you. What else can you do within the  
 city than eat the paddy as long as it lasts?”

#### VERSE 245: SAYYIDS ARE RESOLVED TO OFFER RESISTANCE

श्रुत्वेति सैदास्तास्तारमूचुरित्यं स्वसेवकैः ।  
 अन्नाभावाद् बुभुक्षार्त्या न चलामो भयादितः ॥ २४५ ॥

On having let ear to this, the Sayyids addressed them (Kashmiris)  
 with a loud voice through their mercenaries: “We will not go away  
 due to the non-availability of food-stuffs, pangs of hunger or fright.

#### VERSE 246

का जुगुप्सा तुरुष्केषु सर्वमांसभुजो वयम् ।  
 यावत् पुंषुगोमांस पर्याप्तिस्तावदास्यते ॥ २४६ ॥

“Turks possess no allergy for anything. We are meat-eaters of  
 every kind. As long as human, animal and cow-flesh lasts, we will  
 hold on (under this siege).

#### VERSE 247: SAYYIDS THREATEN TO BREAK THE SIEGE

पुरश्चेद् गम्यतेऽस्मान् कः शक्तो रोद्धुं तदन्तरत् ।  
 श्रुत्वेत्युत्पुलकासीरिज्यल्लाल मल्लिकार्जुनः ॥ २४७ ॥

“If we opt for direct confrontation, who amongst you can resist  
 our onslaught?” Having heard this, Jalāl Malik and others on the  
 bank (of the Jhelum) felt extremely happy.

*Note*

1. Kashmiris felt happy to know that Sayyids would break the siege and this war

will have a speedy result. Otherwise this siege would mean a long drawn affair consuming the patience and resources of Kashmiris as well.

VERSE 248: ATTACK ON SAYYIDS PLANNED FROM  
THREE DIRECTIONS

एकत्र मिलिताः सर्वे चक्रुः संमन्त्र्य निश्चयम् ।  
सैन्यं स्थामविभागेन विभज्य पथिभिस्त्रिभिः ॥ २४८ ॥

(Kashmiris) after holding a joint conference resolved to diversify command of the army into three directions.

VERSE 249: SAYYIDS LIKEWISE ARE FORCED TO DIVIDE  
THEIR ARMY IN THREE DIRECTIONS

उत्तीर्य यामः शीर्यन्ति सैदाः कटकभेदतः<sup>1</sup> ।  
अन्यथैकत्र सन्नद्धा दुर्जेयाः सैदपक्षगाः ॥ २४९ ॥

We cross over and march. By distributing the army (into three directions) the Sayyids will get repulsed, otherwise those on the side of the Sayyids would be collectively invincible (at one place).

*Note*

1. Sayyids likewise would be forced to distribute their army into three directions. Their collective strength at one place would have overwhelmed the Kashmiris. Therefore, this sort of strategy was planned by the Kashmiris.

VERSE 250

एकतश्चेज्जिताः सर्वात्र जेष्यामोऽल्पबलानमून् ।  
अस्माकं प्रबलं सर्वं न विलम्बोऽधुनोचितः ॥ २५० ॥

If they (Sayyids) are defeated at one front then we can defeat them totally (on other two fronts also) with their depleted strength. We possess edge over them in all respects, delay is not proper.

VERSE 251: JONA RAINA COMMANDS THE FIRST CONTINGENT  
OF LIBERATION ARMY

श्रुत्वेति मद्रसंयुक्ता जोनराजानकादयः ।  
मृत्युर्वा नो जयो वेति युद्धसन्नद्धतां दधौ ॥ २५१ ॥

Having listened to this (strategy) Jona Rājānaka in the company of Jammu garrison (exclaimed): "We may die even, (but) the victory will be ours."



## VERSE 252: KASHMIRIS OCCUPY HILLOCKS

अथैकं मतमाश्रित्य स्थापस्थाः सैन्यनायकाः ।  
पुराणतक्षकस्थानात् तीर्त्वा पर्वतमासदन् ॥ २५२ ॥

Then the military commanders stationed at the cantonment having agreed unanimously, occupied the hillocks after ferrying across from ancient Takṣaka (Toshak).

## Notes

1. This place can probably be identified with the spring of Takṣaka—serpent king—at Zevan some three to four miles from the ancient capital Pandrethan (cf. *Vikramāṅka Deva Caritam*, XVIII, 70). It might even signify the seat of Takṣaka in the old capital Purāṇa Adhishthāna.

2. Śrivarā has already mentioned that boats could ply to and fro only at Purāṇa Adhishthāna—hence Kashmiris taking it to be a safe zone rowed their army across without any resistance from the Sayyids (cf. verse 236 supra).

## VERSE 253

प्रौलभट्टादयो<sup>१</sup> हस्तवालिकाख्य<sup>२</sup> प्रदेश तः ।  
नौपिस्तीर्णा धृतोत्साहाः सोत्सेकान् स्वभटान् व्यधुः ॥ २५३ ॥

Paula Bhaṭṭa and others crossed over by mustering courage from the place known as Hasta Vālikā, and raised the morale of their soldiers.

## Notes

1. It seems that Kashmiris depended on Brahmin commanders as well.

2. Stein has identified this place as the present Astawohl, a tract of Dal Lake where Telbal (Tila Prastha) Nala joins it (*STRT*, II, p 417 nn). It seems that a contingent of Kashmiri army crossed the hillock from behind at Pandrethan and reached Dal Lake. Their commander Paula Bhaṭṭa etc. boarded the boats and joined their forces on way to Nowshera from the rear. This raised the morale of Kashmiri fighters.

## VERSE 254: PRAULA BHATṬA LEADS THE SECOND CONTINGENT OF LIBERATION ARMY

दृष्ट्वा धैर्यं द्विजस्यापि रणाग्रेसरतः क्षणात् ।  
गक्कादयो<sup>१</sup> भटाः सर्वे शशसुवीरमानिनः ॥ २५४ ॥

Having noticed the courage of this Brahmin even (Paula Bhaṭṭa), advancing every moment into the thick of battle, all the soldiers including the Gakkas (Gakhars) and others praised him as the pride of the brave.

## Note

1. Obviously Gakhars—a tribe of fighters infesting the upper ridges of the Panjab hills.

VERSE 255: REBEL ARMY PIN A LEAFY TWIG ON THEIR HELMETS FOR IDENTIFICATION

अन्योन्य 'ग्रहृतिर्माभूदिति काश्मीरिका भटाः ।  
पत्रशाखा न्यधुर्मूर्ध्नि हतुं निजपरभ्रमम् ॥ २५५ ॥

Kashmiri soldiers in order to avoid killing of each other, pinned a leafy twig on their heads, in order to differentiate the friends from the foes.

## Note

1. Sayyids had also recruited Kashmiris in their army, or as a matter of fact royal army mainly consisted of Kashmiri soldiers. So this liberation army of the rebels could not precisely judge as to who belonged to their or the other side. In this melee they would even kill their own loyal soldiers. Hence, to avoid this confusion rebel Kashmiri army pinned a leafy twig on their heads or helmets. This acted as the identification mark or the badge of their own army.

VERSE 256: SAIF DĀR COMMANDS THE THIRD CONTINGENT OF LIBERATION ARMY

सैफ डारादि 'वीरिषु शक्तयः कारणा बभुः ।  
निर्गतास्तान् रिपून् हन्तुं मूर्तिमत्य इवान्तरात् ॥ २५६ ॥

Saif Dār and other valiants (rebels) wielded shining weapons in their hands as if personifyin the flash coming out from within these, and were meant to bring death to the enemy.

## Note

1. Three-pronged attack on the Sayyids was led by Jōṇa Raina, Praula Bhatta and Saif-Dār respectively (cf. verse 248 supra). The first was a neo-convert, the second a Brahmin and the third a Muslim. All the three segments of Kashmiri population seem to have been represented in the command of the liberation army.

VERSE 257: SAYYID HĀSHIM IS SENT TO HALT THE ADVANCE OF KASHMIRI ARMY

तानुत्तीर्णान् समाकर्ण्य सैदाश्चकितमानसाः ।  
हाशिमं व्यसृजंस्तूणीं प्राग् जयोद्धतमानसम् ॥ २५७ ॥

Sayyids were amazed to hear that they (Kashmiris) had landed (safely) on the other side of the river. They immediately despatched Hāshim, puffed up with previous victory (to confront these).

## Note

1. Refer verse 191 supra.

## VERSE 258: STONES ARE SHOWERED ON SAYYID FORCE

सम्प्राप्तोऽपि वनायुक्तमठं<sup>1</sup> तीरध्वना<sup>2</sup> ब्रजन् ।  
गिरिशृङ्गगतैर्दृष्टरूपं<sup>3</sup> शिलाभिरवार्यत ॥ २५८ ॥

Negotiating the route by the bank and having reached the new Āyukta-Maṭha on being noticed, were halted with stone (showers) by those who had occupied the summit of the hillock.

## Notes

1 The hospice built by Ahmed Yattu, former prime minister, after having fallen from grace must have been repaired subsequently (ZRRT, III, 37) It sees that this hospice was built in the vicinity of Dedmar (ZRRT, III, 185-187).

2. Sayyid Hāshim must have been detailed to go to the help of the garrison at Nowshera. He took a platoon under his command from Idgāh cantonment (ZRRT, IV, 79) and marched Nowshera via the bank of the back waters of Dal Lake by making a detour Idgāh and Dedmār are more or less contiguous to each other

3 Kashmiris collected on Hari Parvat, halted his march to Nowshera by showering stones on him and his forces.

## VERSE 259

तच्छिलावर्षणव्रस्तस्तुरङ्गात् पतितः क्षतौ ।  
पदातिः स चलन् कृच्छान्निस्तीर्णो रणसङ्क्रातु ॥ २५९ ॥

Frightened by that shower of stones, (Hāshim) fell to the ground from his horse, and walking on foot most precariously, could wade through this thick of the battle.

## VERSE 260

तदीयं तुरगं बद्धखड्गं संनाह भूषितम् ।  
काश्मीरिकाः करगतं मृतं जयमिवासदन् ॥ २६० ॥

His (Hāshim's) horse with a sword tied to it and equipped with a coat of mail was seized by Kashmiris as if victory itself had been captured.

## VERSE 261: FEROZ KHAN IS THE SECOND COMMANDER OF SAYYID FORCES

तं पराभूतमालोक्य तद् युद्धार्थं भटान्वितान् ।  
सैदाः पिरुजखानादीन् रात्रावेव व्यसर्जन् ॥ २६१ ॥

Having observed him (Hāshim) crest fallen, the Sayyids despatched Feroz Khān and others with a company of soldiers during that very night for giving battle (to Kashmiris).

VERSE 262. MIYAN BĀQIR IS THE THIRD COMMANDER

दुग्धाश्रमगता<sup>1</sup> मेयाभाकराद्याश्च तत्क्षणात् ।

वयौघाडव गर्जन्तः प्रापुः पूषामठान्तिकम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ २६२ ॥

That very time, Miyān Bāqir and others reached Dugdhāśrama (Dodurhoma) and in thundering like torrential rain encamped in the vicinity of Pūpā Maṭha.

Notes

1. Rerer notes verse 109.

2. This place must be located in the outskirts of Dodurhoma. No such name of a place is extant there now. It might be taken as a common noun meaning a *sarai*, where cakes were offered to the travellers coming down from Bhuṭṭa Deśa (Ladākh).

VERSE 263

तावन्मद्रप्रतीहारडामराद्या महाभटाः ।

सैनद्धाः सुमनोवाटप्रदेशान्तं<sup>1</sup> समासदन् ॥ २६३ ॥

By that time valiant fighters comprising Jammu garrison, Pratihāras and Dāmaras fully equipped, reached close to the territory known as Sumanovāṭa.

Note

1. Refer notes, ZRRT, II, 121.

VERSE 264

सैदखानादयः सैदहोस्सनादि<sup>1</sup> समन्विताः ।

सैदानां सुभटाश्चान्ये प्रापुस्तत्रैव ते प्रगे ॥ २६४ ॥

Sayyids, Khāns and others along with Sayyid Hussain and the pick of Sayyid forces too reached there at dawn.

Note

1. Sayyid Hussain might have been the son of Sayyid Hassan the prime minister of Sultān Mohammad Shāh, (ZRRT, IV, 46). Miyān Mohammad, son of Miyān Hassan, also met the fate of Sayyid Hassan has been mentioned earlier (ZRRT, IV, 56).

## VERSE 265

करवालाः स्फुरज्वाला बभूः श्यामल कान्तयः ।

भूपीडनादिव व्यालाः पातालविवरोदगताः<sup>1</sup> ॥ २६५ ॥

Swords with their dark blue shimmer and diffusing fiery flames, shone like serpents, having come out of their holes from the nether-worlds, for tormenting the country.

## Note

1. The subterranean world is supposed to be the haunt of serpents, according to Hindu belief (*Raghuvamśam*, I, 80).

## VERSE 266: HAND TO HAND FIGHT BEGINS

अथोदतिष्ठत् तुमलः समरः सैन्ययोर्द्वयोः ।

स खड्ग फलकक्षुद्र<sup>1</sup> मद्र व्यूह सुदुःसहः ॥ २६६ ॥

Then a tumultuous fight erupted with swords and shields between the two armies, becoming all the more irresistible by the military formation devised by (numerically) small Jammu garrison.

## Note

1. It was obviously hand to hand fight between Sayyids and Kashmiris.

## VERSE 267

भो वीराः समरोऽत्र युध्यत मुदा मा यात पश्चादमी

जेतारो यदि तद्भरन्ति सकलं सैदाः कुषा निर्घृणाः ।

प्राप्तश्चेद्विजयः सुखं स्वविभवात् स्वर्गेऽपि तच्चेष्टताः<sup>1</sup>

युद्धादाविति मद्रपः<sup>2</sup> स परशुः काश्मीरकनकप्रवीत् ॥ २६७ ॥

At the commencement of the battle Parasurāma—the defender of Jammu garrison—addressed Kashmiris in this way—“O brave people: fight quite relaxed, do not retreat, these insolent and callous Sayyids, if victorious, will rob you of everything. If you are triumphant the bounties accruing from your own prowess will be available to you in heaven also if dead.”

## Notes

1. Compare *Bhagvat Gītā*, II, 37.

2. It can even connote the Lord, ruler of Jammu also. However, it seems ridiculous to suppose that the ruler of Jammu would have been in the pay of Sayyids along with his garrison (*ZRRT*, III, 500; IV, 41-42).

VERSE 268: PARVEZ KHÂN AND FEROZ PADRU ARE  
COMMANDERS OF SAYYID AND KASHMIR  
CONTINGENT RESPECTIVELY

पूर्व पर्वज खानोऽग्रे निर्ययौ रणगर्वितः ।

तं पिरुज प्रतीहारो रामो<sup>1</sup> राममिवाभ्यगात् ॥ २६८ ॥

Firstly Parvez Khān conceited with his (fame) in waging a war led (his contingent) to face (Kashmiris) and Feroz Pratihāra (Padru) confronted him as Śrī Rāma unto Parasurāma.

*Note*

1. In Sanskrit literature we meet three Rāmas—Parasurāma, Balarāma and Rāma Dāśarathi. They are referred to as Rāmas.

Allusion to Parasurāma at the time of Śrī Rāma's marriage with Sītā is obvious here (RMN, I, 74).

VERSE 269

अनभिज्ञतया युद्धे स्फुरन्तं वीक्ष्य तं द्रुतम् ।

स्वभटान् प्रैरयन् मद्रास्तत्तुरङ्गं खुरच्छिदे ॥ २६९ ॥

Observing him (Parvez Khān) fret and fume for being not conversant with the (terrain) of the battle (field), the Jammu garrison exhorted their soldiers to cut off the hoofs of his (horses).

VERSE 270: PARVEZ KHÂN IS ATTACKED

खड्गकृतखुरारवोद्यत्पुतिनष्टरणक्रियम् ।

गक्काद्याः प्राहरन् सर्वे शक्त्या शक्तिसमन्वितम् ॥ २७० ॥

His (Parvez's) active participation in the battle was thwarted by the big leap of his horse when its hoofs were cut by the sword. Gakkas (Gakhars) and others (then) smote him with their spears collectively.

VERSE 271

तदप्लुत्याः शाहि भङ्गीया<sup>1</sup> भ्रमरो इव सारवाः ।

ददंशुः कटकं क्रुद्धा स्फुरन्तः खड्गं कण्टकैः ॥ २७१ ॥

His (Parvez's) mercenaries from Gilgit yelling like the honey bees, and advancing with anger, stung the (Kashmiri) army with their stung like swords.

*Note*

1. Refer notes ZRRT, III, 114; IV, 211 supra. Mercenaries from Gilgit.

## VERSE 272: PARVEZ KHÂN IS SLAIN

पतितं सम्मुखं दृष्ट्वा तं काश्मीरा रणाङ्गने ।  
जयोऽद्य वर्ततेऽस्माकमित्युक्तोत्साहमादधुः ॥ २७२ ॥

On having seen him (Parvez) fell before them in the battle-field, Kashmiris mustered courage by saying "We shall be victorious today".

## VERSE 273

व्याहन्यमानाः काश्मीरिर्भटैर्मद्र समन्वितैः ।  
भृत्यास्ते शाहि भङ्गीयाः कृत्यं सत्त्वोचितं दधुः ॥ २७३ ॥

On being killed by Kashmiri soldiers in collusion with Jammu garrison, those mercenaries from Gilgit indulged in feats commensurate with their strength.

## VERSE 274

एहि तिष्ठात्र युध्यस्व क्व गच्छस्यधुना मम ।  
इत्यन्योन्यं भटास्तत्रातर्जयन् रणगर्जितैः ॥ २७४ ॥

Come on! stay! fight! you cannot flee (from here) now. Thus did the soldiers threateningly challenge each other there with their loud war cries.

## VERSE 275

काश्मीरपृष्ठगः सूर्यः खड्गान्तः प्रतिबिम्बितः ।  
जयोऽद्य युष्मास्वित्येन वक्तुं व्योम्नोऽवतीर्णवान् ॥ २७५ ॥

The sun, reflected on the edges of their sabres, moved on to the back of Kashmiri (army), as if telling them that victory would be yours today.

## VERSE 276

अहंपूर्विक्या' सर्वे ते वीरप्रभरास्तदा ।  
रणोद्याने स्फुटं चेर्यशः कुसुमलम्पटाः ॥ २७६ ॥

At that hour all those valiant black bees, vying for precedence over each other, quite distinctly roamed in that battle-field, eager for appropriating the flower of fame.

## Note

1. I should be the first—with this feeling each soldier wanted to display his heroism, for winning laurels at the battle ground.

## VERSE 277

तद्रणाम्भ्रनरंगातः सम्रतास्ते भया नटाः ।  
त्वम्भ्रदङ्ग विभङ्गाढ्या नाट्यपङ्क्तिमदर्शयन् ॥ २७७ ॥

On the stage of that battle field, the soldiers (like) actors, displayed their prowess by exceedingly nimble movement of limbs.

## VERSE 278

ज्यहङ्गिराद्यास्तद् भृत्याः प्रविष्टाः संमुखे रणे ।  
विधाय युद्धं संनद्धा वीरवृत्या विचक्रिरे ॥ २७८ ॥

His (Parvez's) mercenaries Jahāngīr and others, joined the fray at the vanguard of the battle, and gave fight with brilliant agility displaying the nerve of heroes.

## VERSE 279

ववर्ष शरघारापिः स सैन्यकटकाम्बुदः ।  
स्युरच्छन्न तडिज्ज्योतिर्युक्तो<sup>1</sup> गम्भीर गर्जितः ॥ २७९ ॥

That cloud (representing) the army, rained torrents of missiles with blazing weapons, (as if) accompanied by the glow of lightening with deafening thunder.

## Note

1. V.I. हन्तः for युक्तो (VVRI, p 252).

## VERSE 280: COMMAND GIVEN TO SAYYID BĀQIR

सैदेषु भास्करस्तत्र<sup>1</sup> संमुखस्थविभाकरः ।  
शौर्यशोभाकरः प्रापदग्ने भाःकरवालभृत् ॥ २८० ॥

From amongst the Sayyids (then) Bhāskar (Bāqir)—a mine of valour and grace—appeared (like) the sun in front (of the battle) carrying a shining dagger in his hand.

## Note

1. When Parvez Khān was slain, Sayyid Bāqir was appointed commander of Sayyid force (cf, verse 272 supra).



## VERSE 281

त्वडततुङ्गतुरङ्गस्थो रणरङ्गान्तरे स्फुरन् ।  
सोऽङ्गहार समासङ्गो नाट्यभङ्गिमदर्शयत् ॥ २८१ ॥

Mounted on a horse moving with dashing alacrity on the stage of battle ground, he (Sayyid Bāqir) endowed with speedy gesticulation of limbs exhibited his proficiency in his trionics.

## VERSE 282: SAYYID BĀQIR IS A FEARLESS FIGHTER

प्रहारविक्षतं सर्वे मिलित्वापि रणान्तरे ।  
शेकुः स्नाहिताश्वस्थं चिरत् पातयितुं क्षितौ ॥ २८२ ॥

All of them (Kashmiris), collectively only could injure him (Bāqir) in full armour and mounted on a horse, with blows and felled him on the ground, after a long drawn out struggle.

## VERSE 283: SAYYID BĀQIR IS DEAD

द्वित्रान् हत्वा भटान् वीरो विक्षतः श्लाघ्यविक्रमः ।  
अभजत् वीरशाय्यां स रक्तस्यन्दोत्तरच्छदाम् ॥ २८३ ॥

After killing two or three soldiers that wounded (Bāqir) of praiseworthy valour, donning the shroud of bubbling blood reclined on the couch meant for the brave.

## Note

1. Bāqir met a brave death so to say.

## VERSE 284

येषां प्राणपरित्यागे निर्णयं बध्नातामपि ।  
रणयोग्ये क्षणेऽपेक्षा नास्ति किं तैः पशूपमैः ॥ २८४ ॥

Those, though overwhelmed, do not admire them, who elect to die in the battle field, are as unworthy as the animals.

VERSE 285: KASHMIRI MERCENARIES OF SAYYIDS  
TAKE TO HEELS

सैदहोसनमुख्या ये काश्मीराः सैदपक्षगाः ।  
भाकरादीन् हतान् दृष्ट्वा रणे त्यक्त्वा पलायिताः ॥ २८५ ॥

Those Kashmiris, gone over to the side of Sayyids, under the command of Sayyid Hussain, having seen Bāqir and others slain, fled from the battle-field.

VERSE 286: KASHMIRI MERCENARIES ARE KILLED  
IN HUGE NUMBERS

ततः काश्मीर सेनान्या वात्येव तटदुमाः ।

भग्नास्तन्नीडनिःसृता भृत्याः शावा इवाहताः ॥ २८६ ॥

Thereafter, (rebel) Kashmiri commander killed (Sayyid) mercenaries, like birdlings dropped from the nests when the gale uprooted the trees on the slopes.

VERSE 287

न खड्गो न हयारोहो न चापी न च शक्तिमान् ।

व्यावृत्य प्रेक्षितुं कश्चिन्नाशकं विदुताद् बलात् ॥ २८७ ॥

From amongst the army (of Kashmiri mercenaries) fleeing in hot haste, not a single sabre-wielding soldier, not any one mounted on a horse, or carrying a bow, not even one with immense physical power, turned back to see this mass annihilation.

VERSE 288: FLEEING SAYYID MERCENARIES KILLED  
UNARMED KASHMIRIS

हठलुण्ठितविध्वस्ताः समस्तास्ते विरोधिनः ।

वृक्षारूढानपि<sup>१</sup> घ्नन्तः प्रापुस्ते नगरन्तरम् ॥ २८८ ॥

The entire hostile army (of the Sayyids) forcibly robbed and demoralised and even killed those (non-combatants) who had found a (safe) perch on the trees, or had found asylum in the innermost sanctuary of the city.

Note

1. These Kashmiris had climbed the height of a tree perhaps for being out of the way of the combatants or for having a look at the battle. This demoralised force did not refrain from killing these innocent civilians.

VERSE 289: ROAD FROM SADRMĀR TO NOWHATTĀ  
IS LITTERED WITH DEAD BODIES

आ समुद्रमठात्<sup>१</sup> पूर्वाधिष्ठानान्तं<sup>२</sup> निरम्बरः ।

मार्गेष्वन्यनगण्डोपाः<sup>३</sup> इवासन्निहिता शवाः ॥ २८९ ॥

Right from the Samudramathā (Sadrmār) to the former metropolis (Nowhattā), naked corpses were littered on the streets like heaps of fuel.

## Notes

1. This hospice was built by Queen Samudrā, consort of King Rāma Deva (1252-1273 AD). It is the locality just close to Habbakadal on the right side of the Jhelum now known as Sadrmār (JRRT, III).

2. This term can be interpreted in two ways:

(i) It might connote the former capital Nowhattā founded by Sultān Sikandar (1389-1413 AD) (JRRT, 589).

This inference gets strengthened by the fact that fleeing mercenaries rushed for refuge to Nowshera where Sayyids for reasons obvious must have posted a formidable army. So, Kashmiri rebels could not advance from Nowhattā to Nowshera (cf, verse 288 earlier).

(ii) It might also connote Purānādhistāna—modern Pandrethān.

3. Refer notes ZRRT, IV, 189. Srivara has repeated this simile verbatim here.

## VERSE 290

केचित् कुल्यान्तरे मग्ना भग्नाः केऽपि रणान्तरे ।

केचित् प्रमुषिता नग्ना धयोद्दिग्ना दिशोऽवलन् ॥ २९० ॥

Some (Sayyid mercenaries) were drowned in the rivulets (canal), some were killed during the battle, some were left naked after being deprived (of their belongings) and some distressed with fear fled in all directions.

## VERSE 291

तद्दीरावयवैः कृतैः पूरिता विपुलैर्मही ।

तद्ग्रासाद्यैः प्रवृत्तस्य मृत्योरिव महानसः ॥ २९१ ॥

Whole of the land (from Sadrmār to Nowhattā) was filled profusely with the cleft limbs of those heroes, as if for preparing a meal of these in the spacious kitchen of the God of Death.

## VERSE 292

ये सुन्दरा विपुलभोगा पुन्दरभा-

श्चेकरीश विषय प्रथित प्रमत्ताः ।

नग्नान् विलोक्य भुवि तान् घृतदुष्टगन्धान्

कस्यापि शान्यति न देहमखेऽभिमानः ॥ २९२ ॥

Those persons of very agreeable form who having established their renown by the affluent favours of the Sultān would swagger untold luxury like the Lord of Gods, are (now lying) quite naked on the ground emitting foul smell. On observing this, whose ego, born of his bodily prowess will not be set at rest?

## Note

1. V.I. कृत for धृत (VVRI, p 253).

## VERSE 293

वरं मरणमेवास्तु रणे स्वर्गं सुखप्रदम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
न सहेऽद्यतनं स्वामिवृत्ति<sup>2</sup> याच्ना कदर्थनाम् ॥ २९३ ॥

It would be better to die in the battle gaining heavenly comforts than to make demeaning please to the present-day masters for providing livelihood.

## Note

1. Compare *Bhagvada Gītā*, II, 32.
2. It might also connote sparing life, etc.

VERSE 294: HABIB MİR OF SAYYIDS JOIN THE  
FRAY UNDER *DURIS*

इत्युक्त्वा प्रविशन् युद्धे धीराश्वस्थोऽप्यक्रतरः ।  
हमेभरमेरः शस्त्रेण स स्लाघ्यमरणोऽभवत् ॥ २९४ ॥

With this thinking in mind, unruffled, undaunted Habib Mīr, mounting a horse, joined the battle, and attained a praiseworthy death by the missiles (aimed at him by Kashmiris).

## VERSE 295

अन्धान् प्रचलितान् दृष्ट्वा वीक्षिताप्राप्तवैरिणः ।  
पलायनेच्छा<sup>1</sup> नैवापूद् युयुत्सोर्यस्य मानसे ॥ २९५ ॥

Having even observed that his other (counterparts) were fleeing, as also his enemies were quite close on him, in the mind of that warrior desire for fleeing did not arise at all.

## Note

1. May be he was very brave or may be Habib Mīr knew quite well that, even if he would flee from the battle and save his life, his compatriots the Sayyids would make him all the more miserable (cf, verse 293 supra). It was, therefore, better for him to die, here in the battle, rather than languish in life.

## VERSE 296

छिन्नाङ्गुलिकरोऽप्यश्वमारुह्य स्वसुतान्वितः ।  
अकरोत् क्षाणमात्रं यः शस्त्रप्रचारणं रणे ॥ २९६ ॥

Though his fingers and hand had been cut off, mounting the horse accompanied by his son, he (Habīb Mīr) displayed the mover of the weapons for a while in the battle.

VERSE 297: HASSAN RAINA IS KILLED BY SAYYIDS

स्थायं स्थितः पुरस्यान्ते स राजानकहस्सनः ।

हतः सेरङ्ग<sup>1</sup> गमेरद्यैर्मरिक्वन्त्यतटान्तगः<sup>2</sup> ॥ २९७ ॥

Hassan Rājānaka (Raina) stationed in the cantonment, at the outermost fringe of the city was killed by Serang Mir and others.

Notes

1. It might be Persian *sehrang*, ie, three colours; on the banks of Māri rivulet.
2. Māri is the *Hallamar* of present day (STRT, III, 339-349 notes).

VERSE 298: HABĪB MĪR IS KILLED BY REBELS

प्रच्छन्नाङ्गुलि हस्तेन सम्मस्य शिरो भट्टैः ।

नीत्वा न्यदर्शि हर्षायै मार्गेशादि सभान्तरे ॥ २९८ ॥

Along with his cleft hand and fingers (Kashmiri rebels) soldiers took his (Habīb Mīr's) head along with them to show it to (Jahāngir) Magrey and others in the (war) council for earning their pleasure.

VERSE 299: KASHMIRI REBELS SHOW MAGNANIMITY

किम्भाकरनिकरेण कुर्वन्त्वस्यान्त्यसत्क्रियाम् ।

इत्युक्त्वास्मै स मार्गेशः शयमुक्तिमकारयत् ॥ २९९ ॥

“What use by deriding this (dead) form? Give him a befitting funeral.” With these words (Jahāngir) Magrey got his (Habīb Mīr's) dead body released.

VERSE 300

योऽभूच्चिरं नृपगृहेऽखिल मन्त्रिवर्यो

धुर्यः पदेषु विष्वोचितदानमानः ।

शोच्यां दशमितरवत् स गतः किलान्ते

धिग् वासनां पविषु शाम्यति या न भोगैः ॥ ३०० ॥

He (Habīb Mīr) who had his headquarters in the royal palace for a very long time, earning an edge over all the counsellors was given key posts, and in keeping with his high status was bestowed rewards and honour, at long last met the fate of very ordinary man. Fie on the worldly desires, which do not abate by enjoyment.

## VERSE 301

स चेत् प्राप्तखलीकारस्तिष्ठेत् स्वसदने शमी ।  
सर्वो मन्त्रिगणस्तस्य भवेच्चाटु' परो न किम् ॥ ३०१ ॥

Had he (now), fallen from the grace, remained at his quarters with passions mastered, would not have the whole host of counsellors addressed him with sweet words.

## Note

1. The ministers would not have condemned him but praised him instead.

## VERSE 302

पुनर्विषवलोमेन सैदपक्षं समाश्रयन् ।  
आगामि कम्पेनशाधिकारतां प्रार्थयन् निजाम् ॥ ३०२ ॥

Instead (actuated) with greed for riches, joined the side of Sayyids for making pleas, to earn promotion as would be commander-in-chief.

## VERSE 303

अज्ञातदैववृत्तान्तो ययौ लोकेषु हास्यताम् ।  
अथवा नाशकाले' स्यात् बुद्धिः कुपथगामिनी ॥ ३०३ ॥

Unconcerned with the scheming of destiny, he (Habīb Mīr) became a butt of ridicule in the country. Nevertheless, when ruin is imminent intellect gets derailed.

## Note

1. Cf. *Bhagvadgītā*, II, 63.

## VERSE 304

कुर्वन्ति ये परशरीरनिकारमाजौ  
दर्पाब्धिलोचनयुगाः स्वविवारबाह्याः ।  
ते प्राप्नुवन्ति वधमाशु तथा यथामी  
लोका वदन्ति नरकोचित एष मर्त्यः ॥ ३०४ ॥

Those possessing two eyes blinded by vanity, throwing personal prudence to winds, indulge in denigrating the body of enemy in the battle, very immediately attain death likewise. People say that such a mortal deserves to be (transported) to hell.

## VERSE 305: HAIBAT KHÂN FLEES TO PHĀG PARGANA

धिगधिम्बैवत खानं तं<sup>1</sup> वीरमन्योऽपि यो रणात् ।

निर्गस्य समयः प्राप्तः फाखुवाविषयान्तरम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३०५ ॥

Fie on that Haibat Khān, who though honoured as brave, took to heels from the battle out of fear and found refuge within Phākhūvā (Phāg) pargana.

## Notes

1. Refer verse 164 supra.
2. This is Phāg pargana of Kashmir. It comprises the tract lying between the east bank of the Anchar Lake, the range towards the Sindh valley and the hills which enclose the Dal on the east and south (STRT, Vol II, p 452).

## VERSE 306

त्यक्तोत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गः स निःशस्त्रिर्भृतकोष्णितः ।

तत्र प्राकृतवेशेन<sup>1</sup> जुगोप स्वं भयदटन् ॥ ३०६ ॥

Having left his very imposing steed, he (Haibat Khān) unarmed and forsaken by his retinue in an ordinary dress, roaming with fright, hid himself there (at Phāg).

## Note

1. So that nobody would recognise him. He had left the general's dress behind.

## VERSE 307: HABĪB KHÂN IS KILLED

कुन्दैर्दावोद<sup>1</sup> मार्गेश वधात् मार्गपतेर्भटैः ।

स चौर इव वाट्यन्तर्ह<sup>2</sup> तोऽप्यार्तिशिरोऽभवत्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३०७ ॥

He (Habīb Khān) was killed like a thief in the garden, with his skull wounded by the soldiers of (Jahāngīr) Magrey, (who were) feeling incensed at the death of Dawood Magrey.

## Notes

1. Refer verse 177 supra.
2. It might mean a pleasure garden situated at the foot of the hills enclosing Dal on the east and south. On the debris of such gardens, Moghuls perhaps laid out famous Moghul gardens.
3. Refer verse 298 supra. V.I. गिरो for शिरो, VVRI, p 255.

## VERSE 308

छित्तोलमाङ्गं तस्याशु नित्यमन्युनिवृत्तये ।

मृतमार्गेश पुत्रस्य शवारार्तिक्तां<sup>1</sup> भटाः ॥ ३०८ ॥

Quickly cutting off his (Haibat Khān's) hand, the soldiers took it away for allaying their spite and waved it over the dead body of (Daud) the son of (Jahāngīr) Magrey.

*Note*

1 According to Hindu custom when the dead body is about to be taken to the cremation ground, it is worshiped with burning lights which are later on waved over it. Śrīvara refers to this practice here.

#### VERSE 309

स चेत् पलायितः<sup>१</sup> सैदशिविरं प्राप्नुयान्निशि ।  
तद्वत् तज्जीवरक्षा स्यात् सुबुद्धिः पापिनां कुतः ॥ ३०९ ॥

Had he (Haibat Khān) dodged and repaired to the Sayyid camp during the night, he would have saved his life thus. Where from can the vile person have such good sense?

*Note*

1. Haibat Khān should have escaped from the battle-field and gone over to Sayyid-camp. He would not have died otherwise.

#### VERSE 310

तदभृत्यलुण्ठितो देशो गोवधो यत् पुरे कृतः ।  
जाने भृत्यापणधेन प्राप्तास्ते<sup>१</sup> तद्दृशी दशा ॥ ३१० ॥

His mercenaries had looted the country, and had indulged in cow slaughter in the city. It seems that due to the sins of his retinue they all met with such a plight.

*Note*

1. Śrīvara says that Haibat Khān, along with his retinue, was killed by Kashmiri rebels.

#### VERSE 311: SULTĀN'S NEAREST RELATIONS DO NOT JOIN THE WAR

दौहित्रोऽपि महीमर्तुर्जातो<sup>१</sup> वीरकुलादपि ।  
तत्पापेनाभवत्<sup>२</sup> तस्य चित्तं वीरसोन्मिन्नतम्<sup>३</sup> ॥ ३११ ॥

Daughter's son of the (late) Sultān though born in family of the brave, was disenchanted with the sentiment of valour because of such vile deeds.



## Notes

1. The contemporary Sultān was only seven years old, hence could not be supposed to have a daughter's son. Reference to Sultān Hassan Shāh, the late Sultān is obvious here.

2. Loot, arson and cow slaughter etc. (refer verse 310, supra).

3. Obvious inference can be that the daughter's son of late Sultān Hassan Shāh, or sister's son of the ruling Sultān Mohammad Shāh did not take any interest in this war.

VERSE 312: THOUSANDS ARE KILLED IN A SINGLE DAY  
DURING THIS BATTLE

विप्रा रजसुताः सैदा काश्मीरा अपरेऽपि ये ।

सहस्र संख्याः समरे तद्दिने प्रलयं ययुः ॥ ३१२ ॥

Brahmins, princes, Sayyids, Kashmiris and even other people were killed in thousands in the battle during that day.

## VERSE 313

निहतानेकसुपट<sup>1</sup> समूहान्तरलक्षितान्<sup>2</sup> ।

भूमिदाहाय निष्क्रष्टुं नाभूत् कस्यापि पौरुषम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३१३ ॥

Nobody could dare to pull out (their relations) having been seen amongst the heaps of dead soldiers (belonging) to (both) armies for placing them in a grave.

## Notes

1. V.I. निहतानीक for निहतनेक (VVRI, p 256).

2. The people on seeing their near and dear ones slain, and heaped together with other dead soldiers, could not dare to pull them out from there.

3. Such people busy in sorting out their dead relations would have been fired upon, so they did not bother about their proper funeral for personal safety.

## VERSE 314

ये सर्वचक्ष्ण पीनाङ्गा भोगैर्मण्डलवर्धिताः<sup>1</sup> ।

याता घमोत्थदुर्गन्धास्ते श्ववायसपोज्यताम् ॥ ३१४ ॥

Those being handsome in every respect, having chubby limbs, native of villages and districts, rolling in the sun, became food for dogs and crows.

## Note

1. Here भोग has been used in the sense of Kashmiri *Bug*—meaning a hamlet, a village etc., eg., Śāla bug etc.

## VERSE 315

रक्ताक्तकर्तरीशक्ति मुद्गर द्रुघनादिभिः ।  
शात्मलि<sup>1</sup>द्रुमवत् पुष्पैर्बभूवुर्गता भटाः ॥ ३१५ ॥

Soldiers killed in the war with their blood-stained daggers, spears, maces and hatchets appeared as luminous as a silk-cotton tree with its flowers.

## Note

1. The silk-cotton tree has red and green flowers.

## VERSE 316: ALĀ-UD-DIN PORA IS SET TO FIRE

स्मृत्वा रुद्र विहारगिन्<sup>1</sup> दाहं सैदकृतं कुषा ।  
अलापपुर<sup>2</sup> दाहाय मार्गपोऽग्निमदापयत् ॥ ३१६ ॥

Recapitulating the conflagration manoeuvred by Sayyids at Rudra Vihār, (Jahāngīr) Magrey out of vengeance, ordered the burning of Ālābhapura (Alā-ud-Dinpura).

## Notes

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, 58 (supra).
2. No locality within the city is now known with this name. It might connote the area comprising Naud Kadal, Kalashpora etc., contiguous to Khānqāh-i-Moulla.

## VERSE 317: ALĀ-UD-DIN PORA IS BURNT DOWN

ज्वालाजाल करालोऽसावग्निर्वेश्मोष् दाहणः ।  
अलापदीन नगरं दग्धारण्यमिवाकरोत् ॥ ३१७ ॥

Terrible host of flames (rising) from that fire with the heat of which the houses could not put up, reduced Alā-ud-din pora to the state of a burnt forest.

## VERSE 318: FIRE AT KHĀNQĀH-I-MOULLA

श्रीमत्सैदहमादान<sup>1</sup> खानगाहोदितानलः ।  
राजप्रजापचारोत्थतक्रोधोऽग्निरिवाद्युतत् ॥ ३१८ ॥

The fire raging over Khānqāhi (dedicated to) illustrious Sayyid of Hamādān blazed like the fire of wrath, resulting from the bad deal given to subjects by the government.

## Note

1. Reference to Sayyid Ali Hamādān is clear here. This learned Sayyid came to

Kashmir from Hamādān, a district of Persia in 1372 AD. He was responsible for declaring Kashmir a theocratic state. This Khānqāh—monastery—was originally built by Sultān Qutub-ud-dīn (1378-1392 AD) and dedicated to Mir Sayyid Ali Hamādān (AKHSN, pp 322-337). Jona Rāja has not mentioned Sayyid Ali Hamādāni.

VERSE 319: FREE FOR ALL IN THE CITY

हतेषु पाकराघेषु' पलाय्यान्वेषु यात्वपि ।  
विदधुर्नगरे लुण्ठिं तदभूत्याः स्वपचादयः ॥ ३१९ ॥

Bāqir and others having been killed and many more having fled, their mercenaries and other low-caste people indulged in looting the city.

Note

1. Refer verses 280-283 earlier.

VERSE 320: AFFLUENCE AND POVERTY CHANGE HANDS

आसज्जन्मदरिद्रा ये ते महाक्यत्वमाययुः ।  
सदैवाक्या दरिद्रत्वमुत्पिञ्जोपप्लवे तदा ॥ ३२० ॥

During those days of anarchy and confusion, those who were poor right from their birth, became rich and those persistently rich were thrown into poverty.

VERSE 321: THE DEAD ARE ROBBED OF THEIR MONEY

केचिच्छवान् विचिन्वतो यत्र कुत्रापि तिष्ठतः ।  
प्रीतिं प्राप्तेस्तदीयार्थैर्ययुः कपालिका' इव ॥ ३२१ ॥

Some sorting out the dead lying here and there, felt very happy on grabbing their money, like callous *Kāpālikas*.

Note

1. Śrīvāra appears to have made use of local Kashmiri connotation of this word here.

It means an extremely cruel person. Actually *Kāpālikas* are those Śaiva samnyasins who use human skulls for even eating purposes. They move about in charnel places searching for human skulls.

VERSE 322

विरुद्धसङ्ख्यापूर्णगुहलुण्ठिविधायिनाम् ।  
अमृतं परस्मै युद्धं समासास्मिन् शुनामिव ॥ ३२२ ॥

A scramble took place amongst those who had filled their houses with unlawful collections and the looters, like dogs fighting with each other for (grabbing) fleshy bones.

## VERSE 323

आदावेकेन यन्नति तस्मादन्येन तदघृतम् ।  
तस्मादप्यपरेणेत्यं मात्स्योन्याय' इवोत्थितः ॥ ३२३ ॥

Whatever had been grabbed by one at first, was snatched from him by the other, even from him it was taken away, thus establishing the logic of the fishes.

## Note

1. मात्स्योन्याय is the axiom of the fishes ie, the small fish becomes food for the big one or in other words, might becomes right. This is called the logic pertaining to fish. The weaker always suffer (*Manu Smṛti*, VII, 20).

## VERSE 324: SCHISM IN THE RANKS OF SAYYIDS

द्विधा जय' प्रवाहो यस्तद्वाहिन्योरभूत्' पुर ।  
एकपार्वर्गमात्' सोऽत्र शाख्युन्मलनमातनोत्' ॥ ३२४ ॥

These armies marched not caring for all others, formerly for gaining victory, but now walking hand in hand unitedly, uprooted completely the people on the way.

## Notes

This verse contains double entendre which may be made clear in the notes below:

1. March to victory in the context of an army, flow of the surging (waters) in the context of river.

2. वाहिनी means an army as well as a river.

3. On account of negotiation one side only in the context of an army. (Waters) being swollen on one side in the context of a river.

4. The branches ie, people of a country in the context of an army. The branches of the trees etc. in the context of a river. So another meaning of the verse can be:

The river formerly flowing in two directions now being swollen on one side only, uprooted the branches (of the trees on its bank).

It seems that Sayyids had become disunited and Śrīvara would like to say that the soldiers of both the Sayyid camps wanted to loot away as much as they could. Their aim was common in this respect, so it spelt all the more disaster for the people.

## VERSE 325

आब्धान् द्विजवणिक्प्रायान् पौरान् नित्य सुखोर्जितान् ।  
मुण्णत्तस्तद्व्यारक्कुर्दीरिद्वान् दुःखाभागिनः ॥ ३२५ ॥

The soldiers of (both the armies) made Brahmins and grocers of substance, as also the citizens living in luxurious comfort, penurious beggars by snatching away all that they had.

VERSE 326: PEOPLE GET INCENSED BY THIS LOOT

दारुणोष्णं चयात् तत्तद्भुतनाशादितान्यपि ।  
पौराणां समदहन्त सदनानि मनांसि च ॥ ३२६ ॥

Though being tormented with the destruction of everything in these fierce columns of fire, the hearts of the people also burnt concurrently with their houses.

VERSE 327

नगरान्तः कुलीनानां पुण्याः कन्याश्च योषितः ।  
विटाः केऽप्यधमार्चकुर्वन्त संभोगं दूषिताः ॥ ३२७ ॥

Some depraved debauchees within the city defiled virgin daughters and chaste wives of good families by raping them.

VERSE 328

व्यघ्रायि यत्र निर्माणं कल्पान्तं स्थिरताशया ।  
कोटि कोटि धनं दत्त्वा दण्डं मृदभस्मसादगात् ॥ ३२८ ॥

Whatever constructions had been made at a huge cost and with the hope of preserving their durability till the dissolution of the world, the ground underneath these (even) was reduced to ashes by the fire.

VERSE 329

आरुदन् केऽपि केऽप्युच्चैरनदन् केऽप्यलुण्ठयन् ।  
दस्यवो दक्षिणे पारे बीमा इव जयोदताः ॥ ३२९ ॥

Some amongst the bandits on the right bank (of the Jhelum) intoxicated with victory like drunkards took to looting, teasing and shouting loudly.

VERSE 330: WINE FLOWED LIKE WATER IN THE SUBURBS

न शीघ्रचषकोऽप्यास्त येषामुत्सवतर्पणे ।  
सहस्र संख्याः कुम्भानामभ्योवनगराद् घृताः ॥ ३३० ॥

Those who were not in a position to offer a cup of wine by way of entertainment at a festival, had appropriated thousands of pitchers full of wine as if it was water from the city.

## VERSE 331

केचिद्बन्धुवियोगार्ताः केचित् सञ्जय वञ्चिताः ।  
विरुद्धत्वकृताक्षेपा जितरुद्धभुवः परे ॥ ३३१ ॥

Some bemoaned the separation from their relations, some were deprived of their hoarded belongings, some groaned under the abusive reproach of their adversaries and others felt exercised over land grab.

## VERSE 332

बहवो दुःखिताश्चेरुः शतैकीयोऽभवत् सुखी ।  
तत्तद्रण विपन्नैश्च क्षतैः प्रेतैः स्ववेश्मनि ॥ ३३२ ॥

Most of the people roamed in distress, one amongst hundred was comfortable. In consequence of the battle, the dead and those wounded, looked like ghosts in their houses.

## VERSE 333: BATTLE LASTS FOR FOUR MONTHS

उच्चावचैर्जनैः सार्धं सहस्र द्वितीयं मृता ।  
इत्थं षष्टितमे<sup>1</sup> वर्षे श्रावण प्रतिपदिने<sup>2</sup> ।  
एकान्त<sup>3</sup> विजयात् तेषां तत्तल्लोक क्षयोऽभवत् ॥ ३३३ ॥

All told, some two thousand people high and low died. In this manner in lieu of their (Kashmiri's) decisive victory, genocide of people took place on the first of Śrāvaṇa, in the sixtieth year (of local calendar).

## Notes

1. Sixtieth year of local calendar—Saptarṣi ie, 4560 corresponding to 1484 AD.
2. The first day of the lunar fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. The fight lasted from Baisakh to Śrāvaṇa—almost four months so to say (cf, ZRRT, IV, 92).
3. It will connote decisive or conclusive victory.

## VERSE 334

पूर्वमङ्कुरितः सैदवधात्<sup>1</sup> पल्लवितः क्रमात् ।  
परस्परं वैतरुस्तदिने<sup>2</sup> फलितोऽभवत् ॥ ३३४ ॥

On that day the tree of mutual enmity having germinated earlier by the murder of Sayyids and by and by putting on leaves, (getting momentum) did bear fruit.

*Notes*

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, 46, 47, 48, etc.
2. The first of the lunar fortnight of Śrāvana.

VERSE 335

पौराणां वीरवर्गः प्रतिदिनमहरत् सञ्चयं वञ्चयित्वा  
 दुःस्थावस्थः समस्तः कृषिफलं हृतिभागास्त<sup>1</sup> वास्तव्यलोकः ।  
 उच्छेदेष्वटवाटावनि<sup>2</sup> सफलतरुष्विग्नार्थं दुरन्तः  
 सैदद्वैधात् समुत्थः प्रवर पुरवरोपप्लवोऽभूत् समन्तात् ॥ ३३५ ॥

The desperadoes every day in and out after cheating the citizens would snatch away belongings of the city people. A state of wholesale anarchy prevailed, and the denizens were robbed of their share of agricultural produce. These irrepressible (soldiers) felled the trees laden with fruit in Śāṭavāṭa (Hakwara) locality procuring fuel. Pillage arising out of the division in the ranks of Sayyids overwhelmed Srinagar on all sides.

*Notes*

1. The share of agricultural produce stored by the people. Share of the government could not be looted for reasons understandable.
2. This word may be either *Hakwara* in the particular sense signifying name of a locality around Srinagar, or Kashmiri *Shar* land under shallow streams and Sanskrit *Vaṭa*—enclosed orchards in the general sense.

VERSE 336

अत्रान्तरे वधं श्रुत्वा सैदाः काश्मीरकोष्णिताः ।  
 अलिखान मुखास्तस्थुर्दास मात्रावशेषिणः ॥ ३३६ ॥

In the meantime those Sayyids left untouched by Kashmiris and reduced to a mere (handful) of mercenaries under the command of Ali Khān learned about this genocide.

VERSE 337: SAYYIDS RESOLVE TO FIGHT AGAIN

द्वित्रान निहत्य नगरे निवृत्तः सेत्वभावतः ।  
 मेयामहम्मदः प्रापत् तावत् स्वशिषिणन्तरम् ॥ ३३७ ॥

Miyān Mohammad, retracing his steps in the absence of a bridge,

having killed two to three in the city returned to his camp for the time-being.

## VERSE 338

भाक्कदीन् हतान् श्रुत्वा सैदामीता अपि व्यथुः ।  
द्वित्रान निहत्य नगरे पुनर्युद्धाय निश्चयम् ॥ ३३८ ॥

Learning about the death of Bāqir and others, Sayyids though scared, killed a few in the city and resolved to give fight once again.

## VERSE 339

पश्चात् प्रतीर्य मार्गेशो हन्यान्स्तद्रणोऽस्त्वह ।  
इत्युक्त्वा ताजमट्टस्तान्<sup>1</sup> निन्ये त्रासविसूत्रताम् ॥ ३३९ ॥

“Having crossed from the rear, (Jahāngīr) Magrey may not kill us. So start offensive from this very place.” Saying so Tāj Bhaṭṭa dispelled their fright.

## Note

1. This name patently strikes as Kashmiri. Tāj Bhaṭṭa like many other Kashmiris was fighting for Sayyids.

VERSE 340: LEFT OVER SAYYIDS REMAIN IN HIDING  
AT THE HOUSE OF RAWAT

अस्मिन्नवसरे पारदागतो युक्ति पूर्वकम् ।  
सैदानादाय रावत्रः खालयं तान्<sup>1</sup> व्यसर्जयत् ॥ ३४० ॥

At that very moment, Rāwat crossing over from the other side by dint of a clever contrivance, took charge of the Sayyids and sent them to his home.

## Note

1. Obviously some Sayyids, still in Srinagar, had laid down their arms. Rāwat gave them refuge in his house.

VERSE 341: KASHMIRIS TAKE OVER THE STATE AS ALSO  
THE YOUNG SULTĀN

कृत्वा बालनृपेन्दुं ते<sup>1</sup> सैदाप्रपटलोद्भितम् ।  
पौराननन्दयामासुर्मीन्त्रिणो<sup>2</sup> मरुतो<sup>3</sup> यथा ॥ ३४१ ॥

The (Kashmiri) ministers rescuing the young moon—Sultān—



from the cloudy screen of the Sayyids, delighted the city crowds as host of seasoned war-schemers.

Notes

1. At first Kashmiri ministers took young Sultān Mohammad Shāh under their protection. This step gave them royal sanction to rule the country.
2. The council of ministers formed by Kashmiris for ruling the country.
3. In the *Vedas* Marutas are represented as the host of gods in charge of martial activities (*Rgveda*, I, 37, 12).

VERSE 342

दुर्योधनैक शरणाः कृतशत्ययोगा<sup>2</sup>  
 ये धर्मजाति<sup>3</sup> विरसाः कलिदत्तकर्णाः<sup>4</sup> ।  
 अन्यायवृत्ति धृतराष्ट्रकृतावसादा<sup>5</sup>-  
 स्ते कौरवा इव रणे न जयं लभन्ते ॥ ३४२ ॥

This verse also has a double entender, one concerning the characters of the *Mahābhārata* and the other a sort of general advice. It means:

A. Those under the sole tutelage of Duryodhana, in collusion with Śalya, absolutely indifferent towards Yudhiṣṭhira and the community, possessing a liking for Karna, persuing unjust ways destroy the scions of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, can in no way march to victory like the Kauravas.

B. Those given to hitting below the belt, with the help of spears and causing grief, apathetic towards the religious obligations and community, leading ear to strife, and unjust ways and taking the country by force, cannot in any way, like the Kauravas, march towards victory.

Notes

1. (a) The chief of the Kaurava clan; (b) given to hitting below the belt.
2. (a) The last commander of the Kaurava forces; (b) piercing like a spear and causing grief.
3. (a) The eldest brother of the Pāṇḍavas; (b) apathetic towards religious obligations and community.
4. (a) Half brother of the Pāṇḍavas, who fought on Kaurava side; (b) lending ear to strife.
5. (a) Father of Duryodhana; (b) taking the country by force.
6. The first cousins of the Pāṇḍavas.

VERSE 343: PADMAPURA WAS THE HEADQUARTER OF REBELS DURING THIS WAR

राजधानी समानीय नवां पद्मपुरात्तरत्<sup>1</sup> ।  
 खानगाह<sup>2</sup> नवीचकुर्दग्धं श्रीनगरान्तरे ॥ ३४३ ॥

Headquarters of the government were shifted (back to Nowshera) from Padmapura. The burnt down monastery within Śrīnagar was built afresh.

*Notes*

1. It seems that the rebels had made Padmapura as the headquarters of their activities during this war of liberation. Nowshera was in the occupation of Sayyids at that time (Refer verse 39, 40, 69 supra).

2. Kānqah-i-Moulla is meant here (Refer verse 318 supra)

VERSE 344: KHĀNQĀH-I-MOULLA IS BUILT ANEW

भाभासैदहमादान खानगाहो नदी तटे ।

पूर्णस्तत्पुण्यसंभारस्तदाकार इवोत्थितः ॥ ३४४ ॥

The monastery of Kābā-Sayyid Hamādān-i renovated completely on the bank of the river (the Jhelum), represented the mass of virtue collected by these (ministers).

VERSE 345: ALI KHĀN AND OTHER SAYYIDS ARE EXTERNTED FROM KASHMIR

सर्वस्यमपहृत्याथ सैदास्ते सकुटुम्बकाः ।

मण्डलादालिखानाद्या निरवास्यन्त मन्त्रिभिः ॥ ३४५ ॥

Thereafter ministers exteined Ali Khān and other Sayyids along with their families, from the country (Kashmir) after confiscating all what they possessed.

VERSE 346: JAMMU GARRISON RETURNS TO HOMELAND

एकमत्येष्वमत्येषु<sup>1</sup> काश्मीरिष्वविशङ्किताः<sup>2</sup> ।

ययुः परशुरमाद्या स्वदेशं<sup>3</sup> प्राप्तक्रियाः ॥ ३४६ ॥

When the Kashmiri ministers reached unanimity, Paraśu Rām and his garrison free from any misgivings whatsoever, returned to their homeland after being honoured profusely.

*Notes*

1. The inference being that complete unity existed amongst the Kashmiri ministers.

2. Hence, Paraśu Rām felt satisfied, had no misgivings about the ministers fighting with each other for spoils of war. This would have invited Sayyids back to Kashmir. However Paraśu Rām's self-complacency was short lived (refer verse 362-369 infra).

3. Jammu is meant here.

## VERSE 347

शिशौ दत्वां राज्यं वयमिह भजामः सुखमिति  
 व्यधुः स्वार्थं शिष्टा गलितमतयः सैदपतयः ।  
 हतेष्वेवं तेषु प्रसभमभजन् मन्त्रिपदवीं  
 परे तत्तज्ज्यं विधिरिह बलीयान् न पुरुषः ॥ ३४७ ॥

“After handing over Sultānship to a child, we shall enjoy every amenity”—thinking thus, the Sayyid lords (though) cultured, lost their head pursuing their own ends. When they were killed, others were perforce elevated as ministers in their place. (So) destiny is more strong not the man.

## VERSE 348: JALĀL THĀKUR TAKES OVER NAGAM AND HIS SON LAR

मेयाहस्सन सामग्रीं नाग्रामादिप्रमेयजाम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
 ज्यल्लाल ठक्कुरोऽगृह्णात् तत्पुत्रो लहरादिकम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३४८ ॥

Jalāl Thākur seized the stores of Miya Hassan collected from Nāgrāma (Nagam) and other districts, and his son (the territory) of Laharā (Lar) and other adjoining places.

## Notes

1. Refer notes ZRRT, II, 10, III, 24.
2. Refer ZRRT, 167, ZRRT, I, 5, 12.

## VERSE 349: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY TAKES OVER 'BANGIL' AND 'KHUYA'

गृहीत्वा बाङ्गिलं<sup>1</sup> राष्ट्रं स्वकं<sup>2</sup> मार्गेशमागतः<sup>3</sup> ।  
 स खूयादि<sup>4</sup> प्रमेयान्चाभजच्चीमान् ज्यहङ्गिरः ॥ ३४९ ॥

Illustrious Jahāngīr Magrey took over his own district of Bāngila, having reverted back to him as also administered the districts of Khūyā etc.

## Notes

1. Refer notes, ZRRT, II, 20, IV, 107.
2. Refer notes, ZRRT, III, 459.
3. V.I. मार्गेशनिकुजात (VVRI, p 260).
4. Actually Khuyāsrama or Khuyāhoma in Kashmiri (STRT, II, p 488).

## VERSE 350: SAIF DĀMARA BECOMES LORD OF MANCH-HOMA

माक्षाश्रमादि<sup>1</sup> राष्ट्रेषु स्वाम्यभूत् सैफ डामरः ।  
 अन्यां च ग्रामसामग्रीं सोदरेषु यथोचिताम् ॥ ३५० ॥

Saif Dāmara becomes the Lord of Mākṣāśrama (Manch-homa) and other districts, gifting away the stores of other villages to his brothers.

*Note*

1. It may be identified as Manch-homa Pargana (*STRT*, vol II, p 477).

**VERSE 351: JONA RAINA BECOMES ARMY CHIEF AND  
ADMINSTRATOR OF PĀRASPOR**

परिहास' पुण्डीशो जोन राजानकोऽभवत् ।

सैन्याधिकारीनिर्देयस्वातन्त्रयोद्भूत यन्त्रणः ॥ ३५१ ॥

Jona Rājānaka (Rainā) was given unrestrained command of army and also the administratorship of Pāraspor.

*Note*

1. This town founded by king Lalitāditya is now known as Pāraspor (*KLRT*, IV, 194).

**VERSE 352: IBRAHIM MAGREY BECOMES CHIEF OF WATCH  
TOWERS ON KASHMIR BORDER**

एब्राहिमश्च मार्गेशो द्वारपालाधिकार'भाक् ।

चक्रे सैदादि धृत्यानां रक्षामक्षाम'पौरुषः ॥ ३५२ ॥

Ibrāhīm Magrey of irresistible valour having been appointed the chief of watch-towers (on Kashmir border) took the mercenaries employed by Sayyids and others into his own custody.

*Notes*

1. Sanskrit *द्वार* has actually been used for the passes on the mountainous frontiers of Kashmir. Ibrāhīm Magrey was made the chief of such watch stations for keeping an eye over the infiltration into Kashmir or on return of Sayyids. In England we had a similar officer called the Warden of the Marchers.

It can also connote a *Deorhi Officer*.

2. Ibrāhīm Magrey was also made incharge of the concentration camps opened for the mercenaries of Sayyids who had surrendered to Kashmiri troops when their employers left Kashmir under pressure.

**VERSE 353: PRIVILEGES ENJOYED BY THE SULTĀN  
REDRAFTED, REVENUE LAWS REVISED**

राज्ञोऽधिकार सामग्री' भूमेर्द्रव्यावलीमिव<sup>२</sup> ।

महाभूता इवामात्याः<sup>३</sup> संभूय व्यदधुर्नवाम् ॥ ३५३ ॥

These (five ministers) redrafted the rules governing powers and

rights enjoyed by the Sultān also (enacted new) precious yield of the land, like the (five) elements (keeping body in good trir

*Notes*

1. The rights and privileges enjoyed by the Sultān, can be the obvious inference.
2. The valued yield from the main crops, fruit etc.
3. Since elements of a body are five in number, hence the ministers might have been also five: (i) Jalāl Thākūr, (ii) Jahāngir Magrey, (iii) Saif Dāmara, (iv) Jona Raina and (v) Ibrāhīm Magrey. These alone are referred to again and again.
4. It seems that this council of ministers redrafted the prerogatives and rights enjoyed by the Sultān and enacted new rules for revenue collection from agriculture.

VERSE 354

एको मार्गपतेः पक्षष्टक्कुरो डामरोऽपरः ।  
रजानकीयो दीप्तास्ते सर्वेऽग्न्य<sup>१</sup> इवाद्युतन् ॥ ३५४ ॥

One was the faction of Magreys, the other Thākurs and Dāmaras, and (lastly) of Rājānakas which all blazed in effulgence like the (three) fires.

*Note*

1. These three fires represent oblations made to gods, manes and mortals.

VERSE 355: MINISTERS BECOME VERY POWERFUL

आत्मेव निष्क्रियः साक्षिमात्रं बालनृपोऽभवत् ।  
सर्वं प्रकृतिनिष्पन्नं राज्यतन्त्रमभूत् तदा ॥ ३५५ ॥

The child-Sultān like the passive soul, was merely an onlooker (to all what was happening around). All the state affairs were attended to by the ministers.

VERSE 356: NEPOTISM RIFE AMONGST MINISTERS

विभजन्तो भुवं सर्वा यथेच्छं स्वेषु केवलम् ।  
अलेखयन् नृपं पत्रे स्वाप्नीकराक्षत्रयीम्<sup>१</sup> ॥ ३५६ ॥

(But these ministers) according to their sweet will divided the whole land amongst their kin only, and made the Sultān scribble three words of confirmation on (such) deeds.

*Note*

1. Reference being here to the signature of the Sultān comprising three words viz 'Sultān Mohammad Shāh'. It was done to authenticate such land deeds, as whole of the land in the country was supposed to belong to the Sultān then.

VERSE 357: THE MINISTERS ARE SADISTS  
THROUGH AND THROUGH

कष्टप्रदाः प्रजानिष्ठा दुष्टमृत्युविचेष्टिताः ।  
यथेष्टं समवेष्टन्त हृष्टास्तेऽरिष्ट चेष्टया ॥ ३५७ ॥

Those self-centred (ministers) would derive (sadistic) pleasure from inflicting pain and doing harm to the people, (as also) by the bad deeds of their devilish servants.

VERSE 358

स्वपक्ष' रक्षणे दक्षाः परपक्षेष्टखण्डनाः ।  
तार्किका इव ते तस्थुर्वितण्डावाद<sup>2</sup> शिक्षिताः ॥ ३५८ ॥

Very clever in shielding their own side and given to deriding the other side, they (ministers) acted like logicians, quite proficient in frivolous argumentation.

Notes

1. It can also connote 'their promise', their stand.
2. वितण्डावाद is "idly carping at arguments on assertions of another" (MW).

VERSE 359

मण्डलं तापयन्ति स्म सर्वे तीक्ष्णकरा' न के ।  
कल्पाप्तकाले भुवनं द्वादशार्का<sup>2</sup> इवोदिताः ॥ ३५९ ॥

All of them (ministers) would make the country miserable with their tormenting rays like the twelve suns having come to life at the dissolution of the world.

Notes

1. In the context of ministers it can also mean the hands spelling death, disaster etc.
2. Twelve suns actually presiding over each month of the year. At the dissolution of world these are supposed to shine conjointly and reduce the universe to ashes (Mahābhārata, Adiparva, I, 40).

VERSE 360: PARENTS FOREBADE BAD TIMES

श्वाक्रन्दितोल्कादाहैश्च भूरिभूकम्प संपदा ।  
वेपमानो जनो जज्ञे प्रत्यावृत्तमुषद्रवम् ॥ ३६० ॥

The people in frightening tremble could read from the weeping of dogs, the burning of comets and repeated earth tremors that bad times were in the offing.

## VERSE 361

शिशौ नृपे व्यधुःपीडां विशां चैतन्नियोगिनः<sup>1</sup> ।  
आमया इव देहनां कादृकि शक्ति वज्रिते ॥ ३६१ ॥

Revenue-officers fleeced the townfolk (during the reign of) that child-Sultān, like the ailments (invading) the bodies of old and infirm people.

*Note*

1. Refer notes ZRRT, II, 30.

## VERSE 362

नृपतेर्यदि मत्सरात् सहाया  
रचयन्ति प्रबला मिथो विरोधम् ।  
कुपिता इव घातवः<sup>1</sup> शरीरे  
क्षपयन्ति प्रसंगं महर्द्धं राज्यम् ॥ ३६२ ॥

If the powerful associates of the Sultān, out of malice fall out with each other, they erode the prosperous kingdom within no time, as the body by disproportionate primary humours.

*Note*

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 7, 66, 110, 185.

## VERSE 363

ये सर्वकण्टकास्तीक्ष्णाः परेषां छिद्रकारिणः ।  
करभाणामिवैतेषां ते तेऽप्यासन्नतिप्रियाः ॥ ३६३ ॥

Those who behaved like sharp thorns and caused trouble to others, became very dear to (the ministers) as the camels are (fond of thorny bushes).

## VERSE 364

पैशुनोपायनाद् भेदं नयद्भिः प्रतिवासरम् ।  
चात्रिकैः कृतसञ्जाटैर्वैः प्रौढिमनीयत ॥ ३६४ ॥

The intriguers always on move created a wedge every day (amongst the ministers) with their flattering prattle, (consequently) widening the gulf (amongst these).

## VERSE 365: THE MINISTERS LEND EAR TO SLANDER

उक्तं यन्नैव केनापि स्वबुद्ध्या परिकल्पितम् ।  
तेषां तद्भृत्य पैशुन्यं हृद्यं काव्यमिवाभवत् ॥ ३६५ ॥

Slandorous back-biting indulged by their servants, cooked up with their own brain and not at the instance of any one else, delighted them (the ministers) like poetry.

## Note

1. Poetry is also the product of one's imagination.

## VERSE 366

इत्थं मन्त्रि हृदादर्शो वैषाद्यान्योन्यबिम्बिताः ।  
तद् भृत्य पैशुनं स्वासैर्मातिन्यमभजन्त ते ॥ ३६६ ॥

In this way, the blot-less clarity reflected for each other in the mirror like hearts of the minister, was stained by the breath of their flattering servants.

## VERSE 367

अथ मार्गपतेरुच्च पदवीं प्राक् क्रमागताम् ।  
नासहन्तापरे रम्यां चक्रवाका इवैन्दवीम् ॥ ३६७ ॥

The highest and handsome post accruing to Jahāngīr Magrey by virtue of his former seniority, could not be tolerated by other (ministers), as the moonlight by the ruddy geese.

## Note

1. Indian poetic fancy has all along imagined that the pair of ruddy geese is separated during night and comes together only at day break. Hence moon-lit night relished by everybody, is despised by the ruddy geese.

## VERSE 368

इहास्माभिर्हताः सैदा यन्नीत्या विद्रुतोऽप्ययम् ।  
नृपस्यास्य सभाज्येष्ठः स्थापितः कुरुते मदम् ॥ ३६८ ॥

We struck the (first) blow on Sayyids here (in Kashmir) while he (Jahāngīr Magrey) had fled out of fear. (Now he) has been installed as the head of the Sultān's council (of Ministers)?



## VERSE 369. JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY SITS ON THE FENCE

इत्यादि शृण्वंस्तद् भृत्यवर्गान्मार्गपतिस्ततः ।

ताटस्थं राजकार्येषु विरक्तः सोऽभजद्गुषा ॥ ३६९ ॥

Hearing such like (insinuations) from the mouth of his juniors, Magrey, thereafter, out of spite became disillusioned and took no interest in the affairs of the kingdom.

## VERSE 370. JONA RĀJĀNAKA IS CURSED BY THE PEOPLE

बहामखाननयनोत्पाटनेन<sup>1</sup> निजं वपुः ।

विशामनाशिषां पात्रं जोनराजानकोऽनयत् ॥ ३७० ॥

By gouging the eyes of the son of Behrām Khān, Joṇa Rājānaka (Rainā) made himself an object of curses by the people.

*Note*

1. Refer *supra*.

## VERSE 371

शस्त्राधिपत्यानौचित्य निग्रहानुग्रह क्रमैः ।

ग्रहाणामिव तेषां स क्रूरो राहुरिवाभवत् ॥ ३७१ ॥

By being supreme commander of the armed forces, he (Joṇa Rājānaka) misused (his office) by punishing or favouring and became as despicable as Rāhu amongst those planets (ministers).

## VERSE 372

कुन्दानका<sup>1</sup> दिदेशस्थ ग्राम्याणामनियन्त्रणः ।

लोद्रभूम्यापहारेण<sup>2</sup> तद्देशोऽपि सोऽभवत् ॥ ३७२ ॥

Being unrestrained, he (Joṇa Rainā) seized the land laden with trees from the villagers, in the region of Chhundānaka and other areas and became its master.

*Notes*

1. It might be a place quite close to Pāraspor, famous for growing trees (refer verse 351 *supra*).

2. V.I. लोत्र for लोद्र (VVRI, p 263).

## VERSE 373

सैदद्वैधान्तरे लब्धैः सर्वत्रमुषित प्रजः ।

तत्पदार्थैर्गृहे पूर्णा कोष्ठागारवली व्यधात् ॥ ३७३ ॥

He (Joṇa Rainā) during the conflict with the Sayyids, filled the stores of his house to full with every sort of articles, greedily extorted from the people everywhere.

## VERSE 374

यत्कष्टेनार्जितं लोकैर्बलात्कार हृतं धनम् ।  
स्वं ब्रह्मदेयमिति तत् परस्वं वेत्ति लुब्ध धीः ॥ ३७४ ॥

Whatever had been earned by the people with the sweat of their brow, was snatched from them under duress and appropriated. That (Joṇa Rainā) of vulturous disposition would take this looted wealth to be a godsend for him.

## VERSE 375

संगृह्य वाहिनीः<sup>1</sup> सर्वास्तदीयार्हतजीवनैः ।  
और्वाग्गिरिव<sup>2</sup> तृप्तोऽसौ न बभूव कदाचन ॥ ३७५ ॥

Having collected his entire force for taking away their (people's) life, he (Joṇa Rainā) would never feel satiated, like the submarine fire.

## Notes

1 It seems that Jona Rainā looted people living in and around Dal lake called Mir Bahari at present.

2 Submarine fire is supposed to rage without any break whatsoever (Vāyū-Purāṇa, I, 47).

## VERSE 376

द्वेषान्निर्धकाक्षेपे ग्रामे वा नगरान्तरे ।  
नाशकद् रक्षितुं कश्चित् बलिना तेन पीडितम् ॥ ३७६ ॥

Either out of jealousy or through levelling false charges, nobody in the villages or the city could offer protection to any one harassed by that all-powerful (Joṇa Rājānaka's) officers.

## VERSE 377

यदि धर्मधिया कश्चित् प्रवृत्तो दीनरक्षणे ।  
स तददरून्तै रजसदस्याप खलीकृतिम् ॥ ३७७ ॥

If some (minister) inspired by the call of duty, would intervene for sparing a destitute (from harm), he would be ridiculed by his (Joṇa Rainā's) officers, even in the council of ministers.

## VERSE 378

स्वप्रमेयेषु वास्तव्याल्लुब्धा निरुत्थिनः ।  
अन्येऽपि पीडयामासु रोगा इव नियोगिनः ॥ ३७८ ॥

Even in districts under their charge as also in others, revenue officials harassed the guiltless inhabitants like fell-diseases.

## VERSE 379

गजा शिशुर्गतवया बहवः सहाया  
यत्राति मत्सरभृताश्च मिथः स्वतन्त्राः ।  
गजाङ्गभङ्गमसमं नृपतेर्दिशन्त-  
स्तत्राचिरात् समुदयन्ति न के ह्यनर्थाः ॥ ३७९ ॥

When the ruler be child, his self-willed aged deputies be torn with malice for each other, and conspire for vivisection of the body of kingdom, all that is disastrous raises its head there and then.

VERSE 380: IDI RAINĀ AND AHMED THĀKUR  
RETURNS TO KASHMIR

अत्रान्तरे बाह्यदेशे यात्रार्थं यौ विसर्जितौ ।  
एदरा 'जानकष्टक्कुराह्यदश्चापतुः पुरम् ॥ ३८० ॥

In the meanwhile, Idi Rainā and Ahmed Thākur, sent on mission to countries on the outer-borders (of Kashmir), came back to the city.

## Note

1. Refer ZRRT, III, 498, 499.

VERSE 381: CONSPIRACY AGAINST  
JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY

तद्दर्शनापदेशेन श्रुत्वा किमपि मन्त्रिणाम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
नगरे नागमद्दुतैर्मर्गिशः शङ्कितो भृशम् ॥ ३८१ ॥

Under the pretext of having an audience, the messengers unfolded the conspiracy hatched by (other) ministers against him. So (Jahāngīr) Magrey feeling very suspicious, did not go to the city.

## Note

1. V.I. मन्त्रणम् for मन्त्रिणाम्, VVRI, p 364.

VERSE 382: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY RECRUITS  
FOREIGN TROOPS

ससैफडामरेणाशु गत्वा सचकितो' गृहे ।  
वैदेशिक' भटाङ्कनात् साशङ्कः सोऽन्यन्निशाम् ॥ ३८२ ॥

He (Jahāngīr Magrey) instantly went to see bewildered Saif Dāmara at his home. On account of having called foreign troops, he spent the night restlessly.

Notes

1. Saif Dāmara was surprised to see that the conspiracy was afoot against Magrey.
2. Jahāngīr Magrey had recruited non-Kashmīr soldiers for his defence. However he was not sure of their loyalty during these times, hence was on tenterhooks throughout the night.

VERSE 383

शङ्कयासदनाप्तेषु प्रातस्तन्मतमास्थितः ।  
अहदष्टक्कुरो जोन राजानकमथावधीत् ॥ ३८३ ॥

In the morning when some people arrived at the council-hall in suspicious circumstances, Ahmed Thākūr acting on his (Magrey's) advice killed Joṇa Rainā.

VERSE 384

शस्त्रव्रणमुखोद् गच्छद्रक्तसंसिक्त मण्डपम्' ।  
तद् गृहे तं शवं दृष्ट्वा न कोऽपि रोमाञ्चितोऽभवत् ॥ ३८४ ॥

The entire platform was drenched in blood, oozing from the injuries dealt at his mouth with weapons. Everybody felt a horripilative sensation on beholding his (Joṇa Rājānaka's) dead body in that (council) hall.

Note

1. The raised floor or platform on which the ministers held the parleys in that hall.

VERSE 385

दत्तकन्यमयं जन्यमवधीद् गृहमागतम् ।  
दिव्यं कृत्वापि साश्वस्तं धिग् भोगाभ्यास वासनाम् ॥ ३८५ ॥

He (Ahmed Thākūr) even being the husband of his daughter, killed him (Joṇa Rājānaka), a reliable relation of his when he had come to his house and had also taken a vow (not to indulge in killing). Fie on the pursuit of objects of pleasure and desires.

## VERSE 386

मिथोऽसहिष्णवो भेदान्मन्त्रिणः प्रभविष्णवः ।  
विनश्यन्त्यचिरेणैव द्रोहेणेत्यपि केचन ॥ ३८६ ॥

“These all powerful ministers intolerant of each other due to their rift will verily get exterminated before long by this treachery.”  
Some even reacted to this (tragedy) in this manner.

## VERSE 387

केऽप्युचुः स यथा सैदानवधीनमद्रैः सह ।  
वर्षेणैकेन तत्पापात् तद्वद् व्यापादितोऽरिषिः ॥ ३८७ ॥

Some others even said, “Just as he in collusion with the Mādras (Jammu garrison) had killed the Sayyids, within one year of that, because of that very sin, in the same manner, he has been killed by his enemies.”

*Note*

1. V.I. तन्मासे for तत्पापात् (VVRI, p 365).

## VERSE 388

भृत्या वृथैव रक्ष्यन्ते पोषिता ये सहस्रशः ।  
नैक्रेऽपि तेभ्यस्तस्यान्ते प्राणत्राणक्षमोऽभवत् ॥ ३८८ ॥

It is futile to maintain mercenaries in thousands as also to lord over them. None amongst these is able to save his (master's) life from his death.

## VERSE 389

अर्जितं यद् यथैवाशु तत् तथैव हृतं परैः ।  
न तिष्ठन्ति चिरं गेहेष्वन्यायोपार्जिताः श्रियः ॥ ३८९ ॥

In whatever manner what had been seized (by Joṇa Rainā) was taken away by his enemies in that very way. Wealth accumulated in homes through unfair means does not last long.

## VERSE 390

पापं पुण्यं बलं दाक्ष्यं परं खं दुष्णां स्तुतिम् ।  
नो वेति राजपुरुषः कदाचिद् विद्युरे विधौ ॥ ३९० ॥

When the destiny is averse, an officer of the state can never

comprehend as to what sin, virtue, extortion, honesty, hostility, kinsmanship, condemnation and praise are.

VERSE 391

वैदेशिकभटैः किं नस्त्याज्या सैन्याधिकारिता ।  
इत्युक्तोऽपि सपुत्रेण नाग्रहीद् भाग्यवर्जितः ॥ ३९१ ॥

“What use the foreign recruits: it would be in our interests that you renounce the overall command of the armed forces.” (Jahāngir Magrey) forsaken by his good fortune, did not listen to this (advice) of his son even.

VERSE 392

विपरीता मतिः पुत्रे विश्वासः परसेवके ।  
जायते गतभाग्यानां विनाशे प्रत्युपस्थिते ॥ ३९२ ॥

When this good luck has run out, doom stores them in the face, (such people) lose faith in their own sons and repose faith in their servants, who are in no way related to them.

VERSE 393

वैदेशिक भटान् मेने यत् सज्जातीनिवान्वहम् ।  
अत्रत्याज् शस्त्रिणो वीरान् मेने भीरून् परानिव ॥ ३९३ ॥

(Jahāngir Magrey) always thought these foreign soldiers to be his kinsmen, and looked at arms-wielding heroes of this place (Kashmir) as cowards and undependable.

VERSE 394: SAIF DĀMARA IS DISARMED

स सैफडामरो वीरस्तच्छौर्याव शङ्कितः ।  
भीतः समर्पिषच्छस्त्रं वीरवृत्तेर्न निश्चयः ॥ ३९४ ॥

That brilliantly brave Saif Dāmara overwhelmed by his (Magrey's) fighting prowess and quite depressed, laid down his arms. The (capricious nature) of the brave cannot be fully ascertained.

VERSE 395: JALĀL THĀKUR IS CHAINED

ज्यल्लाल ठक्कुरस्तावद् राजधान्यङ्गने स्थितः ।  
बद्धोऽन्तः स्वैर्द्वारपालैर्गतिः क्व विधुरे विधौ ॥ ३९५ ॥

By that time Jalāl Thākūr, stationed in the compound of the royal palace, was taken inside (the palace) and chained by his own door keepers. There can be no escape from an adverse destiny.

*Note*

1. It might connote personal body guards also. Jahāngir Magrey might have bribed them earlier.

VERSE 396

मास्वानपि प्रतिदिनं मृदुतौष्ण्यधिन-  
स्तां तां विपतिं गगनान्तरगोऽप्यवस्थाम् ।  
नित्याकुलस्य मनुजस्य बलप्रभावे  
को निश्चयो भवति तत्र विचित्रं वृत्तौ ॥ ३९६ ॥

When the Sun each day divested of his mellow warmth undergoes many phases while roaming in the sky, (therefore) how can one be sure of the fighting nerve of a mortal always in the minds and possessing diversified demeanour?

VERSE 397

मसोददामरघास्ते<sup>१</sup> छिन्ननौसेतुबन्धनाः ।  
प्राप्त्येते<sup>२</sup> जालद्रागर्धे विदधुः सैन्यसङ्ग्रहम् ॥ ३९७ ॥

Masood Dāmara and others (of his clan) cut asunder the connecting ropes of the (improvised) boat-bridge and began to collect troops at Jaladragarda (Zaldagar) as was done previously.

*Notes*

1. Presumably a relation of Saif Dāmara in order to escape from the wrath of Jahāngir Magrey, disentangled the ropes binding the improvised boat-bridge together.

2. Refer verse 104 supra.

VERSE 398

शृङ्गार सौह<sup>१</sup> निकटं ययुः शूरपुण्ड्रना<sup>२</sup> ।  
ठक्कुराः साति<sup>३</sup> याछास्तेऽप्यसक्ताः स्वयमागताः ।  
करागारात्तरं प्रापुः कस्य सुः सम्पदः स्थिराः ॥ ३९८ ॥

The Thākurs and Sāliyas, who had sought asylum with Śṅgār Siṃha, through the Shurpura (Hurpur) route not finding congeniality there, had come back of their own accord, landed into the prison (here). Whose wealth can claim permanency?

## Notes

1. Perhaps the Hindu ruler of Rajouri or Lorin.
2. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 1, 107 etc.
3. The inhabitants of Sāli in the Dachanpora tract of Liddar Valley.

## VERSE 399

जेराकनामा तद् भृत्यः साहसी नगरान्तरात् ।  
ठक्कुराहादतुरगान् हत्वा राजपुरीं ययौ ॥ ३९९ ॥

Ahlād (Ahmed) Thākur's dare devil slave, Zirak by name, taking away his horses fled to Rajouri.

## VERSE 400

इत्थं तत्सैदवधतो जोनराजवधोऽधिकः ।  
पाददाहादिवासह्यो गलरोगो व्यथावहः ॥ ४०० ॥

In this way the death of Joṇa Rainā spelt more disaster than the genocide of Sayyids, just as malady affecting throat is intolerably more painful than the foot-sore.

## VERSE 401

यावनरस्त्यजति कार्यकृदेक चिन्तां  
चिन्तान्तरं सृजति तावदमुष्य धाता ।  
याते कृशमिन् शशिनः किल पूर्णिमाप्तौ  
सञ्जायते द्युतिहरो ग्रहण<sup>1</sup> प्रचारः ॥ ४०१ ॥

As soon as a man draws a line over his anxiety, after having seen an assignment through, than the destiny confronts him with another object giving anxious moments. When the moon overcomes its leanness on attaining fullness on the fifteenth of the lunar fortnight, it is plagued by the occurrence of eclipses reducing its brightness.

## Note

1. It might also mean that moon after getting fully waxed gradually takes to waning.

## VERSE 402: ĀDAM KHĀN'S SON ARRIVES IN KASHMIR

निष्प्रतिद्वन्दि निश्चिन्त्यं मार्गेशो यावदाप सः ।  
तावच्छुश्राव संप्राप्तं पुत्रमादमखानजम् ॥ ४०२ ॥



No sooner did (Jahāngīr) Magrey attain unrivalled security, than he heard that Ādam Khān's son had arrived (in Kashmir).

## VERSE 403

स यथाप्यन्तरं प्राप्तो यथागन्तुं गृहीतवान् ।  
बाल्यात् प्रभृति कृतान्तं तत् खानस्य<sup>1</sup> ब्रवीम्यहम् ॥४०३॥

I (Śrīvara) shall narrate the entire gamut of circumstances right from the childhood of Khān (as also) how he sneaked inside (Kashmir) and took over Sultānship.

## Note

1. Ādam Khān's son Fateh Khān by name.

## VERSE 404

पितुः श्रीजैनपतेः प्रमये निर्गतो बहिः ।  
आदमखानो वित्राणः प्रपदे मद्रमण्डलम् ॥४०४॥

At the death of his illustrious father Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, Ādam Khān without any guard went out of Kashmir and reached Jammu.

## VERSE 405: FATEH KHĀN IS BORN ON ŚIVARĀTRĪ

भावीश्वरंशतैश्वर्यप्राप्तिसुचकपर्वणि ।  
शिवरात्र्यन्तरे तस्य तत्रस्थस्य सुतोऽजनि ॥४०५॥

While staying there, he (Ādam Khān) was blessed with a son during the night of Śivarātri—the festival foreboding Sultānship and affluence in subsequent years.

## VERSE 406: FATEH KHĀN IS REARED BY HIS MATERNAL GRAND FATHER, THE RĀJĀ OF JAMMU

जनकेऽस्य<sup>1</sup> दिवं याते तुष्क समयन्तरे ।  
मातामह<sup>2</sup> गृहे चन्द्रो ववुषेऽनुनिषाविव<sup>3</sup> ॥४०६॥

When during the war with Turks his father (Ādam Khān) was killed, the (Fateh Khan) grew to maturity at the house of his maternal grandfather, like the moon in the ocean.

## Notes

1. The inference that Jammu was the maternal house of Fateh Shāh is clear here.
2. Rājā Mānikya Deva was the maternal uncle of Fateh Shāh (ZRRT, II, 108).

2. Refer note (1) above.

3. Here an allusion to a Paurāṇic tale has been made in which ocean is considered to be the bearer of the moon (*Mahābhārata*, *Adi Parva*, chapter XVIII; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, part I, chapter IX).

**VERSE 407: FATEH KHÂN SPENDS SOME YEARS  
AT JULLUNDUR**

काले तात्तार<sup>1</sup> खानेन रक्षितः स गतः स्वयम् ।

जालन्धर महीपीठे निनाय कतिचित् समाः ॥ ४०७ ॥

In course of time he was offered service by Tātār Khān, and having gone to the territory of Jullundur of his own accord spent some years there.

*Note*

1. Refer *ZRRT*, III, notes verses 320-321.

**VERSE 408: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY HAD INDUCED FATEH KHÂN  
FOR COMING TO KASHMIR**

ज्यहाङ्गिरोऽस्य मार्गेशः सैदभीत्या<sup>1</sup> गतो बहिः ।

सोपाधिं व्यसृजल्लेखं<sup>2</sup> धर्तुं पैतामहं पदम् ॥ ४०८ ॥

Jahāngīr Magrey, who for fear of Sayyids had gone outside (Kashmir) sent a letter (to Fateh Shāh) inducing him falsely to take over the throne of his grand father.

*Notes*

1. Refer *ZRRT*, III, 459.

2. Jahāngīr Magrey, a seasoned diplomat has also written one letter to Sultān Hassan Shāh for extorting Sayyids (*ZRRT*, III, 477 etc.).

**VERSE 409**

तत्तारखान प्रमये ततः खानमिमं पुनः ।

सुतो हस्सनखानोऽस्य कञ्चित् कालमपालयत् ॥ ४०९ ॥

Then, after the death of Tātār Khān, his son Hassan Khān retained the services of (Fateh) Khān for some time.

**VERSE 410: FATEH KHÂN IS ON HIS  
WAY TO KASHMIR**

तुरष्कान् वञ्चयित्वाथ विहितोत्साहसाहसः ।

खानोऽमित परीवारः प्रापद् ग्रहण<sup>1</sup> मण्डलम् ॥ ४१० ॥

Giving a slip to the Turks with courage and valour, (Fateh) Khān was on his way to this territory, (Kashmir) plagued by an eclipse, with a sizeable retinue.

*Note*

1. Kashmir at that time was torn with strife, as is obvious from preceding verses. Fateh Khān is compared to a moon by Śrīvara who on coming to this place would not have an easy time.

#### VERSE 411

इतः काश्मीरिका दूता मार्गेशेन विसर्जिताः ।

भृङ्गार<sup>1</sup> सीहेनानीतास्तावद् राजपुरीं प्रति ॥४११॥

By the time messengers were sent to him by (Jahāngīr) Magrey, he (Fateh Khān) was detained at Rajouri by Śṛṅgār Śimha.

*Note*

1. Obviously the ruler of Rajouri (cf. next verse).

#### VERSE 412

ततो राजपुरीनाथो मार्गेश द्वेषनिष्ठितः ।

फताह<sup>1</sup> खानमानिन्ये स्वान्तिकं स्वाश्रयेच्छया ॥४१२॥

The ruler of Rajouri, not seeing eye to eye with (Jahāngīr Magrey) with a desire to provide him shelter, coaxed Fateh Khān into joining his side.

*Note*

1. Herein Śrīvara has given the exact Kashmiri pronunciation of the Persian word Fateh.

#### VERSE 413

जोनराजानक वधात् काश्मीरिभ्यो विनिर्गतैः ।

डामरैषराजानठक्कुरदौलतादिभिः ॥४१३॥

In the wake of the murder of Joṇa Rājānaka, the Dāmaras and Thākurs (under the command) of Īdi Rainā and Daulat and others (respectively) had fled from Kashmir.

#### VERSE 414

तत्रस्थैः<sup>1</sup> शिन्त्रिये खानसारुमधुकैरिव ।

प्रथां निन्ये यथापूर्वं वृष्णेदेवात्मजोऽभवत् ॥४१४॥

And having settled there (at Rajouri) accepted the overlordship of Khān (Fateh), just as a humble bee of a (flower growing) tree (or) in, olden times like the son of Vuppa Deva (of the Lāvanyas) for getting firmly established (on throne).

*Note*

1. The clan of Jona Rainā could no longer stay in Kashmir after his assassination. They had, therefore, sought asylum in Rajouri.

VERSE 415

योन<sup>1</sup> सम्बन्ध बद्धोऽपि मार्गरक्षाधिकारभाक् ।  
मसोदनायकः<sup>2</sup> सोऽपि खान पक्षं समाश्रयत् ॥ ४१५ ॥

Even Masood Nāyak, officer-in-charge of security on the routes, though related to (Jahāngir Magrey) by marriage, defected to the side of (Fateh) Khān.

*Notes*

1. Matrimonial relations and not sexual relations.
2. This caste is even now current among the Muslim population of Kashmir. Kautilya describes Nāyak as incharge of ten villages (*Arthaśāstra*, I, 12). However, Śrīvara has given us the precise office with which Nayaks were associated here in Kashmir. They were security chiefs of the routes connecting Kashmir with outer world.

VERSE 416

दीनो ग्राम्यजनो दुष्टबहु नायक<sup>1</sup> तडितः ।  
तदागमनवार्ता तां क्षते क्षारमिवाविदत् ॥ ४१६ ॥

The helpless village-folk fleeced by multiplicity of officers, took the news of his (Fateh Khān's) coming as, the salt added to the wound.

*Note*

1. The villagers had to suffer the extortion of more than one officers-in-charge of their hamlets. During those days of turmoil too many cooks were there in harness for spoiling the broth. Here Nāyak has been taken in the sense of a village officer by Śrīvara.

VERSE 417: BONDED LABOUR IS PREVALENT  
IN KASHMIR

सापराधर्णिकन्याय प्रेष्यबद्ध<sup>1</sup> सेवकाः ।  
चौर विटा दरिद्राश्च तुलुः खानवार्तया ॥ ४१७ ॥

The culprits and debtors who had been turned into forced labourers and the thieves, the rogues and the have-nots, began to gloat over the tidings of (Fateh) Khān's (arrival) into Kashmir.

*Note*

1. Till Dogra times this institution was current in Kashmir. It was called *Begār*.

#### VERSE 418

ग्रामे वा नगरे वापि त्यक्त गृह कुटुम्बकम् ।  
बद्धाशो राजविषये' न कः अप्र तदतिकम् ॥४१८॥

Everyone, whether in a village or a town, pinning hope in royal prosperity, left his home and family and joined his (Fateh Khān's) side.

*Note*

1. The people thought that Fateh Khān on becoming the Sultān will at least bring order and stability to the state.

#### VERSE 419

तांस्तान् देशाद् विनिर्यातान् खानोऽगृह्णात् समृद्धिमान् ।  
ऐच्छस्तत्प्रतिष्ठः स एषः प्रत्यभियोगिताम् ॥४१९॥

The people of substance and influence, turned out of Kashmir, were accepted by Khān (into his fold) desiring to challenge the Sultān (Mohammad Shāh).

#### VERSE 420

पौत्रः श्रीजैनपतेर्योऽयमिति सर्वतः ।  
त्वक्तवान्यान् सर्वरुष्टेऽस्तमेवारिप्रियञ्जनः ॥४२०॥

This grandson of the illustrious Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn possesses competence (to become the Sultān), with this consideration people from all the territories (on the outer fringes of Kashmir) forsaking their earlier masters sought refuge with him (Fateh Khān).

#### VERSE 421

तद्भार्ता श्रवणात् तुष्टश्चौरचारुन्मास्यताः ।  
तत्कालमुत्सवन्ति स्म मत्स्या इव तद्भाग्याः ॥४२१॥

On having come to know of this event (Fateh Khān's march on

Kashmir) the thieves and others in hiding, began to leap (with joy) there and then, like the fish in a tank.

VERSE 422

न मम महती सेनिकऽरिर्जितोऽस्त्यपरो महान्  
क्षितिरतिबलै रुद्धा भिन्नाः परैश्चरसेवकाः ।  
सर्वतुरगोऽस्वस्थः कोशे न चाधिकृतो हित-  
स्तरुमिव घुणास्तास्तारिचन्तास्तुदन्ति विभुं न कम् ॥४२२॥

I do not possess a formidable army, one enemy I have tamed but the other is very mighty, country has been seized by more strong forces, the enemy has smashed the servants working as spies. That steed of good breed is not in his elements, the royal coffers are not authorised to promote my interests, in this manner every kind of anxiety plagues a sovereign like a tree infected by insects.

VERSE 423

तुष्टो ज्यहङ्गिरो यावत् तत्प्राप्त्या<sup>1</sup> प्रेषितोपधिः ।  
तावत् तन्मतगं<sup>2</sup> ज्ञात्वा सचित्तः समपद्यत ॥४२३॥

For the time being Jahāngīr (Magrey) having sent the false (letter) to him (Fateh Khān) was feeling happy, (but) there and then on knowing his (Fateh Khān's) mind from advancing (towards Kashmir), he became very much vexed.

Notes

1. Fateh Khān did not join Jahāngīr Magrey by staying outside Kashmir. He, instead, raised an army of his own and marched towards Kashmir. Jahāngīr Magrey had thought Fateh Khān would invade Kashmir under his tutelage.

2. The intention of Fateh Khān seems to have been to ignore Jahāngīr Magrey and directly march towards Kashmir. Being thus isolated Jahāngīr Magrey felt very anxious for his future.

VERSE 424

अहितोन्मूलनोद्भूत देशैकविप्रवाप्तितः ।  
सुखेच्छुः प्रत्युत प्रापद् दुःखमुद्भूतविवलवः ॥४२४॥

(Jahāngīr Magrey) desiring to find comfort from uprooting his enemies, and partaking entire opulence of the country, on the contrary became very much apprehensive by this rebellion.

VERSE 425: PEOPLE BECAME APPREHENSIVE ABOUT  
FATEH KHAN'S INVASION

प्रवर्धमानया नित्यं खानागमनवार्तया ।

वेपमानोऽभवल्लोको वात्येय वनावलिः ॥४२५॥

The news of Khān's (home) coming gaining currency every day, made the people tremble (in their shoes), as the gale (makes) the rows of sylvan trees (quiver violently).

VERSE 426: FATEH KHÂN HAD FORMED A GOVERNMENT  
IN EXILE

चाक्रिकश्चतुर्गः खान मन्त्रिणोऽथ<sup>1</sup> जिगीषवः ।

इत्थं लेखाङ्कितं दूतं व्यसृजन् मार्गपं प्रति ॥४२६॥

The clever counsellors of (Fateh) Khān being seasoned diplomats in order to outwit him sent a messenger along with a letter drafted in this manner to Magrey (Jahāngīr).

*Note*

1. It can also connote that Fateh Khān had inducted some men of substance in the council of ministers for running his government in exile (cf, verse 419 supra).

VERSE 427: FATEH KHÂN'S ADVISERS SENT A  
DIPLOMATICALLY WORDED LETTER TO  
JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY

भो भो मार्गपते सर्व सर्व<sup>1</sup> खर्वित विक्रमः ।

काश्मीरान्तः सुपर्वेव भवांश्चर्वितसदृशाः ॥४२७॥

(Magrey), your honour has surpassed the valour of every one: in Kashmir you have accumulated godly fame like a festive occasion.

*Note*

1. V.I. गर्व पर्व for सर्व सर्व (VVR/1, p 220).

VERSE 428

सोऽयं खानस्त्वयानीतो लेखै<sup>1</sup> स्तौरुष्क<sup>2</sup> देशतः ।

उपेक्ष्यते कुलखामी कथं मार्गपतेऽधुना ॥४२८॥

It is you who have brought this (Fateh) Khān here from the land ruled over by Turks through (writing) letters. Why do you now give a cold shoulder to this Lord of our faction?

## Notes

1. Refer verse 408 earlier.
2. That Panjab was under the occupation of the Turks in those days, is the suggestion.

## VERSE 429

स्वयंकृतं कथं कथं पश्चात्तापाय<sup>1</sup> जायते ।  
शिशौ<sup>2</sup> राज्यं परिस्थाप्य भुज्यते मण्डलं परैः ॥४२९॥

How has the deed done by you created repentance consequently?  
Enthroning a child, the aliens are ruling our country.

## Notes

1. Taken this word as a whole it can mean penitence, remorse etc. also.
2. Sayyids are meant here.

## VERSE 430: FATEH KHÂN DEMANDS INHERITED WEALTH ETC.

व्यवहारेचितः शुद्धः सोऽयं किं तिष्ठते बहिः ।  
अथवा पितृभागं<sup>1</sup> चेत् प्रयच्छस्यस्य मण्डलात् ॥४३०॥

Why does he (Fateh Khān) of agreeable and unmaligned demeanour stay out of (Kashmir)? Nevertheless, if his patrimony due to him from the country is made over to him.

## Note

1. Wealth and property by way of inheritance is meant here.

## VERSE 431

बहिरेवास्त्वयं राजाप्ययमस्वन्तरे<sup>1</sup> स्थितः ।  
अथ किं बहुनेक्तेन मान्यो यदि न तेऽस्त्ययम् ॥४३१॥

He (Fateh Khān) will stay outside (Kashmir) and this (Mohammad Shāh) may (continue) to be the Sultān inside. What use is of elaborating this proposal if it does not commend itself to you.

## Note

1. Probably Jahāngir Magrey, a seasoned diplomat, could see through this game of demanding wealth etc. as the patrimony accruing to Fateh Khān. The wealth thus recieved would have been used conveniently for raising an army outside Kashmir, spelling danger for Sultān Mohammad Shāh as well as for Jahāngir Magrey himself.



## VERSE 432

रणोभयबलबधात्' पापं ते परिणस्यति ।  
श्रुत्वेति' लेखं मार्गेशः खानदूतोप दर्शितम् ॥४३२॥

(Otherwise) the sin accruing from the killing of both the armies in the battle, will lie at your door. After having listened to this letter shown by the emissary.

## Notes

1. There is a veiled threat of attack mentioned in this letter.
2. Very highly placed state dignitaries as well as the Sultān had letter readers in their service who would read out such communications to them. These were called *Peshkārs*. Letter-writers had also been employed then who would jot down what was dictated to them. These were designated as *Farmān-Navis*.

## VERSE 433

प्रत्युत्तरमयं पत्रं तस्मै दत्ताञ्जवीदिति ।  
ओ भो यण्डलगोप्तारो योफ्तारो नृपसम्पदाम् ॥४३३॥

He (Jahāngīr Magrey) handed over the letter containing the reply to him (emissary) which read, "O you (so called) defenders of our land, (actually) appropriating the wealth of the Sultāns...

VERSE 434: DIVINE DESCENT OF KINGS  
OF KASHMIR

सर्वथा हितकर्तारः पुण्डोक्तै' विचार्यताम् ।  
कश्मीरं पार्यती तत्र राजा ज्ञेयः शिवांशजः<sup>2</sup> ॥४३४॥

Ponder over this saying contained in (*Nilamata Purāṇa*), which will do you good in every way. Kashmir (personifies) Pārvaṭī, and the king of that place is taken to be the direct descendant of Lord Śiva....

## Notes

1. Reference to *Nilamata Purāṇa* is quite clear here.
2. Śrīvāra has repeated this saying contained in *Nilamata Purāṇa* (verse 314); *Loka Prakāśa* of Kṛṣṇamendra, (p 61, verse 3); Kāhāṇā's *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī* (I, 72) and Jōṇa's *Rāja Tarāṅgiṇī* (verse 134). Herein Jahāngīr Magrey has emphasized the Divine origin of kings of Kashmir which culminates in the Divine Right of Kings.

## VERSE 435: DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

नावज्ञेयः सदुद्योषि विदुषा भूतिमिच्छता ।  
देशेऽस्मिंस्तपसा राज्यं प्राप्यते न पराक्रमैः<sup>1</sup> ॥४३५॥

(So) though being very vile (the king) should not be disrespected by the learned desiring happiness. Kingship in our land is attained by penance and not by valour (of arms).

*Note*

1. This verse is an echo of Kalhana's *Rāja Taranginī*, I, 39, wherein it is stated that the people of this land (Kashmir) can be won over by the force of virtue and not by the force of arms.

#### VERSE 436

अन्यथादम' खानाद्यैः किं नाप्तं स्वक्रमोचितम् ।  
अन्यथाप्येतन्न चिरदौर्गत्यचितं फलम् ॥४३६॥

Otherwise why did not Ādam Khān and others get what was due to them by way of succession. Even then whatever seized by impropriety does not bear fruit for a long time.

*Note*

1. Ādam Khān being the eldest son of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin possessed the credentials to be first in succession.

By 'others' is meant Behrām Khān, the third son of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin and his progeny.

#### VERSE 437: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY BANS THE ENTRY OF ĀDAM KHĀN INTO THE VALLEY

क्रमेण येनायातोऽसौ तं त्यक्त्वा त्वद्वलार्थिनः<sup>1</sup> ।  
सति राज्यस्य विज्जाय<sup>2</sup> प्रवेशो दीयते कथम् ॥४३७॥

Having renounced his title to succession he is advancing (to this place) on the support of your forces, (so) how can he be allowed to enter (the valley) for creating hurdles for the reigning Sultān.

*Notes*

1. The point made by Jahāngīr Magrey here is that Fateh Khān does not press his claim for being the Sultān but depends solely on the strength of the army maintained by his counsellors. Fateh Khān, instead of attacking the country should have negotiated his title for sultānship peacefully.

2. Fateh Khān is bent upon inflicting a war on the reigning Sultān Mohammad Shāh, hence he does not deserve to enter the valley. His advance towards valley needs to be halted.

#### VERSE 438

न मयायं धृतो राज्ये बालोऽप्यन्याभिषेचितः<sup>1</sup> ।  
कः शक्नोत्यधुना हन्तुं मयि सन्निहिते स्थिते ॥४३८॥

It was not me who installed him (Mohammad Shāh) on the throne. Though still in infancy he was anointed as a Sultān by the people other than me. Now being under my tutelage nobody can do him any harm.

*Note*

1. The Sayyids actually made Mohammad Shāh a Sultān when he was only seven years old (ZRRT, IV, 1-3).

VERSE 439: FATEH KHÂN HAD MISSED THE BUS

खानोऽयं सर्वथा पूज्यो यत्तस्मान्तमिच्छति<sup>1</sup>।  
अग्रेसरारुणः<sup>2</sup> सूर्यः पूज्यते ह्रुदयोन्मुखः ॥४३९॥

Had Khân (Fateh) come round to my advice, he would have earned unreserved applause. The rising sun (heralding) pinky dawn in advance deserves propitiation.

*Notes*

1. Refer verse 408 earlier. Actually Jahāngir Magrey had induced Fateh Khân to come over to his help for defeating the Sayyids and thus redeem his claim for Sultānship. That bus was missed by him, and since then Jahāngir Magrey had the Sultān under his tutelage.

2. This word literally means reddish, tawny or ruddy. Mythologically it is taken to be the charioteer of the Sun ie, the Sun keeps अरुणः in the vanguard (*Kumāra Sambhavam*, V, 44, etc.). Had Fateh Khân acted on the advice of Jahāngir Magrey then, the latter would have made the throne safe for him.

VERSE 440

त्रियः कृतञ्जभावाप्ता न सुखाय चिरं नृणाम्।  
भोगा रोगाय देहनामपथ्याशनसंभृताः ॥४४०॥

When opulence attains selfish motives, it will not give comfort to the people for long. Dainty dishes comprising unprescribed dietary eventually afflict the body with disease.

VERSE 441: JAHĀNGIR MAGREY ACCEPTS THE CHALLENGE FROM FATEH KHÂN

किं वान्यत् सैद हस्तस्यो यद्द राजा विमोचितः।  
तद्वत् तद्वत्सगः सोऽयं प्राप्यते तद् विधेर्मतम्<sup>1</sup> ॥४४१॥

Otherwise nothing else is to be added (to this epistle excepting) that the manner in which the Sultān was rescued from the clutches of Sayyids, in that very way he (the Sultān) may fall into your hands—that may be the intended destiny (for him).

## Note

1. Jahāṅgīr Magrey shows readiness for waging counter-offensive against Fateh Khān. He asserts further that Sultān Mohammad Shāh might become captive again under Fateh Khān if the latter is victorious.

VERSE 442: MASOOD NĀYAK IS SACKED BY  
JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY

इतिलेखं विसृज्यैतत्पक्षपातात् क्रुधान्वितः ।  
रथ्याधिकारं जग्राह मसोदस्य<sup>1</sup> ज्यहाक्षिः ॥४४२॥

After having despatched the letter couched in such words, Jahāṅgīr (Magrey) feeling very much incensed with the partisan attitude of Masood, stripped him off his authority over the highways.

## Note

1. Refer verse 415 earlier. Masood Nāyak invested with the authority of providing security on incoming or outgoing routes to Kashmir had defected to the side of Fateh Khān. Here he is represented as the controller of road. *MTW*, p 866 suggests that it also meant one delighting in roads.

VERSE 443: BEHRĀM NĀYAK TAKES OVER FROM  
MĀSOOD NĀYAK

बहाम नायकादीनां दत्त्वा तन्मार्गं रक्षणम् ।  
भृङ्गार राजानकादीन् स्थामायै व्यसृजद् द्रुतम् ॥४४३॥

Having made over the charge to Behrām Nāyak and others he (Jahāṅgīr Magrey) immediately sent Śṛṅgār Rainā for alerting the army.

VERSE 444: FATEH KHĀN ENCAMPS AT HURPOR

अथ खानं पुरस्कृत्य नायकोऽसुखे<sup>1</sup> दायकः ।  
क्रुद्धः पयोऽपहरणात् प्रापच्चूर<sup>2</sup> पुरन्तरम् ॥४४४॥

Keeping Khān (Fateh) in the vanguard, the Nāyak (Masood) feeling very uncomfortable as also exasperated for having lost his way, reached in the midst of Surapura (Hurpor).

## Notes

1. It can also mean (i) a revenue officer in general; (ii) or officer in charge of the watch-station called Dvārapati—the master of the entrance into Kashmir during Hindu period.

2. Refer *KLRT*, III, 227; *ZRRT*, notes I, 32.

VERSE 445: INTERNAL DISORDER IS ENGINEERED BY  
MASOOD NĀYAK

तद्भृत्याः खरा'डोम्बाद्या'स्तद्विसृष्टाः पदे पदे ।  
देशे मडकराज्यान्त'श्चक्रुस्त्विज्रमञ्जसा' ॥ ४४५ ॥

He (Masood Nāyak) sent away his mercenaries comprising Khaṣās and Doms at every step, who instantly indulged in pillage and arson within the territory of Maḍava (Maras).

Notes

1. Refer verse 113 supra.
2. Refer notes verse 169 supra.
3. Refer *KLRT*, II, 15.
4. Internal disorder and anarchy would have facilitated this external aggression by Faṭṭh Khān.

VERSE 446

एकतो नृपतेः सेना काट्य खानस्य नान्यतः ।  
दंष्ट्राद्वयी यमस्येव लक्षिता सर्वपक्षिका ॥ ४४६ ॥

On one side was arrayed the army of the Sultān and on the other the aggressive forces of Khān (Fateh), resembling all consuming pair of jaws of the God of Death.

VERSE 447

प्राक्सैदविप्लवात् खान विप्लवः सोऽधिकोऽभवत्<sup>1</sup> ।  
पाद दाहादिवासङ्गो गलरोगो व्यथावहः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ४४७ ॥

This disturbance (created) by Khān (Fateh) was more intense than the previous (fanned) by Sayyids. Ailment of throat is far more unbearable and pain-giving than a foot-sore.

Notes

1. Śrīvara being an eye-witness to both these disturbances, could very well see that Khān's pressure on Kashmir was more intense than that exerted by Sayyids. The reason for this was that Kashmiris stood like one man against the Sayyids who were treated as foreigners by them. Faṭṭh Khān's invasion made Kashmiris to have divided loyalties, so they could not be united at this time. Hence this aggression possessed an edge over that of the Sayyids in terms of its severity.
2. Throat-trouble is definitely more painful than a foot-sore. The poet has used this simile earlier also.

VERSE 448: ANARCHY IS RIFE THROUGHOUT  
THE COUNTRY

तस्कराक्रान्त पथिको बलवन्निहताबलः ।

अराजक इवानीशो देशः कष्टां दशामगात् ॥४४८॥

Travellers were harassed by robbers, the weak were treated very badly by the strong, (hence) the country was placed in an extremely difficult situation resembling a state of anarchy in the absence of a king.

VERSE 449

जम्पुर्दक्षिणपारादीन्<sup>1</sup> प्रमेयांस्तर्हिगात्रिताः ।

गृहीत्वा गोधनं सर्वं त्यक्त्वा स्ववसतीर्षयात् ॥४४९॥

The people living in the districts lying in the direction of (advancing army), out of fear left their homes taking the entire cattle wealth with them, crossed over to Dakṣiṇapura (Dachhanpura) and other (allied places).

Notes

1. This locality is situated within the district of Maras, on the right bank of river Liddar coming down from Śeṣanāga (STRT, II, p 461). Obviously Khovurpur, situated on the left bank of the Liddar was safe from such ravage.

2. It indicates the direction in which Fateh Khan's troops were advancing.

VERSE 450: BOTH THE ARMIES CONFRONT EACH OTHER  
AT KHURNARVĀV AND ADVIN

खेरी<sup>1</sup> चार्धवनं<sup>2</sup> गष्टं भ्राष्ट्रमग्निशिखेव सा ।

अतापयन्महोष्माक्या प्रविष्टा कटक<sup>3</sup> द्वयी ॥४५०॥

Both the armies letting loose volleys of fire entered the localities known as Kheri (Khovurpur) and Ardhavana (Advin) as if turning these (places) into frying-pans heated by flames.

Notes

1. Presently this place is called *Khur-Narvav* (STRT, II, p 470).

2. It is called Advin at present (STRT, II, p 471).

3. Fateh Khan's and Jāhāngir Magrey's armies confronted each other in these localities.

VERSE 451: ROYAL ARMY ATTACKED DURING  
THE NIGHT

राजसैन्यं समालोच्य प्रसुप्तं चार चक्षुषा ।

एकदा जेरकाद्यास्ते<sup>1</sup> स्वास्वन्दं शिबिरे ददुः ॥४५१॥

After being informed by the spies that the royal army was asleep, Jeraka (Zirak) and other (army officers) attacked their camps, one day.

*Note*

1. Actually the Persian name would be Zirak. He must have been a platoon commander.

#### VERSE 452

प्रजागर<sup>1</sup> चर<sup>2</sup> न्यास शस्त्राध्यासविवर्जितः<sup>3</sup> ।  
सर्वे पशूपमास्त्रासात् विदुः शिबिरान्तरात् ॥४५२॥

Not having kept vigilance, unaccustomed to the institution of spies, as also not being in full gear, the entire royal army fled from the camps like frightened cattle.

*Notes*

1. Literally to be awake during the night. Royal army had not kept any night guards around their camps. Vigilance had been thrown to the winds.

2. Royal army had not employed spies for getting military secrets and other relevant information from Fateh Khān's camp.

3. The army was not fully prepared, hence wanted to save its skin.

4. When one soldier fled all others followed him like sheep.

#### VERSE 453: FATEH KHĀN SOWS DISSENSION AMONGST THE ADCS OF THE COMMANDER OF ROYAL TROOPS

सेनापतेर्निजाः केऽपि युद्धादौ भेदिताः परैः ।  
चक्रुस्तत्कटकं त्यक्त्वा द्रोहं वैरि समाश्रयात् ॥४५३॥

Before the actual fighting, the enemy (Fateh Khān, etc.) had sown dissension among some (officers) very close to the army commander. These having defected from the (royal) army, created mischief with the support of the foes.

#### VERSE 454

राज्यं नश्यति हृष्यति प्रतिदिनं बाह्या खशालीनका  
लोकः क्लिश्यति लुपिठदाह करणैश्चौरः स्वकं पश्यति ।  
सेना भ्रश्यति धीरवीर सहिताप्यन्विष्यति स्वं रिपुः  
काश्मीर प्रभवित्युषु प्रभवति द्वेषात् स्वभेदो यदा ॥४५४॥

Whenever out of malice and dissensions get the upper hand of the Kashmiris in authority, the kingdom is lost, and the hosts of

alien Khashas feel happy. The people become miserable by loot and fire, the thieves are engrossed in (stealing) the belongings. The army though commanded by the cool headed as well as the brave, gets disorganised and the enemy hunts for (grabbing) wealth.

VERSE 455

द्रोण्युस्तानवलोक्यैव सस्तां ज्ञात्वा स्ववाहिनीम् ।  
सेनानीश्चकितः सैन्यात् पलायनपरोऽभवत् ॥ ४५५ ॥

On having seen these treacherous people, as also divining that the army under him had developed cold feet, the commander taken unawares, fled being quite frustrated.

VERSE 456: COMMANDER OF ROYAL ARMY IS KILLED

हतेऽथ विद्रुते तस्मिन् पश्चादेत्य महापटैः ।  
सर्वस्वाप्त्या जहर्षाय खानस्तत् प्रथमं जयात् ॥ ४५६ ॥

While fleeing, he (commander of royal army) was given a chase by dauntless soldiers (of Fateh Khān), and killed: consequently Khān (Fateh) was very glad over getting all that was (in these two localities) as also registering a victory in this first (encounter).

VERSE 457

तुष्क देशाद् यद्बुद्ध्या खानः प्राप्तो निर्गलः ।  
स भागसीहस्तत्पक्षः<sup>1</sup> केनापि प्रचलन् हतः ॥ ४५७ ॥

By dint of whose scheming, (Fateh) Khān had arrived unhindered (in Kashmir), from the land ruled over by the Turks (the Panjab), even that very Bhāgasimha on having deserted his (Fateh Khān's) camp was killed by some one.

*Note*

1. Presumably a Hindu ruler outside the jurisdiction of Kashmir government. He might have been the Raja of Rajouri.

VERSE 458. FATEH KHĀN ENCAMPS AT  
MALLA ŚILĀ

अथमल्लशिलास्थाने<sup>1</sup> तुष्टः खानो जय्यन्मदः  
स्व सैन्य संग्रहं कुर्वन् जिगीषुः शिबिरं व्यधात् ॥ ४५८ ॥

Khān (Fateh) quite relaxed and puffed up with the victory,



collected his forces and encamped at a place (called) Malla Silā for making the final assault.

*Note*

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 1, 115 etc.

VERSE 459: THESE LOCALITIES ARE LOOTED

विक्रालान् भटान् क्षिप्त्वा कराल<sup>1</sup> विषयावनौ ।

मुमुर्षुर्निष्करालम्बान्<sup>2</sup> वास्तव्यन् तस्य शस्त्रिणः ॥४५९॥

His (army) after having defeated the fierce fighters in the territory called Karāla began to loot the destitute inhabitants without any rhyme or reason.

*Notes*

1. This was the ancient name of Khur-Narvav and Advin taken together (STRT, II, p 471).
2. Bereft of any support, destitutes etc.

VERSE 460: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY MARCHES OUT OF CITY  
TO GIVE FIGHT TO FATEH KHĀN

अत्रान्तरे मार्गपतिर्गृहीत्वा<sup>1</sup> बाल भूपतिम् ।

तज्जयाय बलोगुक्तो निर्ययौ नगरन्तरत् ॥४६०॥

In the meanwhile (Jahāngīr) Magrey, taking the child Sultān under his protection, marched out of the city along with his army to defeat (the forces of Fateh Khān).

*Note*

1. Jahāngīr Magrey took the child Sultān under his protection for two reasons:  
a) Sultān Mohammad Shāh was the symbol of the state, hence Jahāngīr Magrey if defeated could announce a government in exile in his name.  
b) Fateh Khān might have harmed the young Sultān Mohammad Shāh. To forestall this, he took him under his personal custody.

VERSE 461

प्राक्सैदकदनाभ्यस्तन्यस्तवस्तुवितुण्डनाः ।

पुण्ड्र गृहस्था<sup>1</sup> चीताः पौरा ग्रामेषु न्यक्षिपन् ॥४६१॥

Previously the city people having had a foretaste of the genocide and wholesale loot of their (household) articles indulged in by the Sayyids transferred their (movable) property to (remote) villages from the city.

## Note

1. It might even connote their wives who for fear of being molested were sent away to far off villages.

## VERSE 462

निकृष्ट वस्तुभारा सा भुषितेव वरङ्गना ।  
अभवद् रज्जरहिता नगरी न गरीयसी ॥४६२॥

The metropolis deprived of all the paraphernalia belonging to the Sultān, lost its grandeur like a courtesan robbed of her beauty (aids and ornaments).

## VERSE 463: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY ENCAMPS AT GUSIKODDĀRA (GUS-VUDDAR)

वैदेशिकटकाटोप कोपोत्करुद्धटः ।  
गुसिकोद्दार<sup>१</sup> भूवाटे पाटवाच्छिबिरं व्यधात् ॥४६३॥

(Jahāngīr Magrey's) hosts of foreign troops yelling out war cries with wrath, very cleverly established their camp at enclosed land at Gusikoddāra (Gus-Vuddar).

## Note

1. This table-land (Vuddār) is just close to Romuh village in Maraz. This *Rāmāśrama* (Sanskrit), *Romuh* (Kashmiri) village is situated midway on the high road from Srinagar to Shopian (KLRT, II, 55, notes).

## VERSE 464: THE SULTĀN IS STATIONED AT 'ROMUH'

संस्थाप्य तत्र भूपालं त्रिधा कृत्वा स्ववाहिनीम् ।  
कल्याणपुरगं<sup>१</sup> श्रुत्वा खाने योद्धुं विनिर्ययौ ॥४६४॥

Having stationed the Sultān there and after dividing his army into three segments, he (Jahāngīr Magrey) having been informed that Khān (Fateh) had proceeded to Kalyāṇapura (Kalampor) marched to give a fight to him.

## Note

1. Kalyāṇapura can be identified with certainty with the present day village of Kalampor, close to the high road leading from Shopiyan to Srinagar (RT, IV, 483 notes).

## VERSE 465: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY CONFRONTS FATEH KHĀN AT KHĀN MARUG

द्रुम<sup>१</sup> ग्रामान्तं सीमान्ते समासन्नोऽधिकार्तधीः ।  
तस्यै खानान्तिकं प्राप्य स खानमरुगान्ते<sup>२</sup> ॥४६५॥

Making the last extremity of Drābha (Drabagām) village as his head-quarters, he (Jahāngir Magrey) after reaching the interior of Khān Marug, confronted Khān (Fateh) with a disturbed mind.

*Notes*

1. Present name of this village is Drābagām, three miles north to Kalampor (STRT, II, pp 275-279).

2. मार्ग represents a pasture land at the foot or on the hills in Kashmiri language. The pasture land or meadow must have been close to Drāva village.

VERSE 466: VAIDURYA BHATTA SENT TO QUELL  
THE CHAKS IN KRAMRAZ

क्रमराज्यस्फुरत्त्राज्यं चक्रवाटदि<sup>1</sup> दुःसहम् ।  
वैदूर्यपटुः पारचात्त्वां जग्राह गिरि पद्मतिम् ॥४६६॥

Vaidurya Bhatta negotiated the impenetrable hilly route leading to the west of Kramraz where the locality (infested) by Chaks was giving trouble by its increasing prowess.

*Note*

1. The place or a locality occupied by the Chaks in Kramraz. Chaks were local fighting tribe there. V.I. चक्रवाट for चक्रवाट VVRI, p 274.

VERSE 467

सः पर्वज<sup>1</sup> प्रतीहारोगक्करज<sup>2</sup> सुतादयः ।  
चतुरङ्गोपमा<sup>3</sup> लीलां क्षणचक्रुः पुरोगताः ॥४६७॥

Parvez Pratihāra in company with Gakka (Gakhar) princes and others comprising the vanguard, indulged in tricky display, the way it is (done), while playing chess.

*Notes*

1. It is actually the Persian name Parvez.

2. Refer ZRRT, II, 148.

3. It can also mean displaying the treat of four divisions of army—infantry, cavalry, chariots and the elephants. In chess also such divisions of army confront each other.

VERSE 468

अयैकतः स्वकाशमीर वैदेशिक बलान्विताः ।  
मसोद नायक सुता योदसुं ब्यूहात् समाययुः ॥४६८॥

From one side Masood Nāyak's sons along with local Kashmiri

and foreign troops, marching in military formations came close in order to give a fight.

VERSE 469

फलकसिंघुरत्पक्षा नदन्तोऽन्तिकमागताः ।

वेहः पङ्क्त्या ष्टास्तत्र हंसा इव नमोन्तरे' ॥ ४६९ ॥

The soldiers marched there (in the battle-field) in formations like the swans flying in rows in the sky, their dazzling shields and swords and shouting (war cries) represented the (two) wings and warbling (of swans) respectively.

Note

1. Herein the soldiers have been compared to swans by the poet—chronicler Śrīvara.

VERSE 470: AHMED THĀKUR'S FORCES ARE  
OUT-FLANKED

यावत् प्रवृत्तो योद्धुं तांस्तावद् वीक्ष्याग्रमागतान् ।

अद्भुतदृक्कुलव्यूहो' निरीहः समपद्यत ॥ ४७० ॥

As soon as Ahmed Thākūr geared himself for giving a fight than seeing them (the foe) overwhelming the vanguard, his formations (of army) were out-flanked.

Note

1. Ahmed Thākūr was obviously leading the advance forces of Fateh Khān.

VERSE 471

बेलाहिकाभुजः केऽपि गर्जन्तो जलदा इव

स्फुरच्छन्नतडिज्ज्वालाः सोऽफाला निर्ययुर्मथे ॥ ४७१ ॥

Some untrained (mercenaries) recruited on daily wages, wielding their dazzling shields and weapons, as if the flash of lightning-yelling loudly like clouds rushed into the battle-field.

VERSE 472

विषमा पङ्क्त्यसंकीर्णा जगद्भुदुर्मार्गं दूषिता ।

तेषामापततां साध्या वासनेन' निजाजिपूः ॥ ४७२ ॥

The uneven battlefield intermingled with mud rendered unfit (for fighting) by natural overgrowth making the terrain difficult for

coming and going, was easily negotiated by the on-rushing (hostiles) like the (backlog of) impressions.

*Note*

1. Man is always guided by his personal ego born of the impressions earned through various births. His psyche is subservient to these impressions and can in no way resist their on-rush, even though very often hazardous.

VERSE 473

वैदेशिक भटान् दृष्ट्वा नटत्खेटक पीटकान् ।  
चटका इव जम्मुस्ते विदूरं पाटयोष्णिताः ॥ ४७३ ॥

Those (mercenaries) having seen the foreign troops making their horses laden with armament, dance, forsaking their rashness withdrew to a great distance like sparrows.

VERSE 474: AHMED THĀKUR'S FORCES FLEE  
FROM THE BATTLE-FIELD

न संस्तम्भयितुं सेनामशक्तं तां पलायिनीम् ।  
अह्लादठक्कुरो दीर्णां सेतुमङ्गानदीमिव ॥ ४७४ ॥

Ahmed Thākur was unable to cry halt to that retreating army, just like (waters of) river with its dykes broken.

VERSE 475

अहमहमिकायातजातधातव्रणार्दिताः ।  
प्राणत्यागेन ते केऽपि चक्रुर्वेतननिष्कृतिम् ॥ ४७५ ॥

Some amongst those (mercenaries) having rushed (to the battle-field) with a desire to gain edge over each other, (but now) hurt with by blows and wounded, paid back their wages in terms of death.

VERSE 476

स्रवच्छोणितं सिक्ताङ्गः शालिक्षेत्रगता शवाः ।  
यागोपहारं पशुतां ययुः कार्षिकं भूमिषु ॥ ४७६ ॥

The dead strewn on the paddy fields, with their limbs soaked with dripping blood, could be taken as the animals offered as an offering to sacrificial fire on the land of farmers.

*Note*

1. Animal sacrifices were common in those days.

## VERSE 477

सेना खानस्य वात्येव सा नैर्ऋतदिगागता ।  
तत्तल्लोक क्षयं चक्रे वेगभग्नघट द्रुमाः ॥४७७॥

The army of Khān (Fateh) like the gale coming from south-westerly direction, uprooting the trees with its (irresistible) velocity, indulged in the destruction of (Jahāngir Magrey's) soldiers.

## VERSE 478

केऽपि काश्मीरिकास्तत्र वैदेशिक भटानले ।  
शस्त्रज्वालावलीदीप्ते जुहुवुः श्रीफलं<sup>1</sup> वपुः ॥४७८॥

Some Kashmiris also made an oblation of their body, like the *bilva* fruit in the fire blazing forth by the rows of flames coming out from the weapons of foreign soldiers.

## Note

1. Literally fruit of *bilva* tree. In sacrificial fires an oblation of this fruit is a must.

## VERSE 479

किं नामोदीरणैस्तेषां दृष्ट्वा व्यूहं समागतम् ।  
तिर्यग्भिरिव पातुं स्वं भीत्या यैर्यैः पलायितम् ॥४७९॥

What use taking the name of those, who on seeing the approaching military formation, took to heels like the frightened birds for saving themselves?

## VERSE 480: AHMED THĀKUR IS KILLED

प्रमेयभाजो<sup>1</sup> मुख्या ये दृष्ट्वा राजसभान्तरे ।  
अदृष्टपूर्वं सन्त्रासं तेऽप्यशस्त्रिवदाययुः<sup>2</sup> ।  
वीरवृत्त्या त्यजन् प्राणान् केवलं<sup>3</sup> श्लाघ्यतामगात् ॥४८०॥

The commissars of the district, the chiefs who would be seen in the Sultān's darbar arrived there (on the front) in great fright as if disarmed. Only he (Ahmed Thākur) embraced death in the tradition of the brave and earned applause.

## Notes

1. Those enjoying the bounties offered by districts, commissars etc.
2. Feeling so much scared they did not dare to wield weapons and give a fight.
3. The sole exception was Ahmed Thākur who fought to the last.

## VERSE 481

तस्य त्रिचतुरास्त्यक्ताप्राणा अनुचरा रणे ।  
दिवं यियासोर्भोगार्थं नभूवुस्ते पुरः सराः ॥४८१॥

His three or four aides getting killed in the battle, formed an advance party for sharing bounties in the heaven.

## VERSE 482

हतावशिष्टान् विद्राव्य ते खानस्य महाप्रताः ।  
निवृत्ता मार्गपत्यग्रे स्वीयभ्रान्त्या समाययुः ॥४८२॥

The overpowering soldiers of Khān (Fateh) having made those who had escaped death run away, (but) while turning back being confused taking that to be their side came in from that of Magrey (Jahāngir).

## VERSE 483

मसोदखानः<sup>१</sup> क्वेत्येवं वदन्तो विजयोद्यताः ।  
वीरा हस्सनमेरुछा ज्ञाता मार्गपतेर्भटैः ॥४८३॥

The soldiers of Magrey (Jahāngir) could divine that these valiant commanders (of Fateh Khān's army) Hassan Mir and others, just at the threshold of victory, would say, where is Masood Khān.

## Note

1. The commander of Magrey's forces is referred to here.

## VERSE 484

पञ्चबास्तस्य सम्बन्धिभृत्यास्ते नौरुजादयः ।  
सगौरभट्टाश्चान्ये<sup>१</sup> च हता मार्गपतेः पुरः ॥४८४॥

His (Magrey's) five relatives and aides Nauroz and others along with Gaur Bhatta and others were killed in front of Magrey (Jahāngir).

## Note

1. He might have occupied some sort of position in the army of Magrey, or he might have been a counsellor.

## VERSE 485

विमुखोऽभूत् कियत्कालं यः स सांमुख्यमाययौ ।  
बालभूभूत्प्रभावेण काश्मीरकटके विधिः ॥४८५॥

The destiny which had frowned over Kashmir army for some time (now), began to smile over it through the superhuman prowess of the child Sultān.

## VERSE 486

मार्गेऽशयायवा स्तुत्यं धैर्यं तस्यात्र संयुगे ।  
सन्नद्धः सबलस्तस्यै जयस्तम्भ इवाचलः ॥४८६॥

Nevertheless, the perseverance of Māgrey (Jahāngir) was praiseworthy in that battle. He was always on his toes, along with his army, like the steady pillar of victory.

## VERSE 487

पदैकमात्रं परचाच्चेदगमिष्यच्च तत्स्यलात् ।  
कश्मीर कटकस्यास्य नावशिष्येत किञ्चन ॥४८७॥

Had he retreated even by a step from that position, nothing would have been left over from his Kashmiri army.

## VERSE 488

भिन्न प्रकृति<sup>1</sup> सन्धान कौशलं श्री ज्यहङ्गिरे ।  
पिबजीव तदा दृष्टं पैबजं सानिपातिके ॥४८८॥

Illustrious Jahāngir (Magrey) displayed his dexterity in leadership, by using diverse methods of warfare, like the physician treating a rheumatic with medicines one after the other.

## Note

1. Jahāngir Magrey employed one device after the other to overcome his enemy, just as physician prescribes one medicine after the other for treating a rheumatic. When one device or medicine fails the second is taken recourse to.

## VERSE 489

प्रागल्भ्यमप्रतिहतं प्रतिष्ठानमोज-  
स्तत्तत्प्रयोग चतुरत्वमसंभ्रमश्च ।  
एतानि यस्य समयेऽप्यतिसङ्कटे सु-  
स्तुष्टेव तं प्रति समेति रणे जयश्रीः ॥४८९॥

He who possesses resolute determination, imagination, and nerve and is proficient enough to make use of these, is not plagued



by agitating perplexity at extremely difficult situations, so much so the goddess of victory as if gratified meets him in the battle.

## VERSE 490

खानोऽस्मत्करमाप्तोऽत्र मिथ्योद्घोष्यात् संयुगे ।  
रणात् प्रचलितान् दूरं युक्त्या सर्वानुपानयत् ॥४९०॥

“Khān (Fateh) has been made captive” by us here—with this false announcement in the battlefield, he (Jahāngīr Magrey) tricked all those who had gone far away from the battle-field, into coming back.

## VERSE 491

मार्गेश मधु<sup>१</sup> सन्निध्ये तद्रणोपवनान्तरे ।  
ते वीर प्रमराश्चेरुः सुनृत्यसरवोद्धताः ॥४९१॥

In the battle-field (as if) a garden, with the honey kept at their disposal by Magrey (Jahāngīr) the heroic bees began to roam with their ever-active wings and boisterous humming.

## Note

1. It seems that Magrey to avoid defection from his army provided all facilities to his mercenaries.

## VERSE 492

अथखानस्य शिबरे गक्काद्या जयदुर्मदाः ।  
नीतावशिष्टां सामग्रीं हत्वाधूरीनलुण्ठयत् ॥४९२॥

Subsequently, Gakhars and others intoxicated irremediably with the victory, killed many and looted all the paraphernalia left over from being taken in Khān's (Fateh) camp.

## VERSE 493: FORCES OF MASOOD NĀYAK DESERT HIM

एभराहिम<sup>१</sup> मार्गेशः सभृत्यः समराग्रगः ।  
मसोद नायक<sup>२</sup> मुखान् विमुखांस्तजैर्व्यधात् ॥४९३॥

Ibrahim Magrey in the company of his aides marching at the head of the battle with his threats, made the forces under the command of Masood Nāyak desert him.

## Notes

1. Refer verse 352 supra.
2. Refer verse 468 supra.

## VERSE 494

अन्ये भृङ्गारसीहाद्या दृष्ट्वा<sup>1</sup> तत्सैन्यमद्भुतम् ।  
भेडावनपथात्<sup>2</sup> तूष्णीं विद्रुताः स्वांभुवं ययुः ॥४९४॥

On having seen that extraordinary army (of Magrey) Śṛṅgār Sinha and others lost no time in fleeing via the forest at Bheḍā (Budhrar) (and thus) repaired to their own land (Rajouri).

## Notes

1. Refer verses 398, 411 supra.
2. These soldiers from Rajouri could have conveniently taken the route home, through the wooded forest at Bheḍāgiri (Buda Brār) which connects Drabagām with the Pir Panchal pass (cf, *STRT*, II, pp 275-79).

## VERSE 495

सर्वे रजपुरीसैन्यं सदैव्यं वेष्टितं भटैः ।  
दत्त्वाभयं ररक्षाजौ गक्को गणपतिर्यथा<sup>1</sup> ॥४९५॥

Entire demoralised army of Rajouri was surrounded by (Kashmiri) soldiers, (but) Gakhar (commander) acting like Lord Gaṇeśa, gave immunity from death and saved them.

## Note

1. Gaṇapati—the son of Lord Śiva and Pārvati is taken to be the remover of impediments (*Vighna-Hartā*) in Hindu mythology. Therefore, he is always invoked at the commencement of an auspicious assignment.

## VERSE 496

त्यक्त्वा सन्नाहसामग्रीं केऽप्येते विद्रुता द्रुतम् ।  
मुषिताः सखशै<sup>1</sup>डोम्बैः<sup>2</sup> पृष्टभग्नाः प्रशान्तयः ॥४९६॥

Some amongst those fled in hot haste having left their armour there, (but) were pursued by Khaśas (Khokhas) and Doombs and looted.

## Notes

1. Refer notes *ZRRT*, IV, 113 etc.
2. Refer notes *ZRRT*, IV, 169 etc.; *JRRT*, V, 952.

## VERSE 497

वृक्षानपि वने जङ्गुरयोऽनुलगन्त्यमी ।  
वैदेशकैर्हृतं यत्तद् ग्रामेषु जनपीडया ।  
काश्मीरिकेभ्यो मुषिता निक्षेपमिव ते ददुः ॥४९७॥

These (troops from Rajouri) would take the trees in the forest for the enemy giving them a chase. Whatever had been robbed from the villages through extortion of the people and that from which Kashmiris had been dispossessed was returned by those by way of a pledged deposit.

## VERSE 498

शीतज्वरार्दिताः केचित् केचिच्छ्रान्ता बुभुक्षया ।  
वैदेशिकारश्च काश्मीरा<sup>1</sup> शत सङ्ख्याः क्षयं ययुः ॥४९८॥

Some were plagued by cold and fever, some died from exhaustion and some from hunger, the aliens and Kashmiris (in this plight) died in hundreds.

## Note

1. Army of Fateh Khān consisted of foreign and local fighters (Refer verse 468 supra).

## VERSE 499

संरूढं कमपि निपातयत्यकाण्डे  
पाताहं नयति च कञ्चनप्ररूढिम् ।  
संकल्पा विषयविचित्रकाकताली-  
वार्योघस्तस्मिन् पुरुषं विधाता ॥४९९॥

Just as violent mass of wind quite suddenly fells down a firmly rooted tree and lifts up that which is about to crumble, in the same way, fate quite unimaginably and unexpectedly ruins a well-established person and lifts the one in tight-jackets.

## VERSE 500

यादृक् सुवासनः खानस्तादृशस्तस्य चेत् भटाः ।  
भवेयुः किं न जायेत<sup>1</sup> किन्तु धर्मानुगो<sup>2</sup> जयः ॥५००॥

Had the soldiers of Khān (Fateh Khān) possessed the same good intentions as he had, that would not have happened. But victory is subservient to virtue.

## Notes

1. What would not have happened, ie, Fateh Khān would have been victorious.
2. An echo of Manu's saying—यतो धर्मः ततो जयः—where there is virtue, victory is sure to come.

VERSE 501: THE FIGHT FOR SUCCESSION LASTS FOR  
ONE YEAR

इत्थं फतेहखानेऽस्मिन् प्राप्ते कश्मीर मण्डलम् ।  
एक वष्टितमे<sup>1</sup> वर्षे परद्वयवर्णान्तरे ॥ ५०१ ॥

In this manner Fateh Khān arrived in Kashmir during 1485 AD in the month of Śrāvaṇa that year having passed.

Note

1. This works out to 1485 AD.

VERSE 502

कटकद्वय संयोगे कल्याणपुर<sup>1</sup> सन्निधौ ।  
अत्रत्यानां च बाह्यानां तत्तल्लोकक्षयोऽभवत् ॥ ५०२ ॥

The two armies confronted each other in the vicinity of Kalyanapura (Kalampor) resulting in the genocide of locals and aliens.

Note

1. Actually the fight took place at Dravagām, quite close to Kalampor on Srinagar-Shopian road (cf, verses 464-465).

VERSE 503

मैत्र<sup>1</sup>क्षरानिसंयोगं मीलापं शनि जीवयोः ।  
मौमान्दं<sup>2</sup> तत्क्षये हेतुं देशे दैवविदो विदुः ॥ ५०३ ॥

Astrologers know very well that when Saturn meets the Pleidas, as also the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter takes place, and more so when the year is presided over by Mars, these are a sufficient cause for spelling doom in the country.

Notes

1. मैत्रक्षी is also called Anurādhā. It is the name of the 17th of the 28 lunar mansions or *nakṣatras* (MW, p 37). It consists of four stars. According to Varāhmihira this kind of conjunction forebodes disaster especially for Kashmir (*Brhata Samhitā*, X, 12).
2. According to Hindu astrology every year is presided over by a planet. This time it was the turn of Mars which again was inauspicious.

VERSE 504

श्रीजैन नृपते राज्ये षड्दर्शन<sup>1</sup> रताः प्रजाः ।  
द्रष्टाः स्व धर्मनिरता<sup>2</sup> निरातङ्का निरीतयः<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५०४ ॥

During the reign of illustrious Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn the people were very fond of (studying) the Six Schools (of Indian philosophy). They were seen to be devoted to their religion, (hence) were not subjected to any tyranny, and disasters maintained a distance from them.

*Notes*

1. These six systems of Indian philosophy are: Sāṅkhya, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Yoga, Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta.

2. Cf. *Bhagvad Gītā*, III, 35.

3. These disasters are also taken to be six: eg. excessive rain, absence of rain, locusts, raids, fire and disease.

VERSE 505

तस्मिन् स्वर्गगते रुक्मिण्यचारोऽत्र मण्डले ।

प्रजापचारल्लोकानां क्षयोऽभूदिति मे मतम् ॥ ५०५ ॥

I am of this strong view that after the Sultān (Zain-ul-'Ābidīn) repaired to heaven, canons of good conduct were thrown to winds in this country, and people indulged in misdeeds which hastened their doom.

*Note*

1. Śrīvara gives his personal opinion as to why Kashmir was plagued by disaster, every now and then during those times.

VERSE 506

तथाहि वणिजः केचित् स्वाचारं हिन्दुकोचितम् ।

त्यक्त्वा पुरन्तरे चकृर्हत्वा गोमांसं भक्षणम् ॥ ५०६ ॥

By way of illustrating this point some grocers renouncing the code of discipline prescribed for Hindus, killed (cows) within the city and ate beef.

VERSE 507

येनैव पितसे याता येन याताः पितामहाः

तद्दर्शनेऽत्र तत्पुत्ररूपते' मौसुलप्रियाः ॥ ५०७ ॥

The progeny of those very fathers and grand-fathers, after having pinned their faith in the scriptures, had departed (from this world), is (now) enamoured of Islam and feel diffident (to call themselves Hindu).

## Note

1. The fathers and grand-fathers had hoped that their progeny would offer them water and food in the form of śrāddhas. But as these children had become Muslims the manes move without food and water.

## VERSE 508

प्रत्यब्दं तिथिकार्याणि<sup>1</sup> पुरणोक्तानि कानिचित्<sup>2</sup> ।  
विस्मृतानि दुराचारात् कथं न स्युर्दुरापदः ॥ ५०८ ॥

On account of abominable conduct they (Hindus) have brushed aside the memory of some rituals to be celebrated during each year on due dates as laid down in the Purāṇas (old texts). So, how could they be free from afflictions?

## Notes

1. The yearly calendar of Hindus called *Pañcāṅga*, indicates each and every ritual with its date on its pages. *Nilamata Purāṇa* gives us a list of such fifty eight rituals.
2. It can also connote *Nilamata Purāṇa*.

## VERSE 509

मण्डलेऽस्मिन् दुराचारश्चातुर्वर्ण्ये विराजते ।  
प्रसङ्गपतिताचारविपर्यासादितोरितम् ॥ ५०९ ॥

Four castes throughout this country practise an unholy conduct with vengeance. (Hence) having fallen from their time honoured practices, everything has become topsyturvy.

VERSE 510: FALSE REPORTS OF SULTĀN HAVING  
BEEN SEIZED BY THE ENEMY SPREAD  
IN KASHMIR CAMP

राजाक्रान्तः<sup>1</sup> परैर्मिथ्यावार्तयेति विसूत्रितः ।  
मार्गेशस्ताजमद्वादीन् घृत्वा स्वशिविरं<sup>2</sup> ययौ ॥ ५१० ॥

“Sultān has been taken possession of by the enemy”, by this false intelligence report, Magrey (Jahāngīr) feeling out of wits, rushed to his camp, after making over the charge to Tāj Bhaṭṭa and his retinue.

## Notes

1. Subsequent verse fortifies the inference that the enemy wanted to gain some time in getting far away from Kashmiri army. Fateh Khān in the same breath wanted to provoke Jahāngīr Magrey, to pursue him for rescuing the Sultān. This kind of strategy was adopted by Fateh Khān for reasons given in verse 512 infra.

2. The Sultān had been kept by Jahāngir Magrey in his camp, so he rushed to that place to check the veracity of such report.

## VERSE 511

पश्चाच्चेदलगिष्यत् स नष्टांस्तान् बल वर्जितान् ।  
न किञ्चिदवशिष्येत खानस्य चलतः पथि ॥ ५११ ॥

Had he (Jahāngir Magrey) pursued those (soldiers) quite demoralised and powerless, nothing would have remained of Khān (Fateh) while fleeing on the highway.

## VERSE 512

मार्गानभिज्ञो मार्गेशः सर्वेऽप्युपयवेतनाः ।  
दायाद दुःस्थितिं लोके कङ्क्षन्तः स्वार्थलिप्सया ।  
प्रैरयत्तद्रणाद् गन्तुं मार्गेशं चाप्यदीदरन् ॥ ५१२ ॥

Magrey (Jahāngir) was not conversant with this route, all his (advisers) were double agents and for their personal ends desired to make it difficult for (Sultān) to inherit his patrimony in this country (Kashmir), so prevailed upon Magrey (Jahāngir) to withdraw from the battle and themselves bolted away also.

## VERSE 513

सनृपं सैन्यमुत्थाप्य ततो जिष्णुर्जयहङ्गिरः ।  
ज्यमालमरुगा<sup>1</sup> स्थानं ययौ स विजयोरजितः ॥ ५१३ ॥

Then victorious and triumphant Jahāngir (Magrey) having taken command of his army along with the Sultān marched to a place called Jyamālamarugā (Jamal Mārg).

## Note

1. This must have been a pasture land on the hills between Shopian and Srinagar.

## VERSE 514

विभ्रमेते<sup>1</sup> मिलिताः खानमिति तेन विसर्जिताः ।  
ददाह ताजभट्टः स ग्रामान्<sup>2</sup> मङ्गल्यनादगान् ॥ ५१४ ॥

Having these (fighting men) gone over to Khān (Fateh) so, forgetting them, Taj Bhaṭṭa set fire to the villages busy in reciting auspicious songs.

## Notes

1. Tāj Bhaṭṭa on hearing the sound of auspicious songs being recited in those villages thought that these villagers had extended hearty welcome to Fateh Khān who was marching ahead of him, and therefore were his collaborators.

2. The mercenaries recruited from these villages were ignored by Tāj Bhaṭṭa.

## VERSE 515

तत्तद्गृहं गृहोऽग्ज्वाला धूमज्वालाकुलं नमः ।  
घनकालोद्भवोद्गीत तडित्प्रोपमां दधौ ॥ ५१५ ॥

Rising flames and smoke from those houses on fire spread over the sky in same way as the blazing lightning and the (dark) clouds at the time of rain.

## VERSE 516

कृतं यद् बाह्यदेशेषु कश्मीरदिजयक्षणे<sup>1</sup> ।  
दाहलुप्यादिकं तद्ददृष्टमत्रैव मण्डले ॥ ५१६ ॥

Whatever arson and loot etc. had been done by Kashmiris while conquering the territories in foreign countries, that very (arson and loot) was witnessed here in this country (Kashmir).

## Note

1. It might refer to the conquest of Sultān Shāhāb-ud-Dīn (1354-1373 AD, JRRT, verses 379-388).

## VERSE 517

अकिञ्चनान् जनान् नग्नान् विज्ञप्त्यै समुपागतान् ।  
अद्यैव जातान् दृष्ट्वा तान् न कोऽप्याछादनं ददौ ॥ ५१७ ॥

On having seen the forlorn and the naked as if born now, approaching to make an entreaty, nobody cared to give them (clothes) to cover (their bodies) even.

## VERSE 518

तत्रत्यास्तदधृतं कुर्यं रुप्यं धेनूः पशून्पि ।  
दृष्ट्वा च स्यात्सकुलारचक्रुर्नन्दमुखरा दिशः ॥ ५१८ ॥

On having observed wholesale plunder of silver and other metallic currency, cows and even the (domesticated) animals, the



people there would heave sighs and make the quarters resound with their wailings.

## VERSE 519

सर्वस्वहरणं यद्वत् कृतमस्मात्स्वहेतुकम् ।  
युष्मास्वपि तथा भूयादचिरेण विरोधिभिः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५१९ ॥

“The manner in which you have taken away all our belongings for no fault of ours, in the same way, you will also be (fleece) by your enemies very soon.”

## Note

1. In this context refer verse 646 *infra*.

## VERSE 520

तत्पापफलमेतेषु त्रिषु<sup>1</sup> तन्मरणक्षणम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
फताहशाहगज्याप्तौ दुष्टं लोकैर्विगर्हितम् ॥ ५२० ॥

For three (days) the consequences of this heinous sin were witnessed by the people at the time of his (Jahāngir Magrey's) death, when Fateh Shāh took over as the Sultān.

## Notes

1. During the turmoil coming in the wake of change in government, the ministers for enlisting the support of the aliens, gave them permission to loot the villages for three days (ZRRT, IV, 645).
2. Refer verse 632 *infra*.

## VERSE 521

उत्पिञ्जोत्पादनाद् देशे मृण्वन्नित्यादि दूषणम् ।  
प्रजापापाद<sup>1</sup>सन्धित्सुः मार्गेशः स न्यवर्तत ॥ ५२१ ॥

Magrey (Jahāngir) being fed with daily reports about the vices born of this rebellion did not wish to interfere with the sins being committed by the people and returned (to capital).

## Note

1. Jahāngir Magrey did not put a stop to these unworthy actions of the people.

## VERSE 522: JAHĀNGIR MAGREY CELEBRATES VICTORY DAY

न नृपो नगरं प्राप्तो विषाय विजयोत्सवम् ।  
उच्चावचान् खानपद्मगतान् सर्वानदण्डयत् ॥ ५२२ ॥

On having arrived in the city and after celebrating the victory, (Jahāngir Magrey) punished all those high or low who had defected to the side of (Fateh) Khān.

## VERSE 523

एकं खानाग्रगं<sup>1</sup> ज्ञात्वा शिष्टं तस्य कुटुम्बकम् ।  
अबाधत न को देहे दुष्टरोग इवोल्बणः ॥ ५२३ ॥

Just on the identification of the senior most bodyguard of (Fateh) Khān, who did not harm the only survivor left behind, like the felling malignancy in the body.

## Note

1. Literally the one who walks in front of an important person, ie, bodyguard.

## VERSE 524

कदाचिद् सुप्रीतो जनयति सुखं सार्वजनिकं  
कदाचिद् वक्रेच्छः सृजति जनतापीतिचकिताम् ।  
फलं नीचं चोच्चं भविषु परिवृत्या विदधतो  
ग्रहस्येवाकाशे गतिरिह विचित्रा बत विधेः ॥ ५२४ ॥

The course of destiny, forsooth, is very intriguing in as much as sometimes feeling very much pleased it showers happiness on everyone. At times with a desire to frown makes the people feel dazed by catastrophies and fright. Being unsteady it ploughs back good or bad returns to the world like a planet in the sky.

## VERSE 525: FATEH KHÂN REMAINS IN HIDING

कंचित्कालं दरत्रस्तः<sup>1</sup> खानखानविर्वर्जितः ।  
ययावकिञ्चित्करतां सावग्रह इवाम्बुदः ॥ ५२५ ॥

For some time remaining in hiding out of fear and not sure of personal safety, Khān (Fateh) was reduced to a very abject condition, like a cloud during drought.

## Note

1. Among other meanings this word connotes a cave, a cavity or a hole. The point made here is that he remained in hiding in a cave.

## VERSE 526

अत्रान्तरे स्थितः खानः स भैरवगलान्तरे<sup>1</sup> ।  
अचिन्तयत् पुनर्देशं प्रवेशं नायकोर्जितः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५२६ ॥

In the meanwhile, Khān (Fateh) staying at Bhairavagalā (Behrām Galla) was encouraged by Nāyak (Masood) and thought of entering Kashmir second time.

Notes

1. At present called *Behrām Galla*—a station on Shopian-Rajoun Road through Tosā Maidān.
2. Refer verse 468 supra.

VERSE 527: FATEH KHĀN MARCHES TO KASHMIR  
SECOND TIME

मासद्वयमतिक्रम्य काश्मीरमिमुखं ततः ।  
आययौ स पुनः खानः सज्जन उद्घटेष्टैः ॥ ५२७ ॥

At the expiry of two months, Khān (Fateh) marched towards Kashmir again with his bodyguards and well-trained fighters.

VERSE 528

तस्मिन् शूरपुरं ग्रन्ते सन्तोऽथ ज्यहङ्गिरः ।  
निर्ययौ नगरात् तूर्णं संपूर्णः सैन्यसम्पदा ॥ ५२८ ॥

On his (Fateh Khān's) reaching Sūrapura (Hurpor) Jahāngir Magrey with full military prowess immediately marched from the city along with the Sultān.

VERSE 529: GAKHARS WITHDREW SUPPORT TO  
JAHĀNGIR MAGREY

प्राग्वत् स गुसिकं स्थाने निषण्णः शिखिरन्तरात् ।  
गक्कं रजसुतं रात्रौ सोऽभृणोद् विद्रुतं द्रुतम् ॥ ५२९ ॥

When he (Jahāngir Magrey) was staying in his camp at a place (called) Gusikā, as he had done previously, he heard that Gakka (Gakhar) prince had instantly fled away during the night.

Notes

1. Refer verse 463 supra.
2. Refer notes verse 463 supra.
3. Obviously Gakhars had withdrawn their support to Jahāngir Magrey.

VERSE 530

आरोहण क्षणे तस्य तुरङ्गस्रासमग्रहीत् ।  
क्षणं स शकुनशोऽपि नातिष्ठनिष्ठुरः कुषा ॥ ५३० ॥

His horse took fright at the moment when he (Jahāṅgīr Magrey) tread to mount it. That dare devil (Magrey) feeling exercised (over this) even though he knew what such portents indicated, did not wait for a minute.

*Note*

1. Refer verse 21 supra.

#### VERSE 531

गृहीत भूरिक्तोऽपि यत्रैव द्रोहितामगात् ।  
कोऽन्यस्तिष्ठति तत्रेति त्रस्तः प्रत्यागतोऽभवत् ॥ ५३१ ॥

“Gratified by a large sum of money, even then he (Gakhar prince) has turned treacherous. No body is there to replace him.” So feeling scared (Jahāṅgīr Magrey) returned (to his camp).

#### VERSE 532

सुलग्ने निर्गतो भूयो मार्गेशः शिविरान्तरात् ।  
उपायांश्चिन्तयाङ्ग्रे खानस्य बलभेदे ॥ ५३२ ॥

Once again (Jahāṅgīr) Magrey marched from his camp, under auspicious conjunction of stars and began to devise means to create dissensions in the Khān's (Fateh) forces.

#### VERSE 533: PRISONS IN THE CITY ARE UNLOCKED

अत्रान्तरे शूरपुराज् जेरकाद्या<sup>१</sup> महाभटाः ।  
प्रविश्य नगरं राज्ञौ बन्धनस्थानमोचयन्<sup>२</sup> ॥ ५३३ ॥

During this interval Jerak (Zeerak) and other valiant soldiers coming down from Śūrapura (Hurpor) entered the city under the cover of night and unlocked the prisoners.

*Notes*

1. Refer verse 399 supra.
2. The inference being that all the prisoners were set free.

#### VERSE 534: SAIF DĀMARA IS ALSO SET FREE

ते सर्वे बन्धनान्मृत्युद्वारादिव विनिर्गताः ।  
सैफ डामर मुखास्ते संप्रापूर्विजयेश्वरम्<sup>१</sup> ॥ ५३४ ॥

Coming out of the prison as if from the threshold of death, Saif

## Wave IV

Dāmara and all other notable persons reached Vijayaśwara (Bijebahara).

*Note*

1. Refer verse 394 supra.

### VERSE 535

स सैफ दामरः पूर्वं बन्धने सज्जयैक्षत ।  
केनाप्येस्य पदद्वन्द्वं छिन्नं राक्षसेन तन्निशि ॥ ५३५ ॥

When in prison Saif Dāmara had had a dream previously in which he saw that some one had cut off his two feet with weapons.

### VERSE 536

वीरस्य बन्धनं ह्यस्य स्फूर्जत्यक्षस्य रक्षणम् ।  
सोष्णः पतितं मेने वह्निर्वस्त्रावगूहनम्<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५३६ ॥

Imprisoning that brave person (Saif Dāmara), with his undaunted arms intact, is just like trying to cover a raging fire with cloth.

*Note*

1. That is, it was an impossible task.

### VERSE 537

तथापि रक्षणं वहेरिव वस्त्रावगूहनम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
जयापीडपुरम्<sup>2</sup> दुर्गात् बन्धनं नगरे कथम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५३७ ॥

Nevertheless, taking him (Saif Dāmara) into custody was to arrest fire by a cloth, otherwise what could have been the reason for bringing him to the city from the castle at Jayāpiḍapura (Anderkot).

*Notes*

1. Śrīvara repeats the simile here for emphasizing the bravery of Saif Dāmara and also substantiates it further. The first line of this śloka is taken to be valediction in the VVR/ edition (cf. p 282 nn).

2. It is the present Anderkot.

3. Saif Dāmara was transferred from the castle at Anderkot to the prison in the capital, the reason being that he was very resourceful, hence needed extra care for keeping him in custody (cf. also verse 542 infra).

## VERSE 538

इत्यपायोप्यपायोऽस्य<sup>1</sup> जातो मार्गपतेर्यतः ।  
एब्राहिमः समागेशस्तावत् पश्चाद्विनिर्गतः ॥ ५३८ ॥

This very danger became a veritable blessing for Magrey (Jahāngīr) since during that breath Ibrāhīm Magrey appearing from the rear...

## Note

1. Zeerāk and others, busy in setting the prisoners including Saif Dāmara free, could not give substantial support to their forces confronting Jahāngīr Magrey. Hence it proved to be blessing for him. He had time enough to kill as many as he could from the camp of Fateh Khān.

## VERSE 539

शशनायक मुख्यानां बहूनां कदनं व्यधात् ।  
ठक्कुराहस्यद जेरक प्रतीहारान्वयादयः ।  
इत्यं तत्साहसं चकुर्लङ्घितक्रोशे षष्टयः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५३९ ॥

...put to sword many prominent commanders including Shams Nāyak. In this manner Thākūr Ahmed Zeerāk, the scions of Pratihāra (Padrus) and others covering a distance of sixty *krośa* (one hundred and twenty miles) exhibited their dare-devilry.

## Note

1. Coming down from Hurpur (cf. 533 earlier) to the city and Anderkot for opening the gates of prisons Thākūr Ahmed etc. had to cover a long distance with their fingers crossed.

*Krośa* is a measure of distance, roughly equal to two miles, or a little over 3 kms. Literally as far as the cry of a cow reaches.

## VERSE 540

विपदि समनुपूय कोऽपि कष्टं  
भवति पदं नृपसम्पदां नितान्तम् ।  
कनकमनलपातघातेमाप्त्वा  
शिरसि विधाति नृपस्य मौलिरूपम् ॥ ५४० ॥

Only after experiencing the difficulties during a misfortune, does one squarely attain an affluent position like that of a king. The gold only after being thrown into the fire, as also receiving hammerings, shines over the head of a sovereign as his crown.

## VERSE 541

कारापञ्जरनिर्मुक्तः पक्षीवाक्षतपक्षतिः ।  
पुनर्जातमिवात्मानममन्यत स डामरः ॥ ५४१ ॥

Having been set free from the prison like cage, as if a bird with his wings unimpaired, that Dāmara (Saif) took it as if it was his second birth.

## VERSE 542: SAIF DĀMARA ESCAPES FROM THE PRISON AT ANDERKOT

पूर्वं जयपुरे दुर्गे योऽभूद् बद्धः सहोदरः<sup>१</sup> ।  
काराप्रकारमुल्लङ्घ्य रज्जुनैकोऽपि निर्गतः ॥ ५४२ ॥

Formerly, when he was a prisoner at Jayapura (Anderkot) fort, the ropes that had bound him, were his uterine brother. These very ropes enabled him to get over the ramparts of the fort and escape.

## Note

1. The ropes, which had bound Saif Dāmara, were like a real brother, his constant companions. It appears that he freed himself and used these very ropes for escaping from the fort.

## VERSE 543: SAIF DĀMARA IS ARRESTED ONCE AGAIN

रुद्धः सुप्तः पुनर्बद्धो नगरे बन्धनालये ।  
निश्चितोऽस्यवधस्तत्र द्विष्टैर्द्वित्रिदिनान्तरे ॥ ५४३ ॥

While asleep he was taken into custody and again bound with ropes in the metropolitan prison by his enemies where his death was certain within two or three days.

## VERSE 544: SAIF DĀMARA MEETS FATEH KHÂN

एवं कष्टात् ततो मुक्तः प्राप्तः खानान्तिकं क्रमात् ।  
प्रधानं पुरषच्छातिं प्रापत् प्रकृतिं मध्यगः<sup>१</sup> ।  
स सैफ डामरस्तत्र यथा संख्यमता स्थितः ॥ ५४४ ॥

In this manner escaping with great difficulty, he (Saif Dāmara) by and by gained access to Khân (Fateh). Possessed with impartial disposition, he attained the fame of the chief advisor getting unreserved recognition there.

## Note

1. Apparently it means 'of impartial disposition' but it can also mean that Saif

Dāmara was a cool calculating person—neither hot-headed nor clay-footed. He had a balanced temperament and knew very well, how to use his opportunities.

## VERSE 545

रामो एवणवञ्चितो यदिगृहानैवागमिष्यद्भनं  
सुग्रीवः स च बालिना हृतपदो नैवापटिष्यदरुषा ।  
लङ्कानं प्राप्य रिपुन् निहत्य समरे जेताभविष्यत् कथं  
संयोगं सुखदुःखयोःप्रतनुते धातैव भूत्यैर्द्वयोः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५४५ ॥

Had not Rāma left his home for the forest, he would not have been cheated (of Sītā) by Rāvaṇa. (However) it acted as a motivating force for the deposed Sugriva to fight Bālī with vengeance. How could have Rāma earned the distinction of being a conqueror, if he had not crossed over to Laṅkā and killed the enemies in the battle. The conjunction of pleasure and pain, is dispersed by the creator for the (ultimate) good.

## Note

1. This verse contains references to characters from the *Rāmāyaṇa* which are quite well-known.

## VERSE 546

राज्यार्थी विच्युतो देशात् खानो वीरपिलम्पटः ।  
डामरो मार्गपक्रुद्धः सर्वनाशात् पदच्युतः ॥ ५४६ ॥

Khān (Fateh) having become wayward through his association with brave but greedy fighters, though desiring Sultānship, was driven out of the country. And Saif Dāmara under the wrath of Magrey (Jahāngīr) was robbed of all he possessed as also removed from his post.

## VERSE 547

एवमन्योन्य सापेक्षं<sup>1</sup> नाभविष्यत् स्वयं यदि ।  
प्रविश्य देशे राज्याप्तिः कथमस्य भविष्यति ॥ ५४७ ॥

In this way, if personal rivalries would not have weighed with them (Kashmiris), how could have (Fateh Khān) found access to the country and attained sultānship.

## Note

1. Reference here is to the rivalry between Jahāngīr Magrey and Saif Dāmara. Kashmiris could not bury the hatchet at any cost.



## VERSE 548

एज विष्पति बहुवीरसमाश्रयेण  
 वीरा भजन्ति च तदाश्रयणेन शोभम् ।  
 अन्योन्य संगतिरपक्व पङ्क्तिरेव  
 नालाङ्गना कनकपूषणवद् विष्पति' ॥ ५४८ ॥

A king attains eminence by the active help of more than one brave people. The valiant also earn excellence by his patronage. Their steadfast and unmitigated association with each other ploughs back rich dividends to them, like the gold ornaments (adorning) a young lady.

## Note

1. The two are complementary. The king without brave warriors, does not shine, nor does a brave fighter without a king. The simile of ornaments and a young lady is most appropriate, because a young lady without ornaments does not attract attention; nor do the ornaments look nice without a young lady.

## VERSE 549

तेन प्राप्तेन सा खानसमा तत्र व्यरजत ।  
 मुक्तालतेषाङ्गनाङ्गे नयकेन शुभात्मना ॥ ५४९ ॥

(The war) council of (Fateh) Khān attained prominence by his (Saif Dāmara's) joining it, like the pearl necklace on the body of a maiden with shining gem-pendant in it.

VERSE 550: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY SENDS SHEIKH WAHĀB  
 FOR NEGOTIATING TREATY WITH  
 FATEH KHĀN

अत्रान्तरे मार्गपतिश्चकितास्तत्समागमात् ।  
 सन्धित्सुः शिखबाहाबमुखात् खानं व्यसर्जयत् ॥ ५५० ॥

By that time, Magrey (Jahāngir) getting dazed by his (Saif Dāmara's) collusion (with Fateh Khān), sent some prominent people under the leadership of Sheikh Wahāb for negotiating a treaty.

VERSE 551: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY TAKES RECOURSE TO  
 DIPLOMATIC EXPEDIENCY

एषराजानको रिग डामरः केशवो' बुधः ।  
 राजाग्रमेत्य सन्ध्यर्थं निन्यू राजपुण्यपतिम् ॥ ५५१ ॥

Īdi Rājānaka (Rainā), Rig Dāmara, and versatile Keśava took

the Rājā of Rājpurī (Rajouri) with them for negotiating peace with the would be Sultān (Fateh Khān).

*Note*

1. It might mean a Buddhist even.

VERSE 552: RĀJĀ OF RAJOURI GOES OVER TO  
JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY

तावद् गदायरावुत्र मुखादाश्वास्य मार्गपः ।

भुङ्क्तरसीह<sup>1</sup> तं भेदमनयद्<sup>2</sup> द्रविणार्पणैः ॥ ५५२ ॥

Till that time (Jahāngīr) Magrey sending assurances and huge sums of money through Gadā Rāwat had won over Śṛṅgāra Siṃha to his side.

*Notes*

1. The name of the Rājā of Rājoun who was patronizing Fateh Khān at that time.
2. Jahāngīr Magrey used statecraft to win over Rājā of Rājoun from Fateh Khān.

VERSE 553

नीत्वामार्गपतेः पुत्रं सन्धित्सुः सबलद्वयम् ।

न्यवारयद् रणक्षोभं यावद् राजपुरीपतिः ॥ ५५३ ॥

As soon as the Rājā of Rajouri, in the company of (Jahāngīr) Magrey's son was negotiating peace for avoiding confrontation between the two armies...

VERSE 554 RĀJĀ OF RAJOURI IS SUSPECTED OF TREACHERY

तावन्मार्गेशपुत्रं तं रोद्धुमन्यैर्विनिश्चितम् ।

नामन्यत सयत्नेन साशङ्का<sup>1</sup> मन्त्रिणोऽभवन् ॥ ५५४ ॥

...then the enemies decided to take the son of (Jahāngīr) Magrey into their custody, with which he (Rājā of Rajouri) did not concur; hence the advisors (on the war council) became apprehensive.

*Note*

- 1 The advisors of Fateh Khān could smell a rat and without the active participation of Rājā of Rajoun in war their chances of victory would have been bleak.

VERSE 555

यावत् प्रजासु सनृपासु विधिर्विरुद्धो

दायाददुःस्थितिरूपायशतैर्न याति ।

देहे दुराधिनिहते भिषजां प्रयुक्त्या

रोगाः कथं प्रविगलन्ति कृताधिकाराः ॥ ५५५ ॥

All along as destiny is adverse towards the people and their ruler, the share of their patrimony having run into trouble cannot be reclaimed despite hundreds of devices. How can the body afflicted completely by mental malignancy though treated with medicines be relieved of the chronic diseases?

VERSE 556: FATEH KHÂN'S FORCES

<sup>1</sup> FEEL DEMORALIZED

खानात्तरैरुशिपो मिनने राजपुरीपतौ ।

अकस्मादुदभूत् क्षोभः सर्वसैन्य भयावहः ॥ ५५६ ॥

The inner circle of Khân (Fateh) on having upbraided and alienated the Rājā of Rajouri, there arose suddenly a (wave of) terrorising dismay from amongst the entire ranks.

VERSE 557: FATEH KHÂN BEATS A RETREAT

गवकभृङ्गारसीहाद्यास्ता राजपुरी ययुः ।

खानोऽपि सबलो भीतो ययौ प्राम्बत् यथागतम् ॥ ५५७ ॥

The Gakhars and Śṛṅgāra Siṃha quite frightened returned to Rājouri. Khân (Fateh) along with his forces feeling scared, went away too in the same way as he had come previously.

*Note*

1. He went back to Behrām Galla from where he had come to Śurapura (cf. verse 526 supra).

VERSE 558: ZEERĀK AND OTHERS NEGOTIATE PEACE  
WITH JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY

केचिज् जेरक मेरद्दाः प्रापुर्मर्गिशसन्निधौ ।

ज्यल्लाल ठक्कुरप्रेम्णा<sup>1</sup> कृतमाध्यस्थ्य संविदः ॥ ५५८ ॥

Some Mīrs, Zeerāk and others out of love for Jalāl Thākur, approached Magrey (Jahāngīr) with the intention of initiating negotiations with him.

*Note*

1. These Mīrs wanted to get Jalāl Thākur released from the custody of Jahāngīr Magrey (ZRRT, IV, 395).

VERSE 559

एवं क्षोभेन सा सेना खानस्याङ्गतरङ्गिता<sup>1</sup> ।  
ययौ सहस्रधा दीर्णा सेतुभङ्गादिवापगा ॥ ५५९ ॥

Thus that very well groomed army of Khān (Fateh), with its (various) branches, getting out of gear was rent into thousands of billows like a river, the dykes of which give way.

Note

1. Usually the four divisions of an army.

VERSE 560: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY TURNS DOWN THE PROPOSAL OF NEGOTIATING PEACE

अथ मार्गपतिः श्रुत्वा तद्वृत्तान्तमनुद्रुतः<sup>1</sup> ।  
ययुत्सया ससैन्यः स प्रापच्छुरपुरान्तरम् ॥ ५६० ॥

Then Magrey (Jahāngīr) having lent ear to that plea (but) with a desire to give fight and pursue (Fateh Khān's troops), camped in the interior of Surapura along with his army.

Note

1. The plea that peace be negotiated and Jalāl Thākūr be released.

VERSE 561: KAMRAZ IS OCCUPIED BY GILGIT ARMY

तत्र दूतमुखाच्चुत्वा क्रमराज्यमुपद्रवम् ।  
राहिभङ्ग<sup>1</sup> बलप्राप्त्या चिन्ताद्वैगुण्यमादधे<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५६१ ॥

There (at Hurpur) having been informed about the rebellion in Kramarāj (Kamraz) by an emissary, and its occupation by the army of Gilgit, (Jahāngīr Magrey) was plagued with two-fold anxiety.

Notes

1. Refer notes ZRRT, III, 114.
2. The first anxiety was to quell the rebellion and the second to get the aggression by Gilgit-army vacated.

VERSE 562: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY IMPRISONS NAUROZ KHAN

निवृत्य स ततो राज्ञः प्राप्तः सूयपुणन्तरम् ।  
बबन्ध नीरुजं खानं युक्त्या यत् साधु तद् व्यधात् ॥ ५६२ ॥

Having returned from there (Hurpur) he (Jahāngīr Magrey) along with the Sultān reached Sūyapura (Sopore) and took Nauroz

Khān into custody through trickery, and did all that was in the best interests (of state).

VERSE 563

स<sup>1</sup> हि तद्विसे प्राप्स्येन्पुणञ् श्रीनगरं<sup>2</sup> विटैः<sup>3</sup> ।

किन्तु तत्त्वङ्गितं कुरं न सिद्धं पौरपुण्यतः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ५६३ ॥

He (Nauroz) had reached Srinagar on the day (fixed) for loot by the (professional) rogues but this desire of his did not click due to the good luck of the city dwellers.

Notes

1. Nauroz Khān is meant here.
2. The V. I. at VVRI, p 286 is श्रीनगरं. It is highly doubtful if the poet refers to Srinagar in this verse.
3. Nauroz was banking on internal disorder in the city and so had taken rogues into his confidence for looting the people.
4. The people escaped this carnage through their own good luck. Inference being that machinery for maintaining law and order had not broken down in the city.

VERSE 564

सोऽपेक्ष्य मार्गपं तत्र दौकितं क्रम एज्यतः ।

पदार्थराशौ दत्ताग्निं तद्गुणं भस्मसाद् व्यधात् ॥ ५६४ ॥

Expecting (Jahāngir) Magrey there (at Kamraz), he (Nauroz) burnt down all the piles of articles looted from Kamraz reducing these to ashes out of spite for him.

Note

1. Nauroz did not like that his booty be appropriated by Jahāngir Magrey, hence put it to fire.

The poet is not very clear here. It appears that some *ślokas* are missing.

VERSE 565

अन्यायतः प्रतिदिनं समुपार्ज्य वित्तं

यद्दानं भोगं रहितं निहितं गुह्यतः ।

तत् संप्रयाति कृपणेषु कृतानुतापं

भूपालसादनलसादरिदस्युसाच्च ॥ ५६५ ॥

The riches earned under duress every day, and without being given in charity or used for personal enjoyment, hoarded underground are either confiscated by the king, or gets consumed

in a fire, or are taken away by the foes and robbers causing untold pain to a miser.

## VERSE 566

ततस्तत्सहितः<sup>1</sup> प्राप्तो नगरं स ज्यहङ्गिरः ।  
जयेन तावन्मात्रेण<sup>2</sup> नगरे स व्यजृम्भत<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५६६ ॥

Thereafter, taking (Nauroz) with him Jahāngīr Magrey reached the metropolis and with that much victory displayed (gratification) on seeing the city (quite in peace).

## Notes

1. This refers to Nauroz Khān.
2. Jahāngīr Magrey, took the arrest of Nauroz as a big achievement for himself.
3. The city being very peaceful, it pleased Jahāngīr Magrey all the more.

## VERSE 567

सैदान् निष्कासितान् देशात्<sup>1</sup> स्वपुत्रवधकनपि<sup>2</sup> ।  
लेखैरनाय<sup>3</sup> यामास सोपयोग्यतया स तान् ॥ ५६७ ॥

He (Jahāngīr Magrey) recalled the Sayyids, (who had been) externed from the country, despite their being the killers of his own son through letters, because of their usefulness (at this hour).

## Notes

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, 345 supra.
2. Refer ZRRT, IV, 177 supra.
3. Invitation to the Sayyids for coming to Kashmir was conveyed through letters. Ahmed Yattu had done the same thing earlier but at that time Jahāngīr Magrey was opposed to it (cf, ZRRT, III, 332, 336, 477).

## VERSE 568: FATEH KHĀN OCCUPIES JAMMU

तदन्तरे जम्भवाटे वसन् खानो बलोजितः ।  
मृगानिख हरिस्तत्र विदधे दुर्दशान् खशान् ॥ ५६८ ॥

During this interval, Khān (Fateh) who had been brought up in Jammu, collected an army and made meat of Khaśas just as a lion does that of the deer.

## VERSE 569

सप्तविंशति<sup>1</sup> संख्यान् स कश्मीर विषयान् यथा ।  
तावतीःसिन्धुरीस्तात्र<sup>2</sup> व्ययाद् दुःस्थः पराक्रमैः ॥ ५६९ ॥

He (Fateh Khān) made that very number of elephants uncomfortable with his valour, as he had done with regard to twenty-seven districts of Kāshmir.

*Notes*

1. Vide *Loka Prakāśa* of Ksemendra, page 60, wherein Kashmir is said to have been divided into twenty-seven districts.
2. Kashmiris never used elephants in war, but Jammu people did.

VERSE 570: JAMMU IS LOOTED

सार्धं मल्हान<sup>1</sup> हंसैस्तत्कटकः सुभटोत्कटः ।  
मद्रमण्डलमुल्लुण्ढ्य<sup>2</sup> तुरष्कं<sup>3</sup> रेचकितान् व्यधात् ॥ ५७० ॥

His (Fateh Khān's) impregnable forces composed of seasoned warriors with the collusion of Malhān (Rajputs) of Solar race, looted the entire periphery of Jammu making the Turks quite amazed.

*Notes*

1. Herein Malhān denotes a particular clan of Rajputs belonging to Solar race (cf, *KLRT*, VIII, 1084).
2. V.I. मुल्लुण्ढ्य for मुल्लुण्ढ्य (*VVRI*, p 287).
3. Turks who had occupied the Panjab (*ZRRT*, IV, 407) with Jullundur as the seat of their government.

VERSE 571

स मद्रमण्डलं जित्वा दत्त्वा राजपुरीपतेः ।  
जिष्णुरचैत्रे पुनः प्राप तद्युतो नायकालयम्<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५७१ ॥

He (Fateh Khān) after having conquered Jammu gave it over to the Rājā of Rajouri. Once again that conqueror (Fateh Khān) accompanied by him (Rājā of Rajouri) called at the residence of Nāyak (Masood).

*Note*

1. Cf, verse 493 supra.

VERSE 572

गृहं दैवतवत् प्राप्तं खानं ते मानयन् गुणैः ।  
मसोद नायकोऽमुष्मिन्नभवद् भक्तिं खण्डितः ॥ ५७२ ॥

Having come to his house like a divinity, Masood Nāyak with

undivided devotion gave him (Fateh Khān) all respect for his qualities (of head and heart).

VERSE 573

सागरस्त्यजति चेद् निजां स्थितिं  
पश्चिमोदयमुपैति चेद्भविः ।  
क्षत्रियः<sup>1</sup> शरणमागतोऽर्थिनी  
प्रायशश्चलति न स्वधर्मतः ॥ ५७३ ॥

Even if ocean does not remain within its bounds, and the Sun rises from the west, still the Kṣatriyas more often than not do not waver from their duty towards a supplicant having sought their refuge.

*Note*

1. Even though Masood was Muslim, he talks of the Kṣatriyas. May be Masūd Nāyak belonged to Kṣatriya clan before he was converted and so could not forget his Kṣatriya past.

VERSE 574: FATEH KHĀN INITIATES GUERRILLA WARFARE

स सैन्यसंग्रहं कृत्वा छयिल्लकटकावितः ।  
तस्यै खानो गिरिशुक्ले वैरिभङ्गविधित्तया<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५७४ ॥

He (Fateh Khān) having collected his fighting men, in the company of the army from Chhiyalla (Chida), who camped on the top of the mountain, for disrupting the ranks of his enemies.

*Note*

1. Actually Fateh Khān initiated the guerrilla warfare. Stationed at a considerable height, he could very conveniently snipe at the forces of Jahāngir Magrey while on march to face his armies.

VERSE 575

रोगैरिवभट्टैर्ध्वस्तसमस्तगृहवस्तुभिः ।  
वास्तव्यानां स्थितिर्दुःस्था गेहे देहे यथाभवत् ॥ ५७५ ॥

The soldiers destroying all their house-hold articles of the inhabitants, made them very miserable, like a disease (invading) the body.



## VERSE 576

अत्रान्तरे बन्धनान्तर्गतं पृष्ठकवाटितम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
भीतो व्यापादयामास जेरकं नगरेऽध्वपः ॥ ५७६ ॥

In the meantime, Magrey (Jahāngir) getting out of wits, got Zeerāk (who) was in prison and had his back fastened to the door-panels, killed.

*Note*

1 A kind of rigorous punishment, till recently in vogue in Kashmir. It may be termed as a third-degree punishment as well.

VERSE 577 ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY DOES NOT  
CO-OPERATE WITH JAHĀNGIR  
MAGREY

तच्छ्रुत्वा राजलोकश्च<sup>1</sup> सर्व एव विरगभाक् ।  
आश्वासघातकत्वेन दुरुक्तिं मुखरोऽभवत् ॥ ५७७ ॥

Having got wind of this, the entire administrative machinery, became disenchanted with him and also condemned him (Jahāngir Magrey) with loud abuses for having belied the confidence they had reposed in him.

*Note*

1. The people manning the government, is the literal translation.

## VERSE 578

ज्येष्ठे मासि श्रुतानिष्ठो मार्गेशः कष्टनिष्ठितः ।  
अतिष्ठत् सन्तपो मत्तशिलापृष्ठेऽतिनिष्ठुरः<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५७८ ॥

During the month of Jyēṣṭha, callous Magrey (Jahāngir) having heard about (his) misfortune, biting the dust stayed along with the Sultān atop Mallaśilā.

*Note*

1. Refer notes ZRRT, I, 115 etc. Jahāngir Magrey wanted to block the passage through Toṣa Maidan.

## VERSE 579

द्रक्ष<sup>1</sup> मार्गनिरोधेन सर्वोऽप्युपयवेतनः ।  
जनो बलद्वयं गन्तुं निराशः समपद्यत ॥ ५७९ ॥

All the mercenaries in the pay of both (sides) felt disappointed

to reach the two armies when the route through the mountain pass was blocked.

*Note*

1. It is a synonym of *Dhakkā* or *Dvāra*, an entrance. Every such route in a mountain pass has a watch-station built there for collecting the excise duty as also keeping an eye on incoming or outgoing traffic (consult also *STRT*, notes V, 39).

VERSE 580: SALT SCARCITY IN THE COUNTRY

विशां निर्लवणं<sup>1</sup> भोज्यमशनतामत्र मण्डले ।  
मार्गेशव्यञ्जनं<sup>2</sup> नाम श्रुतं हास्यावहं न कैः ॥ ५८० ॥

Who has not heard about the sauce called Magrey provoking laughter amongst the people taking food without salt in this country.

*Notes*

1. Salt being an imported commodity in Kashmir, could not be brought here when the mountain route through which it used to come was blocked by Jahāngir Magrey.

2. A sauce without salt was nicknamed Magrey. Sauce, after him, who was actually responsible for this.

VERSE 581: EIGHT TOLĀS OF SALT SOLD  
FOR DĪNNĀRAS

सार्धे पले<sup>1</sup> सैन्धवस्य क्रयोऽभून्नगरान्तरे ।  
दीनारं<sup>2</sup> पञ्चविंशत्या दुरापं नागरैरपि ॥ ५८१ ॥

When the price of ninety-six *māshās* of salt rose to twenty-five *dinnāras* the city-people could not even afford to buy it.

*Notes*

1. A *pala* is equal to four *kārshas*. *Kārsha* is a weight equivalent to 16 *māshās*. Hence one and a half *pala* would amount to 96 *māshās* or eight *tolās*.

2. The lowest denomination of the currency in vogue then in Kashmir (cf. *STRT*, II, p 322). Apparently it was a copper coin.

VERSE 582: FATEH KHĀN DESIRES TO COME TO  
KASHMIR IN 1486 AD

द्वाषष्टितमवर्षेऽपि<sup>1</sup> काश्मीरागमनोत्सुकम् ।  
खानं श्रुत्वा मार्गपतिनीतिकौटिल्यमादधौ<sup>2</sup> ॥ ५८२ ॥

During the sixty-second year of local calendar (1486 AD), having been informed that Khān (Fateh) was eager to come to Kashmir, Magrey (Jahāngir) employed a crafty policy (towards him).

## Notes

1. It is a local or Saptarsi year 4562 equivalent to 1486 AD. Earlier, Fateh Khān invaded Kashmir in 1485 AD. So, he repeated the attack on Kashmir after a lapse of one year only (cf, verse 50 earlier).

2. It might also connote the policy enunciated by Kauṭilya for dealing with such exigencies.

**VERSE 583: MĪR SIKANDAR KHĀN IS MADE  
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF**

दौहित्रं हाजियखानस्य खान' मीर स्कन्दराभिधम् ।  
कम्पनाधिपतिं कृत्वा स्थाप्य स व्यसर्जयत् ॥ ५८३ ॥

Elevating Mīr Sikandar Khān, the grandson (daughter's son) of Hājī Khān to the position of commander-in-chief, he (Jahāngir Magrey) commissioned him to confront the enemy.

## Note

1. It might even refer to Prince Hājī Khān (Sultān Haidar Shāh), the paternal uncle of Fateh Khān.

**VERSE 584: MASOOD NĀYAK IS MADE A COMMANDER**

मसोदनायकीयं च राष्ट्रं दत्त्वा स्वगुप्तये ।  
यशश' राजानकं चापि स सैन्यं प्रत्यमुच्यत ॥ ५८४ ॥

For his safety (Jahāngir Magrey) made Masood Nāyak a commissar and despatched Yashsha Rājānaka (Rainā) too to the front along with his forces.

## Note

1. It might be Sanskrit form of *Ishā*, which would be commissar.

**VERSE 585: FATEH KHĀN MARCHES FROM RAJOURI**

समं देशसुखेनाथ प्रालेये तनुतां गते ।  
स्व सैन्य सहितः खानो राजपुर्याः समाययौ ॥ ५८५ ॥

The snow having melted away and the terrain having become usable, the Khān (Fateh) with his army marched from Rajouri.

**VERSE 586: FATEH KHĀN REACHES 'BEHRĀM GALLA'**

प्राप्तं खानं समाकर्ण्य तं भैरवगलान्तरे ।  
मार्गं शूरपुरे रोदधुं मार्गेशः सन्पो ययौ ॥ ५८६ ॥

Having heard that Khān (Fateh) had reached Bhairavagala (Behrām Galla), Magrey (Jahāngir) in the company of the Sultan encamped at Śūrapura (Hurpur) to thwart his (Fateh Khān's) further advance.

VERSE 587: DEMORALISED BY THE HUGE  
ARMY

प्रवेशरोषः खानस्य तदूर्ध्वं गल'वर्तिनः ।

राहु<sup>2</sup> देहेऽमृतस्येव<sup>3</sup> देशेऽभूच्चक्रभीतिः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ५८७ ॥

The advance of Khān (Fateh) stationed on the higher slopes of Gala (Bhairava). was stopped, just as the nectar could not go down the throat of Rāhu, out of the fear of the disc (of Viṣṇu).

Notes

The words गल and चक्र used here can be interpreted in two ways in accordance with their respective context:

1. गल—in respect of Fateh Khān is Bhairava Gala and in respect of Rāhu it is his throat.
2. Refer notes on ZRJT, IV, 370.
3. This has reference to Puranic tale of churning the ocean (*samudra manihana*) and nectar coming out of it.
4. चक्र is army so far as Fateh Khān is concerned, while it is the disc (a weapon) of Viṣṇu, so far as Rāhu is concerned.

VERSE 588

पशुपादिष्टमार्गेण<sup>1</sup> परुद्धच्छ्रवणान्तरे<sup>2</sup> ।

ततोऽगाद् गिरिमुल्लङ्घ्य'खानः काच' गलान्तरात् ॥ ५८८ ॥

From that place (Bhairava Gala) Khān (Fateh) negotiating a bridle-path, just like during the month of Śrāvaṇa of the previous year, crossed the mountain and encamped in the interior of Kācagala.

Notes

1. Literally the path made by the hoots of the animals. It seems that Fateh Khān made a detour from Bhairava Gala and instead of coming direct to Śūrapura, the road which was blocked and made use of another route through Kāca Gala, to force his entry into Kashmir.
2. Refer verse 501 *supra*.
3. Pir-Panchal range is meant here.
4. This place called Kācha Gulmarg at present is stationed on the northern slope of Pir Panchal.

## VERSE 589

ताजभट्टादिसैन्यौघो गुसिकोड्डार<sup>1</sup> भूतले ।  
क्षुब्धं वायुरिवागत्य<sup>2</sup> चक्रे खानवलार्णवम्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ५८९ ॥

The fighting hordes of Tāj Bhaṭṭa and others on the plains of Gusika Uddār, coming like the gale, threw the ocean-like forces of Khān (Fateh) into confusion.

## Notes

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, 461.
2. The ferocious wind blowing over Pir Panchal is referred to here
3. Actually the army of Fateh Khān was agitated like the wind throwing the surface of ocean into confusion.

## VERSE 590

ध्वनिदुन्दुभिनादेन<sup>1</sup> तर्जयन् परितो जनान् ।  
खानःसकटको<sup>2</sup> भीत्या नगरं<sup>3</sup> व्याकुलं कृतम् ॥ ५९० ॥

Accompanied by his force Khān (Fateh) threatening people all around with the beats of war drums made the people anxious with fear.

## Notes

1. Forces of Fateh Khān heralded his advance with beating war drums. The inference being that these had eventually succeeded in overpowering the hordes of Tāj Bhaṭṭa.
2. The demoralised forces of Fateh Khān were now again on their toes.
3. Fateh Khān had side-tracked Jahāngir Magrey and had come down from Pir Panchal via Gusika Uddār bypassing Hurpur.

## VERSE 591: FATEH KHĀN GIVES A SURPRISE TO JAHĀNGIR MAGREY

उड्डीयेवागतं श्रुत्वा साश्चर्यो मार्गपस्ततः ।  
ससैन्यः सनृपस्तूर्णं तद्युद्धाय समाययौ ॥ ५९१ ॥

(Jahāngir) Magrey felt dazed on hearing about (Fateh Khān's) coming down as if air-borne; and thereafter, without losing any moment and taking the Sultān and accompanied by his army, went out to give him a fight.

## VERSE 592

उडुमरो<sup>1</sup> डामरः स शौर्यश्रीगरूडामरः<sup>2</sup> ।  
रणे डामर<sup>3</sup> यागेऽन्तर्भावावुच्छुम्भरुद्रवत् ॥ ५९२ ॥

That Dāmara, Uddā Dāmara (by name) equalling the immortal Garuḍa in bravery, earned eminence in the battlefield like the Rudra disturbing sacrifice initiated by Dakṣa.

*Notes*

1. This might be another name of Saif Dāmara (cf, verse 608 infra).
2. Garuḍa—the king of birds, vehicle of Lord Viṣṇu (*Bhagvad Gīta*, X, 30).
3. Reference is to the sacrifice undertaken by Dakṣa—father of Sati, consort of Lord Śiva. Dakṣa had not invited his daughter or son-in-law to this sacrifice. Lord Śiva took a host of ghosts with him and uninvited went to the sacrifice and got it disturbed by these demons or *gaṇas*. Dāmara in general sense means a demon, dreadful etc. also (*Mahābhārata*, "Śivākhyāna", VII, 3464, 9593 etc.).
4. A name of Lord Śiva.

VERSE 593

केचित् सैदभ्यास्तत्र<sup>1</sup> युध्यन्तः सुपटैः<sup>2</sup> सह ।  
अनिवर्तितया याता दिव्यस्त्री<sup>3</sup> सुखभाणिताम् ॥ ५९३ ॥

Some Sayyid mercenaries fighting with professional soldiers not having fled from there, enjoyed the gladdening company of the heavenly nymphs (ie, died fighting and went to heaven).

*Notes*

1. The Sayyids were brought back to Kashmir by Jahāngir Magrey (cf, verse 567 supra).
2. Professional soldiers is meant here.
3. Refer ZRRT, IV, 178 notes.

VERSE 594

श्वभ्रपातरणाघातक्षतानां तत्समागमे ।  
शवानां राशयस्तत्र पतिताः समयन्तरे ॥ ५९४ ॥

During that confrontation (between the two armies) some of the wounded having been incapacitated fell into ravines, and within the battle-field there were huge heaps of the dead bodies.

VERSE 595

न सैद्युद्धे नो खानागमप्रथमसङ्गरे ।  
भटक्षयोऽभवद् यादृग् गुसिकोड्डारसङ्गरे<sup>1</sup> ॥ ५९५ ॥

Such a genocide of soldiers on the hillock at Gusika Uddār had not taken place in the war with Sayyids or the encounter with (Fateh Khān) when he came (to Kashmir for the first time).

## Note

1. This word in Kashmiri denotes a hillock. May be Śivara has used it here in that very context.

## VERSE 596

प्रमेयभाजोऽप्यासन् ये रणे मुख्या निजोचितम् ।  
शौर्ये नादर्शयन् केचित् साक्षिभूता इव स्थिताः ॥ ५९६ ॥

The chiefs commending the (various) colour ns of the army in the battle-field, did not display any mentionable valour but stood as mere on-lookers.

## VERSE 597

पातनेनेव वृक्षस्य पक्षिशावा इव च्युताः ।  
गता हताः क्षताश्चासन् यत्रतत्र शयन्नजाः ॥ ५९७ ॥

Just as birdlings drop to the ground when a tree is felled, in the same way, the heaps of dead and mutilated corpses were scattered here and there.

## VERSE 598

पूर्वापकारी यो यस्य ग्रामे वा नगरेऽभवत् ।  
स तस्य बाधां कृतवान् दुर्बलस्य बली तदा ॥ ५९८ ॥

Those having come to power then (with a desire) to pay off old scores did tease those who were out of power (now) whether (living) in villages or towns.

## VERSE 599: MASOOD NĀYAK IS DEAD

मसोदनायकस्तत्र सायकायुधवर्षणे ।  
रुद्धाश्वो विज्रहौ प्राणान् भावि केन विलङ्घ्य ॥ ५९९ ॥

Masood Nāyak there (in the battle-field) drew the reins of the horse, dropping down dead while arrows and other missiles were being rained over him. No body has the power to undo the curse of destiny.

## VERSE 600: DUEL BETWEEN JAHĀNGĪR MA GREY AND SAIF DĀMARA

कृत्वान्यान् युद्धान् यत्र मार्गेशोऽगात् स्वरक्ष ॥  
श्रीसैफ डामरो वीर युतस्तत्रैव सोऽभवत् ॥ ६०० ॥

Despatching others for joining the battle, Magrey (Jahāngīr) for personal safety repaired to<sup>1</sup> that very place where illustrious Saif Dāmara was waiting with his pick of soldiers.

VERSE 601: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY RECEIVES HEAD INJURY

यो गवेष्यः स चावाप्त इतितु टो भटावृतः ।  
प्रथमं<sup>1</sup> प्राहरत् तस्य मूर्ध्नि ऽ सैफडामरः ॥ ६०१ ॥

For whom I had to start a search has come to me (of his own), with this (coincidence) eminent Saif Dāmara surrounded by the soldiers, feeling very happy took the initiative in striking a blow on his (Jahāngīr Magrey's) head.

*Note*

1. Actually Saif Dāmara was the first to strike at Jahāngīr Magrey, the latter was denied the opportunity to hit first or his back as his head had been damaged.

VERSE 602: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY BECOMES UNCONSCIOUS

अलंशिरो हैधरश्च स च कूट इव<sup>1</sup> ग्रहाः ।  
मुखे भुजे कपाले च घ्नन्तस्<sup>2</sup> विवशं व्यधुः ॥ ६०२ ॥

Ali Sher, Haider and he (Saif Dāmara) like ferocious planets dealt blows at his (Jahāngīr Magrey's) face, arms and skull, making him lose consciousness.

*Note*

1. Hindu astrology treats Saturn, Mars and the Sun as inauspicious planets, and when they combine it is highly damaging.

VERSE 603

अथ मार्गपतेः स्वर्णवर्णं मङ्गलं<sup>1</sup> मालिकाम् ।  
सचामरं<sup>2</sup> डामरेशो जयन्निगमिवासदत् ॥ ६०३ ॥

Thereafter, the Lord of Dā naras (Saif Dāmara) appropriated Magrey's (Jahāngīr) golden coloured auspicious rosary, along with the royal ribbon, as if (these were) victory and opulence (put together).

*Notes*

1. A *tasbeeh* or rosary worn as an amulet for assuring success in the mission being undertaken.

2. The royal ribbon or streamer announcing the position of the person who has pinned it on his robes.



## VERSE 604

उपेक्षितं तं तत्रस्थैर्निजैराश्वस्त<sup>1</sup>मानसम् ।  
ररक्ष केवलं प्रीतो जात्याश्वः समराच्चलन्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ६०४ ॥

Having become very sure in their minds (that Jahāngir Magrey was dead) he was even ignored by his own men stationed there. Only out of love (for him) his horse kept him guard while going (here and there).

## Notes

1 Jahāngir Magrey's entourage also thought that he was dead and so did not need any attention whatsoever.

2 The faithful horse of his rushed from one place to the other, so Jahāngir Magrey's followers could smell that something amiss had happened to him. They accompanied the horse and came to the spot where Jahāngir Magrey's body was lying unconscious. They must have lifted him and got him treated so that he was once again fully fit to confront Fateh Khān's forces (cf. verse 618 later).

## VERSE 605

विहितारित्र प्रसराः सचिवाः सममेक<sup>1</sup> पार्श्वगताः ।  
यत्र सुशस्त्रप्रचिता मज्जति नौकेव<sup>2</sup> राजश्रीः ॥ ६०५ ॥

When the counsellors armed with efficacious armament thwart the onward rush of the enemy, throng collectively only at one front, the royal fortune capsizes like a boat.

## Notes

1. The point made here is that the counsellors with their armament capable of crying halt to the advancing foe should be properly distributed over the whole battle-field and not kept collectively at one front. If this front is overwhelmed by the enemy, there would be nobody left to give the enemy further fight. It would be very easy for the foe to march to victory.

2. A boat with passengers all thronged on one side, does definitely capsize in the water because it loses its balance.

## VERSE 606: FATEH KHÂN RETURNS FROM KASHMIR

वैदेशिकभट्टैर्द्रेहि विहिते समरागमे ।  
तावत्ते कस्थवाडाद्या<sup>1</sup> निन्युःखानं यथागतम् ॥ ६०६ ॥

No sooner did the revolt of foreign troops raise its head in the battle-field, than those belonging to Katthavāḍā (Kishtwar) and other localities took Khān back as he had come.

## Note

1. Kathvāḍā. This place may also be identified as Kishtwar (Sanskrit Kaṣṭavātā).

## VERSE 607: SAIF DĀMARA IS DEMORALIZED

खानो रजपटैर्बद्धो रणे मिथ्येति वार्तया' ।  
स सैफडामरो युद्धात्स्त्रस्तघैर्यो न्यवर्तत ॥ ६०७ ॥

“Khān (Fateh) has been taken prisoner in the battle”—with this false rumour, Saif Dāmara lost courage and gave up fighting.

## Note

1. This very trick for demoralizing the enemy was repeated once earlier (cf, verses 490, 510 supra).

## VERSE 608: SAIF DĀMARA JOINS FATEH KHĀN

तत्तद्दाराश्वसामग्रीं गृह्णन् शूरपुराध्वना ।  
समराङ्गुमरः सैफडामरः खानमासदत् ॥ ६०८ ॥

Unrelenting during war, seizing a host of very well trained steeds with their relevant paraphernalia Saif Dāmara joined Khān (Fateh Khān) after having negotiated Sūrapura (Hurpur) route.

## VERSE 609: FATEH KHĀN STAYS AT POONCH

इत्थं तृतीयवारं स प्रविष्टो मण्डलान्तरात् ।  
वधं कृत्वा विनिर्गत्य खानः पर्णोत्समागतः ॥ ६०९ ॥

In this manner, Khān (Fateh) gaining access to the country (Kashmir) for the third time, went back (unsuccessful) and stayed at Parnotsa (Poonch) after having indulged in general massacre (there).

## VERSE 610: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY'S PENITANCE

अधर्मबहुलः कालः सर्वे द्रोहपरायणाः ।  
रजा शिशुतरश्चायं स्वतन्त्रं मन्त्रिमण्डलम् ॥ ६१० ॥

The times are seized of irreligious and unbecoming activities. Everyone is given to treachery. This Sultān is more or less a child and the council of ministers is self-willed.

## VERSE 611

अविधेया निजाश्चामी खान पक्षप्रतीक्षिणः ।  
पौर निरनुरागाश्च निष्कोशं नृपमन्दिरम् ॥ ६११ ॥

Even these whom I should have counted as my own, are indisciplined and are waiting in the wings to go over to the side of

(Fateh) Khān. The city people have no love (for the country) and the exchequer at the palace has become bankrupt.

VERSE 612: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY TREATS THE WOUNDS  
FOR TWO MONTHS

सत्ता नाम न वृद्धस्य सर्वसामर्थ्यवर्जिता ।  
इति सञ्चिन्तयन् राक्षसातजातव्यथाकुलः ।  
मासौ द्वौ गमयामास मार्गेशोऽपि स्ववेश्मनि ॥६१२॥

For me a dotard and deprived of every kind of energy, this authority is of no avail. (Jahāngīr) Magrey having been spent up by the pain caused by weapon blows, stayed indoor for two months, brooding over (his lot) thus:

VERSE 613: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY IS  
DEMORALIZED

दृष्ट्वा महार्घमणि मौक्तिकविद्रुमौषान्  
रत्नाकरं<sup>1</sup> श्रयतु सोऽपि सुलापलोभात् ।  
यस्तान् महाभयकरान् भकरांस्तदीयान्  
वोर्येण वारयितुमुज्झितभीः समर्थः ॥६१३॥

Having observed piles of very valuable jewels, pearls and gems only that very person with the greed of getting wealthy, can dive into the sea, who is dauntless and can tame the ferocious crocodiles with his nerve wedded to boldness.

*Note*

1. Literal meaning is 'mine of gems'. The sea is said to have all such precious articles in its depths.

VERSE 614: FATEH KHĀN RETURNS TO KASHMIR  
FOR THE FOURTH TIME

अत्रान्तरे पुनः खानश्चटिकारापर्वतात्<sup>1</sup> ।  
इतो यातैर्भटैः सार्धं लब्धत्राणः<sup>2</sup> समाययौ ॥६१४॥

By that time Khān (Fateh) having got refuge (at Poonch), negotiating the mountains through Chatikāśāra (Tsari-Har) came back again (to Kashmir) with the soldiers having gone from here.

*Notes*

1. It is the Tsari-Har range of Mountains within Pir Panjal. He wanted to give a slip to the watch-station at Hurpur.

2. It might even indicate that fighting men from Kashmir had approached Fateh Khān at Poonch. This reinforcement afforded security to him for waging the attack for the fourth time. Defection in royal army kindled new hope in him.

VERSE 615 FATEH KHĀN WADES THROUGH SNOW  
ON THE MOUNTAINS

तस्मिन्मध्यन्तरं प्राप्ते मुदितैरिव पर्वतैः ।

तदहः पतितं दधे तुषारं सुसिताम्बरम् ॥ ६१५ ॥

On the day he came inside (the territory of Kashmir) the mountains as if extremely jubilant put on immaculate white robes (under the pretext of) fallen snow.

VERSE 616: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY MARCHES TO FIGHT  
BATTLES TO FATEH KHĀN

ग्रामान् प्रज्वलितान् दृष्ट्वा तद्वार्ता चकितस्ततः ।

मार्गेशो बाङ्गिलं<sup>1</sup> त्यक्त्वा सबलो योद्धुमभ्यगात् ॥ ६१६ ॥

Being taken aback by this report (that Fateh Khān has once again returned) and beholding the villages ablaze (Jahāngīr) Magrey left Bangil and marched along with his forces to give a fight.

*Note*

1. Bangil was his home-town (cf. ZRRT, II, 22 notes).

VERSE 617: FRONT OPENED AT DĀMODAR KAREWA

तावन्मितपरीवारो बहुरूपात्तराद् गतः<sup>1</sup> ।

प्रापद्दामोदरोड्डार<sup>2</sup> भूमिं डामर संयुतः ॥ ६१७ ॥

In the meantime with a retinue of chosen few (Fateh Khān) in the company of Dāmara (Saif) coming through Bahurūpā (Beerwa) reached Dāmodar Uddār.

*Notes*

1. The town named Beerwa at present in the Gulmarg range (cf. ZRRT, II, 19).
2. Refer KLRT, I, 157. This table-land serves as an air strip now.

VERSE 618

सन्तपो<sup>1</sup> मार्गपः पश्चात्तनवायुरिवोर्जितः ।

सैन्यं न्यवंशयत् तत्र सातदैवत<sup>2</sup> सन्निधौ ॥ ६१८ ॥

From the rear (Jahāngīr) Magrey along with the Sultān, with the

fastness of wind encamped his army, close to Sāt Daivata there.

*Notes*

1. It has been observed that Jahāngir Magrey always took the Sultān with him as he represented the state and gave Jahāngir Magrey an edge over Fateh Khān.
2. This place must have been very close to Damodar Karewa.

**VERSE 619: SAIF DĀMARA SHATTERS THE ARMY OF  
JAHĀNGIR MAGREY**

स व्यूहो जातयुद्धेहो निशान्ते सैफदामरः ।

बभूव<sup>1</sup> मार्गपानीकं दामोदर<sup>2</sup> इवोत्थितः ॥६१९॥

At the stroke of dawn Saif Dāmara getting up like Viṣṇu, and itching for giving a (decisive) fight, with the help of his well-arranged columns of army shattered the forces of (Jahāngir) Magrey.

*Notes*

1. It might even connote—broke the army-fortification designed by Jahāngir Magrey.
2. A synonym of Lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa who killed Jalodbhava (NLMT, verse 219-227).

**VERSE 620**

चित्रं हेयर<sup>1</sup> शाहस्य यन्न सिद्धं त्रिघागमैः ।

अहो हीनबलस्यापि सिद्धमस्य विधेर्वशात् ॥६२०॥

It is very strange, what Haider Shāh could not accomplish having come three times earlier, was successfully attained by him (Fateh Khān) through his good-luck even with his depleted army.

*Note*

1. Sultān Haider Shāh, second son of Sultān Budshāh. His name as a prince was Hājī Khān (cf. ZRRT, I, 7, 146 etc.).

**VERSE 621: FATEH KHĀN DEFEATS  
KASHMIR ARMY**

किमन्यदल्पसैन्योऽपि खानःकश्मीरकुञ्जगन् ।

हतविदुतविष्वस्तयूधान् सिंह इव व्यधात् ॥६२१॥

What more (needs to be said), Khān (Fateh) though having a smaller army, like a lion, killed, mangled and annihilated the herds of Kashmiri elephants.

## VERSE 622: JAHĀNGĪR MAGREY RETREATS TO CITY

प्राप्तुं सोऽनिष्टमाशङ्क्य मार्गपः सैफडामरात् ।  
अन्येषां<sup>1</sup> वीक्ष्य ताटस्थं प्रपेदे नगरान्तरम् ॥ ६२२ ॥

(Jahāngīr Magrey) suspecting mischief from Saif Dāmara, as also observing indifference of other (ministers), shut himself in the city as he had done previously.

## Note

1. This reference pertains obviously to other ministers who were now sitting on the fence.

## VERSE 623

छिन्नेषु सेतुबन्धेषु प्राक्सैदद्वैधवत् तदा ।  
पारावारगताः पौरा द्वैराज्याकुलतां<sup>1</sup> दधुः ॥ ६२३ ॥

Previously when the Sayyids, out of malice had dismantled the dykes, in the same way, the city people on either side of the river feared dyarchy.

## Note

1. People feared the repetition of the double rule when one side of the river was under the control of Sayyids and the other was ruled by Kashmiris.

## VERSE 624: DEFECTION IN KASHMIR ARMY

पिर्वज प्रतिहाराद्याः प्राप्ता मडवराज्यतः ।  
नृप पक्षं परित्यज्य खान पक्षं समाश्रयन् ॥ ६२४ ॥

Feroz Pratihāra (Padru) and others having come from Maraz leaving the side of the Sultān, defected to the side of Khān (Fateh).

## VERSE 625

स्वपेद जर्जरं ज्ञात्वा सैन्यं द्वित्रा निशोऽनयत् ।  
सैदवत् स्कन्दभवने<sup>1</sup> किं कर्तव्यतयाकुलः ॥ ६२५ ॥

That the army had lost its edge by virtue of internal dissensions, (Jahāngīr Magrey) not knowing what to do, (hence) feeling unnerved, spent two or three nights at Skanda-Bhavana (Khand-Bawan) like the Sayyids.

## Note

1. It is the locality named Khanda Bavan at present situated below Nawākadal quite close to Idgāh. Refer *STRT*, III, 380 notes; *ZRRT*, IV, 122 notes.

## VERSE 626

एकदा सर्वसैन्येशं कृत्वा मेयामहम्मदः ।  
नोसरजानकयुतो द्रोहं स्वामिनि तद्व्यधात् ॥ ६२६ ॥

One day Miya Mohammad having become the chief of army revolted against his master (Jahāngir Magrey) along with Nausher Rājānaka (Rainā).

## VERSE 627

यथाचितं तथाकायो यस्य स्यात् साहसक्षमः ।  
तस्यात्मनिरपेक्षस्य कर्तव्यं किं न सिध्यति ॥ ६२७ ॥

One whose body (action) is the same as his mind, and one who is not concerned about his ownself; what can he not achieve?

## Note

1. That is, he can achieve every thing.

## VERSE 628

भागिनेयं नृपपदेऽप्युपेक्ष्य स्वार्थलुण्ठधीः ।  
द्रोघाभूत् यत् स तेनाभूत् सर्वनाशस्य कारणम् ॥ ६२८ ॥

He (Jahāngir Magrey) whose intellect was dominated by personal ends, was cool even towards his sister's son becoming the Sultān, (so that) very treachery resulted in his total liquidation.

## VERSE 629

नष्टसैन्यः सदैवोऽद्य मार्गेशः शरणं भयात् ।  
ज्यल्लाल ठक्कुरं प्रायात् सर्वाश्रमस्थितं हितम् ॥ ६२९ ॥

Thereafter, with his army destroyed, completely demoralised (Jahāngir Magrey), out of fear approached his well-wisher Jalāl Thākūr, who was living at Khūyāśrama, for refuge.

## Note

1. It is actually 'Khūyā Āśrama', called 'Khūjrāhoma' in Kashmiri (STRT, VIII, 2698 notes). V.I. छायाश्रम, VVRI, p 294. Apparently the Mss. was wrong here.

## VERSE 630

यथैव स विरुद्धानामकरोच्छसनदिकम् ।  
तद्दृशी स दशां प्रापद् धिक्चला राजसम्पदः ॥ ६३० ॥

As he (Jahāngīr Magrey) had got rid of his adversaries, in the same way, he fell on bad days. Fie on undependable royal prowess!

## VERSE 631

सप्तग्रहानुगुण<sup>1</sup> धारित सप्तवार<sup>2</sup>—  
 वर्णाशुकोपचितवेश<sup>3</sup> विशेष भूषः ।  
 बहाम भूष<sup>4</sup> इव योऽभवदष्टभोगः<sup>5</sup>  
 प्राप्तो दशामितरवत् स धिगस्तु लक्ष्मीम् ॥ ६३१ ॥

He who would put on robes specially stitched for each day of the week in accordance with the colour of (seven) planets, with their relevant qualities, who like Behrām (pretender to Sultānship) was under the influence of eight lucky bounties, (that very Jahāngīr Magrey) was reduced to the plight of a destitute. Fie on material prosperity!

## Notes

1. These seven planets are the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury and Saturn.
2. Each day of the above days of the week is supposed to be presided over by these planets, which have been named after them.
3. Each planet is supposed to have a colour of its own.
4. Behrām Khān—third son of Buḍshāh was a pretender to Sultānship (cf. ZRRT, II, 186).
5. The eight lucky things have been enumerated as—The lion, the bull, the elephant, the pitcher, the fan, the banner or garland, the drum and the lamp.

## VERSE 632

क्व नृपः क्व मदीयं तत्सर्वस्वं क्व परिच्छदः ।  
 नास्मरत्<sup>1</sup> तद्दिने किञ्चित् प्राप्तो मुनिगुहान्तरम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ ६३२ ॥

Where is the Sultān, where are my belongings, where is all my retinue. On sneaking into the cave of the mendicant, one on that day (Jahāngīr Magrey) lost memory of all this.

## Notes

1. The personal safety was uppermost in Jahāngīr Magrey's mind, hence he did not attach much importance to other things as he ordinarily would have done.
2. It might connote that Jalāl Thākūr was doing penance in a cave, or he had refused refuge to Jahāngīr Magrey who out of desperation went into hiding in a cave.

VERSE 633: IBRĀHĪM MAGREY ESCAPES BY MEANS  
 OF A BOAT



राज'दार<sup>2</sup> पहारोत्यपापभार<sup>3</sup> दिवार्दितः ।

तद्भ्राता<sup>4</sup> नाराकद्रुत्तुं नावं स्त्रीसहितोऽविशत्<sup>5</sup> ॥ ६३३ ॥

His brother (Ibrāhīm Magrey) pre-occupied with warding off the sin accruing from the kidnapping of the Sultān and the women, could not accompany him (Jahāngir Magrey), boarded a boat taking the women (of his household) with him.

#### Notes

1. Jahāngir Magrey always took the Sultān with him for reasons already described. Now, Jahāngir Magrey's own life being in peril, he left the Sultān alone and fled for safety. His brother Ibrāhīm Magrey probably stood guard for the Sultān for some time, but had to leave him at Skanda Bhavana for ensuring safety to the women of his own household.

2. At this juncture when government changes hands, the women of adversaries becomes victim of lust etc. Hence, Ibrāhīm Magrey wanted to save them. Moreover, women do not necessarily mean 'wives'. It could be daughters, mother and others.

3. Ibrāhīm Magrey was piqued at the reversal of destiny and wanted to keep the Sultān and the women away from the vulturous eyes of Fateh Khān's forces.

4. Brother of Jahāngir Magrey was presumably Ibrāhīm Magrey (cf. ZRRT, IV, 352).

5. Women-folk, old and young.

#### VERSE 634

अन्ये सैन्याः सदैव्या गिरिबिलविगलद्वासा धूसरापाः

तिष्ठन्तो दिष्टरिष्टोद्गतघन विलसद्वृष्टिर्निर्नष्ट चित्ताः ।

द्विष्टैर्दुष्टैर्गिरिष्ठैः परिहृतवसनाः पृष्ठलग्नैर्निकृष्टाः

करागारान्तरेले<sup>1</sup> पशव<sup>2</sup> बलात् ते निरुद्धा विरुद्धाः ॥ ६३४ ॥

Completely demoralised army (officers) other than him (Jahāngir Magrey) having become crest-fallen, counting days (in hiding) in the mountain-caves, unfortunately feeling unnerved (due to cold) by excessive rain devoid of clothes, were pursued by the forces of his enemy and forcibly put into the dungeons of the prison, living like animals.

#### Notes

1. Actually a subterranean cell under the floor of the prison—a dungeon so to say.

2. Just as stray cattle are gathered forcibly and put in a pound. Actually the prisoners were usually put together in one room. This is what the hiding felt while living in caves.

#### VERSE 635: FREE FOR ALL IN THE TOWNS

गर्जन्तो मुमुषुः परे जनपदान् दुष्टाः खशा दस्यव-

स्तद्धीत्या परिहृत्य सर्वमचलन् नगना नरा वा स्त्रियः ।

मार्गेष्वप्यबला हता बहुबलैः पूर्वापकार स्मृतेः

सोऽभूत् राज्यविपर्ययोऽतिभयदः कल्यान्तकालोपमः<sup>1</sup> ॥६३५॥

The vile Khashas and the robbers fuming and fretting looted the habitations (considered strongholds) of their enemy; with this fright leaving their entire belongings, men and women sneaked away quite naked. Enroute, recounting ill-treatment meted out to them, the people in power, killed even the women. This reversal of the rule became very dreadful, like the hour when one aeon changes hands with the other.

*Note*

1. It is believed that when the aeon changes, there is wholesale destruction

#### VERSE 636

सर्वस्वोल्लुण्ठने तस्मिन् धनिनां दुःसहे पुरे ।

आसन् दरिद्रा अत्याढ्या आढ्या दरिद्र्य भागिनः ॥६३६॥

As a result of that wholesale loot of wealthy people in the city, the poor became very rich and those possessing wealth were reduced to penury.

#### VERSE 637

ये स्युर्द्रुमाः सदलपुष्पफलाभिरामा

नद्यस्तस्मिन्तरलाः सरवाः पिकाद्याः ।

ते शीर्णशृङ्ख जलमूकमुखा हिमर्तौ

किं तत्र यदभवति काल विपर्ययेण ॥६३७॥

The trees looking graceful by their (crop) of leaves, flowers and fruit, the streams with their speeding billows, the cuckoos and other birds waxing eloquent, all these wither away, and are rendered dry and dumb (respectively) during the snowy season. What is there which does not take place, when times are unfavourable?

#### VERSE 638

ते राजवल्लभा रम्यास्ताःस्त्रियस्ते च सेवकाः ।

कथावशेषतां<sup>1</sup> यातास्तस्मिन् नष्टदले नृपे ॥६३८॥

The retinue of the Sultān, whose armies have been destroyed, consisting of graceful ladies and attendants, have been left in stories only (ie, have disappeared).

## Note

1. Have been left in stories only, have all disappeared.

VERSE 639: SULTĀN MOHAMMAD SHĀH IS DEPOSED  
IN 1486 AD

इत्थं वर्षद्वय<sup>1</sup> सप्त मासान् भूत्वा नृपासने ।  
नृपो द्वाषष्टिवर्षे<sup>2</sup> स ह्यश्विने श्रंशमाप्तवान् ॥ ६३९ ॥

In this way, having occupied the throne for two years and seven months, the Sultān was deposed in the month of Āśvina during the local year sixty-two.

## Notes

1. Sultān must have been plus nine in age then (cf. ZRRT. IV, 3).
2. The local or Saptarṣi year 4562 corresponding to 1486 AD.

VERSE 640

राजा मह्यदशाहः स विंशप्रस्थान्तरात्<sup>1</sup> ततः ।  
आनीय फिर्यपालेन<sup>2</sup> शत्रुपक्षे समर्पितः ॥ ६४० ॥

Thereafter Firya Pāl having recovered Sultān Mohammad Shāh from the interior of Īdgāh, surrendered him to the enemy.

## Notes

1. Skanda Bhavana (Khanda Bawan) is quite close to Īdgāh in Srinagar. Śrīvara has aptly described it as the interior precincts of Īdgāh (Refer also ZRRT. IV, 625)
2. This sub-caste Pāla still persists with some Kashmiri Muslims.

VERSE 641: FATEH KHĀN RESTORES ALL THE ALLOWANCES  
TO SULTĀN MOHAMMAD SHĀH

राजधान्यङ्गने राजवासे ते मनुजैः<sup>1</sup> सह ।  
विधाय वृत्ति<sup>2</sup> संपूर्णा ररक्षुर्दामराधिपाः ॥ ६४१ ॥

(Fateh Khān) restored all his (Sultān Mohammad Shāh's) allowances including those (deposed) in favour of his people, in the courtyard of capital at the royal palace, and made him over to Dāmara-chiefs, for protection.

## Notes

1. Fateh Khān showed exemplary grace towards the deposed Sultān Mohammad Shāh by continuing the facilities and allowances his men had been enjoying during his Sultānship.
2. He had no rancour for Mohammad Shāh and made him live like a prince

## VERSE 642

राज्यप्राप्त्या सुखं तादृक् तस्य नासीत् सुदुःस्थिते ।

यादृक् तद् भ्रंशतस्तस्य नृप मन्त्रि प्रसादतः ॥ ६४२ ॥

After having been deposed during those unpredictable times, he (Mohammad Shāh) enjoyed more facilities through the good offices of the (new) Sultān and his advisers, than he had experienced on becoming the Sultān.

## VERSE 643

सैदद्वैघ'वधेलुण्ठिः पुरेऽभूत् त्रिगुणा तदा ।

खशैः कृता दाहवज्र<sup>2</sup> तस्मिन् राजविपर्यये ॥ ६४३ ॥

During those times, when the kingdom was passing from one hand to the other, Khashas, excepting burning (of houses) indulged in thrice as much killings and looting as that was done during the friction with Sayyids.

## Notes

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, verse 325.

2. Refer ZRRT, IV, verse 326.

## VERSE 644

प्रधानवणिजः केचिद् कोटिसञ्चयवञ्चिताः ।

तृणमात्रावृतैरङ्गैस्तस्थुस्ते रक्षितासवः ॥ ६४४ ॥

Some top-most merchants deprived of their hoardings running into crores, covered their body with mere blades of grass for preserving their life.

## VERSE 645: THREE DAYS LICENCE GIVEN FOR PLUNDER

दिनत्रयं ददामो वो मोषणं यदि जायते ।

इति वैदेशिकोत्कोचे सापेक्षा मन्त्रिणोऽभवन् ॥ ६४५ ॥

“You would be given (permission for looting) for three days, if you go away”—thus the advisers of (Fateh Khān) were reconciled to bribing these outsiders.

## VERSE 646

काश्मीरिका यथालुण्ठिं बहिर्यात्रागता<sup>1</sup> व्यधुः ।

तथा वैदेशिकाश्चक्रुः काले किं किं दृश्यते ॥ ६४६ ॥

As Kashmiris would be on rampage, during their expeditions outside the state, the foreigners did the same thing in the same way (here). Time, what does it not show?

*Note*

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, 514.

VERSE 647

प्रतिपदभ्रमणैः सपरिश्रमाः  
मधुकरी तनुते मधुगोलकम् ।  
निहित धूमतया विनिवार्य तां  
तमुपलभ्य परः सुखमश्नुते ॥ ६४७ ॥

Roaming step by step, the honey-bee putting in great labour, weaves out a hive. After warding them away, with the help of smoke, some one else appropriates the hive to his entire comfort.

VERSE 648

कष्टैः षण्मास पर्यन्तं महद्भिः सञ्चितं गृहे ।  
अयलमपरैर्घुक्तं सर्वं तत् खान संश्रितैः ॥ ६४८ ॥

The belongings collected with their sweat and toil in their houses by people of substance, were enjoyed in toto by other persons under the tutelage of (Fateh) Khān within six months with ease.

VERSE 649

रक्ताक्ततृणपूरान्तः<sup>1</sup> क्षिप्तं कैरपि यद्धनम् ।  
न नीतमशुचिस्थानं<sup>2</sup> सुतिकास्तरणभ्रमात्<sup>3</sup> ॥ ६४९ ॥

The blood-stained riches thrown under grass-bushels by some people was not taken (by others), under the wrong impression that these were unclean place, or was the blood-stained clothes of a lady who had just delivered.

*Notes*

1. Some people hid their wealth under blood-stained grass. The looters could not get this wealth as they thought the place was too dirty to hide the wealth under it. Such people were able to save a bit.

2. An unclean place may be a slaughter house or latrines etc. The people thought that the place was too dirty for a search. Hence the looters did not go there.

3. The blood-stained cloth or the linen used at the time when a woman has given birth to a child. Obviously, the linen is stained with blood. Thus these riches were saved from being looted.

## VERSE 650

सद्युम्निमनकुम्भाभः पक्षिपुष्करिणीकृतैः ।  
रक्षितं कैरपि द्रव्यं नीतं ताडितदर्शनात् ॥ ६५० ॥

The money which was concealed by some in pitchers (submerging) these in the ponds meant for bird, was even taken away (by others), after a show of force.

## VERSE 651

सत्यं ब्रवीमि धनिकाः शृणुतास्मदुक्तं  
यत् संचितं वसु गृहे परवञ्चनाद्यैः ।  
तद् भोगदानं सफलं कुरुताविलम्बं  
नो चेद् वृथा स्मरत राज्यविपर्यये ॥ ६५१ ॥

O Dollar-Kings: please lend ear to what I would like to unfold. Whatever money you have hoarded in your houses by exploiting others, without losing a minute, make it worthwhile by personal enjoyment and by giving in charity, otherwise during such calamity visiting the state this memory would be of no avail.

## VERSE 652

भग्नभाण्डकरण्डालीः प्रसार्य परितो गृहे ।  
मुषिताः स्म इतिव्याजात् खशाः कैरपि वञ्चिताः ॥ ६५२ ॥

Some people scattering broken utensils and containers all over their houses, under the pretext of 'we have been looted', even cheated the Khashas.

## Note

1. Some clever-folk feigned having been plundered already, by parading broken utensils etc. and most sagaciously saved themselves from being looted by Khashas who took them at their words.

## VERSE 653

जलान्तरशवागारान् शून्यानापूर्य वस्तुभिः ।  
ररक्षुर्नागराः केऽपि शून्यीकृतगृहा धनम् ॥ ६५३ ॥

Some city-dwellers emptied their houses of money by depositing it under water, in graves or in desolate (buildings), and in this manner saved their wealth (from being looted).

## VERSE 654

तैर्निवर्तित गर्तान्तः क्षिप्तैः पौर धनैर्धनैः ।  
तस्मिन् काले प्रतिपदं सत्यर्थाभूद् वसुन्धरा<sup>1</sup> ॥ ६५४ ॥

Wealthy citizens on having buried their riches underground, made the earth 'the bearer of riches', becoming true to its name at that time.

## Note

1. Earth is also called वसुन्धरा, ie 'the one that bears the riches', (वसून् धारयति इति वसुन्धरा), because all the wealth, whether it is gold, silver, gems or grain, comes out of the earth only (cf, *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 7).

## VERSE 655

मार्गरोधोद्यतैः सर्वैः क्षेपणीयाश्मवर्षिभिः ।  
राजानवाटिकीयैस्तैस्तत्कालं<sup>1</sup> साहसं कृतम् ॥ ६५५ ॥

Bent upon blocking their (looters) entry the entire population of Rājānavāṭikā (Rainawari) at that time displayed extraordinary nerve by raining stones (with the aid of) slings (over them).

## Note

1. Refer *KLRT*, VIII, 756 and *STRT*, Vol. II, p 451.

## VERSE 656

कर्मस्थाननिघान सर्पसदृश प्रोत्सारणादिण्डिमो<sup>1</sup>  
द्विष्ट प्राक्तन सेवकाम्बुज घटा हेमन्त कालोदयः<sup>2</sup> ।  
भूपक्ष्मामधुगोलकस्थ सरघासङ्घातधूमोदगमः<sup>3</sup>  
सोऽभूद् राज्यविपर्ययो नवसभोद्यान द्रुमालीमधुः<sup>4</sup> ॥ ६५६ ॥

That calamity (befalling) the government, resembled the beats of drum for warding off the serpent (coiled over) the public finances, the advent of winter for the bunches of lotuses (representing) erstwhile treacherous servants (of the Sultān), the streak of smoke coming to life for the swarm of honey-bees occupying a hive as if the territorial jurisdiction of the Sultān (Mohammad Shāh), the spring season for the rows of trees in a garden (manifesting) the new council of ministers.

## Notes

Herein Śrīvara has tacitly hailed this change in the government because of:

1. Public-finances till now reserved for the exclusive use of the Sultān and his ministers, will henceforth be used for the betterment of the people also.

2. The poet hopes that the vile servants of Sultān Mohammad Shāh will then be penalized.

3. Country will get rid of the Sultān—a nincompoop so to say.

4. New talent would be inducted into the Council of Ministers to be appointed by Fateh Khān, who had become Sultān Fateh Shāh.

#### VERSE 657

किं स्वाचार विपर्ययात् किमु धनस्यान्यायतोपार्जनात्  
किं वा द्रोहितया सतां किमथवा सद्गुणसाङ्कर्यतः ।  
निःसामर्थ्यतया यथा शिशुविभोर्द्वेषणवामन्त्रिणां  
राज्ये सुस्सल<sup>1</sup> भूपतेरिव बभूवायं प्रजोपद्रवः ॥ ६५७ ॥

Either due to the reversal of right conduct, or by reason of making money by unjust means; either falling foul of the virtuous, or due to the inter-mixing of the blood; either the weak-kneed attitude of the child-Sultān or by dint of the rift amongst the ministers, this national disaster equalled that (which occurred) during the reign of King Sussala.

#### Note

1. King Sussala ruled over Kashmir from 1112 AD to 1120 AD in the first instance. After being dethroned by Bhikṣācara, he again seized the throne till 1121 AD. His rule is full of civil wars, revolutions and counter-revolutions. Later on, he was killed through a conspiracy (KLRT, VIII, 481-841, 947-1348).

#### VERSE 658: ŚRĪVARA HEAPS PRAISE OVER SAIF DĀMARA

येनादौ सैदवैरेण रसिकतया मोचिता बन्धनस्थाः<sup>1</sup>  
सिद्धादेशाधिकारी व्यधितजितरिपुःस्फूर्जितं च प्रयातः<sup>2</sup> ।  
प्राज्यं राज्यं व्यधाद् यः फतिहनर<sup>3</sup>पतेर्नाशयित्वारिचक्रं  
जीयाच्छ्रीडामरेन्द्रोवरसचिवपतिः<sup>4</sup> सैफमल्लेक<sup>5</sup> एकः ॥ ६५८ ॥

May the exalted Lord of Dāmaras, the peerless Saif Malik enjoyed overwhelming triumph who in the days gone by during the strife with Sayyids set all the prisoners free by dint of taking delight in wielding arms, who rose to eminence as a commissar and vanquished his adversaries completely, who as the excellent prime minister of Sultān Fateh (Shāh) annihilated his host of foes and made his dominion extensively bountiful.

#### Notes

1. Refer ZRRT, IV, 184.

2. Refer ZRRT, IV, 202.



3. Here Śrīvara hints toward's the assumption of Sultānship by Fateh Khān.
4. Śrīvara says here that Saif Dāmara was elevated to the position of prime minister by Sultān Fateh Shāh.
5. An honorific Persian expression meaning a head, chief etc.

इति जैनराजतरङ्गिण्यां पण्डित श्रीवर रचितायां फतिहशाह  
राज्यप्राप्तिर्नाम चतुर्थस्तोत्रम् ।

Thus ends the fourth wave of *Zaina Rājatarāṅgiṇī* entitled "Fateh Shāh's Coming to Power" composed by Paṇḍita Śrīvara.